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BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN'S
HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE
VOLUME VII

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

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THE HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

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IN MEMORIAM

KULAPATI DR. K. M. MUNSHI

This is the first volume of this series (out of ten so far published) which appears without a Foreword from the pen of its inaugurator, the late lamented Kulapati Dr. K. M. Munshi. He died full of years and honours, and his activities and achievements are only too well-known. His death is mourned by all classes of people from one end of India to the other and also abroad. But it has been an irreparable loss to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan which sponsored not only the project of publishing this historical series but many other books calculated to promote a knowledge of the culture of India. To me the loss is also a personal one. I still cherish the memory of my first meeting with Dr. Munshi in 1945. I was surprised to receive an invitation to meet him at Bombay, for I was a complete stranger to him at the time. Far greater was my surprise when I listened to him explaining the ideals and method envisaged by him for the publication of a series of ten volumes on the history and culture of the Indian People, laying particular stress on the two words 'culture' and 'people'. I need not expatiate on this, as he has himself expressed, in the Foreword to the First Volume, his own concept of the scope of this series. These lines would bear repetition. "Some years ago", wrote Munshiji, "I defined the scope of history as follows:

> "To be a history in the true sense of the word, the work must be the story of the people inhabiting a country. It must be a record of their life from age to age presented through the life and achievements of men whose exploits become the beacon-lights of tradition; through the characteristic reaction of the people to physical and economic conditions; through political changes and vicissitudes which create the forces and conditions which operate upon life; through characteristic social institutions, beliefs and forms; through literary and artistic achievements; through the movements of thought which from time to time helped or hindered the growth of collective harmony; through those values which the people have accepted or reacted to and which created or shaped their collective will; through efforts of the people to will themselves into an organic unity. The central purpose of a history must, therefore, be to investigate and unfold the values which, age after age, have inspired the inhabitants of a country to develop their collective

will and to express it through the manifold activities of their life. Such a history of India is still to be written."

I was very much surprised to hear all this from one who was not a professional historian. But my surprise reached its climax when he requested me to accept the post of the General Editor, for we never met each other before.

I accepted his offer and since that day up to the very end of his life—a long period of twenty-five years—our relations had always been very cordial. Though I generally lived in Calcutta, I visited him from time to time in connection with the publication of this history and was always his guest. Our discussion on some disputed points of what I wrote was always carried on in a very cordial spirit. He used to read the type-script of each volume before it was published. Occasionally, though very rarely, when he felt some difficulty in accepting some statement in any volume, he discussed the matter with me. There was a tacit understanding between us that no objection would be made to any statement which is based on fact and supported by reasonable argument. In other words, we both agreed to accept, without hesitation, whatever is proved to be true by all canons of historical criticism, however unpleasant or disagreeable it might appear to any of us. Munshiji never violated this agreement or understanding. I specially lay stress on this point, as I have learnt from personal experience that men in high position in India seldom exhibit this spirit. When, as the whole-time Director, I prepared the draft of the *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, sponsored by the Government of India, I met with constant interference and obstruction from men in authority, having no knowledge of history, and I could not help contrasting their attitude with that of Dr. K. M. Munshi. When this unpleasant situation was reported to Munshiji by an important member of the Board of Editors for the compilation of the *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Munshiji said: "Leave the matter of writing to Dr. Majumdar as I have done, and don't interfere with his freedom, subject to the final discussion and decision by the Board of Editors." If Munshiji's advice were followed, the *History of the Freedom Movement in India* would have been published fifteen years before it has been actually published, and several lakhs of rupees would have been saved.

Munshiji's attitude was put to a severe test when I prepared the first draft of the role played by Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for freedom of India in Vol. XI. He read through it and invited me to Bombay. I stayed in his house and we read together all the relevant portions line by line. We had discussions on many points, but ultimately with a few minor changes in expressions, he agreed to my draft. I mention this incident in detail, for I knew that he was a great devotee of Mahatma Gandhi and his views on some points were different from mine. But the fact that he still accepted my draft after I convinced him by facts and arguments, revealed to me what I consider to be one of the noblest traits in his character. He had already earned my love and respect, but to this was now added admiration for a very high degree of intellectual integrity—so very rare in the leaders of Free India.

It will ever remain a matter of deep regret to me that Munshiji did not live to see the completion of this cherished project of his. My only consolation is that he saw nine volumes comprising seven thousand five hundred pages already published, and this, the tenth volume, already in the press. Whether I shall live long enough to bring out the one remaining volume, I cannot say, but if I do, the day of its publication, and completion of Munshiji's dear project, will be the proudest and happiest day of my long life.

March 1, 1974 R. C. MAJUMDAR

PREFACE

By

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR

(*General Editor*)

The reasons for the postponement of the publication of this and the next volume (Vols. VII and VIII) till after Vols. IX, X and XI were published have been stated in the Preface to Vol. IX of this series (p. xxxiv).

This, the seventh volume of the series, deals with the period from 1526 to 1707 A.D. during which the Mughuls gradually established their authority over nearly the whole of India. This is the brightest Chapter in the history of Muslim rule in India, which began in the 13th century A.D. and covers a period of nearly six hundred years in north and five hundred years in south India. The Mughul rule is distinguished by the establishment of a stable Government with an efficient system of administration, a very high development of architecture and paintings and, above all, wealth and splendour such as no other Islāmic State in any part of the world may boast of.

So far as the Hindus were concerned, there was no improvement either in their material and moral conditions or in their relations with the Muslims. With the sole exception of Akbar, who sought to conciliate the Hindus by removing some of the glaring evils to which they were subjected, almost all the other Mughul Emperors were notorious for their religious bigotry. The Muslim law which imposed many disabilities and indignities upon the Hindus, mentioned in Vol. VI (pp. 617-20), and thereby definitely gave them an inferior social and political status, as compared to the Muslims, was followed by these Mughul Emperors (and other Muslim rulers) with as much zeal as was displayed by their predecessors, the Sultāns of Delhi. The climax was reached during the reign of Aurangzīb, who deliberately pursued the policy of destroying and desecrating Hindu temples and idols with a thoroughness unknown before or since. Such disclosures may not be liked by the high officials and a section of the politicians, but it is the solemn duty of the historian to state the truth, however unpleasant or discreditable it might be to any particular class or community. Unfortunately, political expediency in India during this century has sought to destroy this true historic spirit. This alone can explain the concealed, and mostly unsuccessful, attempt to disparage the statements about the Hindu-Muslim relations made in Volume V (pp. 497-502) and Vol. VI (pp. 615-636), though these were based mainly on Muslim chronicles and accounts of a Muslim traveller, supported by contemporary Indian literature.

The difficulty of writing the true history of Hindu-Muslim relations as well as the editorial policy followed in this matter has been stated at some length in the Preface to Vol. VI (pp. xxix-xxx) of this series. The same policy is followed in this volume also.

It is very sad that the spirit of perverting history to suit political views is no longer confined to politicians, but has definitely spread even among professional historians.

In the present volume, reference has been made in some detail to the Muslim bigotry in general and the persecution of the Hindus by Aurangzīb in particular (pp. 233-36, 305-6). Although the statements are based on unimpeachable authority, there is hardly any doubt that they will be condemned not only by a small class of historians enjoying official favour, but also by a section of Indians who are quite large in number and occupy high position in politics and society. It is painful to mention, though impossible to ignore, the fact that there is a distinct and conscious attempt to rewrite the whole chapter of the bigotry and intolerance of the Muslim rulers towards Hindu religion.* This was originally prompted by the political motive of bringing together the Hindus and Musalmans in a common fight against the British but has continued ever since. A history written under the auspices of the Indian National Congress sought to repudiate the charge that the Muslim rulers broke Hindu temples, and asserted that they were the most tolerant in matters of religion. Following in its footsteps a noted historian has sought to exonerate Mahmud of Ghazni's bigotry and fanaticism, and several writers in India have come forward to defend Aurangzīb against Jadunath Sarkar's charge of religious intolerance. It is interesting to note that in the revised edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, one of them, while re-writing the article on Aurangzīb originally written by Sir William Irvine, has expressed the view that the charge of breaking Hindu temples brought against Aurangzīb is a disputed point. Alas for poor Jadunath Sarkar, who must have turned in his grave if he were buried. For, after reading his *History of Aurangzīb*, one would be tempted to ask, if the temple-breaking policy of Aurangzīb is a disputed point, is there a single fact in the whole recorded history of mankind which may be taken as undisputed? A noted historian has sought to prove that the Hindu population was better off under the Muslims than under the Hindu tributaries or independent rulers. "While some historians have sought to show that the Hindu and Muslim cultures were fundamentally different and formed two distinct and separate units flourishing side by side, the late K. M. Ashraf sought to prove that the Hindus and Muslims had no cultural conflict." But the climax was reached by the politician-cum-historian Lala Lajpat Rai when he asserted that "the Hindus and Muslims have coalesced into an Indian people very much in the same way as the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Danes and Normans formed the English people of today."* His further assertion that "the Muslim rule in India was not a foreign rule" has now become the oft-repeated slogan of a certain political party. I have discussed the question in some detail elsewhere** and need not elaborate the point any further.

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* Cf. *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. III (1964), p. 58.

The policy adopted in regard to this question in this and the preceding volumes, and discussed at some length in Vol. VI (pp. xxix-xxx), was most eloquently expressed by Jadunath Sarkar as far back as 1915 in his Presidential speech at a historical conference in Bengal. The following is a literal English translation of the original Bengali passage:

"I would not care whether truth is pleasant or unpleasant, and in consonance with or opposed to current views. I would not mind in the least whether truth is or is not a blow to the glory of my country. If necessary, I shall bear in patience the ridicule and slander of friends and society for the sake of preaching truth. But still I shall seek truth, understand truth, and accept truth. This should be the firm resolve of a historian."

I may conclude this topic by referring to the views expressed by Jadunath Sarkar and Dr. Rajendra Prasad at a much later date when Dr. Rajendra Prasad launched a scheme to write a comprehensive national history of India on a co-operative basis, and requested Jadunath to become its chief editor. Jadunath wrote to him on 19 November, 1937: "National history, like every other history worthy of the name and deserving to endure, must be true as regards the facts and reasonable in the interpretation of them. It will be national not in the sense that it will try to suppress or white-wash everything in our country's past that is disgraceful, but because it will admit them and at the same time point out that there were other and nobler aspects in the stages of our nation's evolution which offset the former...... In this task the historian must be a judge. He will not suppress any defect of the national character, but add to his portraiture those higher qualities which, taken together with the former, help to constitute the entire individual."

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* *Young India,* pp. 73-5.

** *Historiography in Modern India* (Asia Publishing House), pp. 48, 54-7.

In his reply to the above, dated 22 November, 1937, Dr. Rajendra Prasad wrote: "I entirely agree with you that no history is worth the name which suppresses or distorts facts. A historian who purposely does so under the impression that he thereby does good to his native country really harms it in the end. Much more so in the case of a country like ours which has suffered much on account of its national defects, and which must know and understand them to be able to remedy them."

An apt illustration of the truth of the observation in the last sentence is furnished by the religious bigotry of the Mughul Emperors. If we consider the relevant facts of history as discussed in this volume, in an open mind, without either any rancour or resentment on the one hand, and a desire to suppress the truth on the other, we can never deny that religious bigotry contributed to a very large extent to the downfall of the mighty Mughul empire. If we realize fully this great historical truth we may learn a valuable lesson from the teachings of history which might serve as a useful guide in shaping our destiny in future. If we deny it out of misguided sentiments, it would be a perversion of historical truth. For, the rebellion of the Rājputs, who were a pillar of strength to the Mughul Emperors, against Aurangzīb, and the rise of the Marāthās and Sikhs as great military powers—the three great events which brought about the decline and fall of the Mughul empire—were direct consequences of the bigotry of the Mughul emperors in general and of Aurangzīb in particular. It is not perhaps a mere coincidence that the reign of Aurangzīb, during which the religious bigotry reached its climax, was followed almost immediately after his death by a rapid process of decline and disintegration of the Mughul Empire. It is true that other causes were also at work, such as the fratricidal wars of succession. We should remember, however, that there were similar wars also just before Aurangzīb ascended the throne, but the Mughul Empire survived it—because it could still count on the loyal support of the Rājputs and had not to encounter the opposition, either of the Rājputs or of the Marāthās and the Sikhs whom Aurangzīb's bigotry had converted into deadly enemies.

It is, however, only fair to point out in this connection that in spite of his religious bigotry and cruelty to his father and brothers Aurangzīb must be regarded as a very able ruler. For it was he who had extended the southern boundary of the Mughul Empire which then included the vast region from the Hindu Kush and the

Himalayas to Cape Comorin, for a near parallel to which we have to look back to the Maurya Empire that flourished about 2000 years before. The Mughul period should also be credited with great artistic achievement whose extant remains far exceed in skill and grandeur those of any other period in the history of India. A visible embodiment of its brilliance is the Taj Mahal of Āgra, which is justly regarded as one of the eight wonders of the world. The Mughul paintings have also received a world-wide renown.

Finally, India during the Mughul period enjoyed a proverbial reputation for wealth and splendour and attracted a large number of visitors from Europe who have left records of their impression.

Next to the Mughuls, the Rājput States in the north, the five Sultānates of the Deccan arising out of the ruins of the Bahmani Kingdom, and the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara in South India played the dominant role in history at the beginning of the period. The end of the period witnessed the rise of the two great powers, the Marāthās and the Sikhs who were destined to play the most prominent role in the eighteenth century, which would be described in the next volume.

One of the most characteristic features of the period is a galaxy of great personalities who have left a deep impress upon the political history of India. These are Bābur, Sher Shāh, Hemchandra (Himu), Akbar, Chānd Sultān, Rānā Pratāp Singh, Nūr Jahān, Shivājī, Bājī Rāo and Guru Govind Singh, who have secured a permanent niche in the shrine of Indian history and of whom any country might well feel proud.

This volume may claim the credit of rescuing from oblivion the name of Himu or Hemchandra, a forgotten Hindu hero who began his life as a greengrocer, and by dint of his own efforts and personality ascended the throne of Delhi—the only Hindu to do so since the Battle of Tarain in 1192 A.D. Historians of India have so far done scant justice to his personality and achievement with the result that he is hardly known to Indians today as a remarkable and distinguished person during the Medieval Age. For this reason his career has been discussed in some detail in an Appendix (pp. 97-101).

To the distinguished names in the political field mentioned above we may add those of Tulasī-dāsa and Tānsen, whose influence still persists, respectively, over Hindi literature and classical music of India.

This volume gives a brief account of fourteen local vernacular literatures, most of which were yet merely at their formative stage. There is a popular view that special credit for the rise and growth of many of them is due to the Muslim rulers. An eminent Muslim scholar, for example, has expressed the view that the development of Bengali literature was rendered possible only by the enlightened rule of Hussain Shāh, the Sultān of Bengal, whose rule ended in A.D. 1519 after Bābur had begun his expeditions against India and only seven years before the first Battle of Panipat. A faint echo of such sentiments will be found in Vol. VI of this series (pp. 219, 513). The Editor, however, feels, after a very careful study of the materials now available, that Hussain Shāh has no reasonable claim to be regarded as the promoter of the development of Bengali literature. Other claims of a similar nature in respect of the development of other vernacular literatures have hardly any basis to stand upon.*

It is remarkable that the patronage of Muslim rulers has not been even claimed, except in a very few cases, as a contributing factor to the development of other vernacular literatures of India. So this development must be regarded as essentially due to the operation of natural laws in the evolution of Indian literature. It is also very noteworthy that the local vernacular literatures show few traces of Muslim influence except a large number of loanwords from Arabic and Persian languages. This would be evident from a comparison of British influence on Bengali literature in the 19th century with that of Muslim influence during the preceding six centuries.

The Editor takes this opportunity to place on record his high esteem of the scholarship of G. S. Sardesai of international fame, and C. S. Srinivasachari, who wrote, respectively, Chapter IX (Shivājī) and Chapter XVI (European Settlements), of this volume. Both of them passed away long ago and it reflects great credit on them that their writings required, comparatively speaking, so little changes to bring them up to date. The Editor had the advantage of revising Sardesai's Chapter in the light of his published work, the "*New History of the Marathas*" (1957), and took the liberty of adding some comments on the views of the learned scholar. The Editor also notes with deep regret the recent death of Prof. Biman Bihari Majumdar, the author of the section on Hindu Religion in Chapter XX and Dr. A. L. Srivastava who contributed Chapters I (Sources), XVIII (Law and Legal Institutions) and XXII (Economic Condition). Both of them were alive when the volume was sent to the press. Dr. Srivastava himself corrected the proofs of his three chapters and it is a matter of great sorrow that he passed away before the publication of this volume. The death of these four scholars has left a void in Indian scholarship which it would be difficult to fill up. The Editor takes this opportunity to place on record his deep sorrow at the death of these four leading historians and his high appreciation of the great services rendered by them to the cause of Indian history and culture.

---

* The whole question has been discussed by the Editor in an article contributed to the *Srivastava Memorial Volume.*

The Editor also takes this opportunity to place on record his deep regret at the death of Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., the Assistant Editor of the first six volumes of this series. He was a great scholar and a specialist in the domain of Puranic and Epic literature, as would be amply evidenced by the four chapters contributed by him to the first volume of this series, as well as his learned publications on *Bhāsa* and the *Epics* and *Purāṇas.* The Editor recalls with pleasure and gratitude his loyal and ungrudging services and has no hesitation in saying that the success of this series is largely due to the care and devotion with which he had performed his duty. He was associated with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan for over twenty years as its Assistant Director and Assistant Editor of this series, and donated his library of valuable books to the Bhavan. A man of very modest disposition and loving nature, he was a life-long bachelor and may be truly said to be a God's good man. He died on 6 June, 1973, at the age of 68, leaving a large number of friends to mourn his loss. May his soul rest in peace.

The Editor conveys his sincere thanks to all the contributors of this volume and places on record his high appreciation of the services rendered by them in the preparation of this volume and maintaining the standard of this series.

Dr. Jadunath Sarkar had very kindly agreed to write the two Chapters (VIII, X) on Aurangzīb, and it is a matter of great regret that he passed away before he could do the work himself. The Assistant Editor, Dr. J. N. Chaudhuri, who was closely associated with him, and had the benefit of his oral instructions, wrote the Chapters on the basis of Sir Jadunath's monumental work on Aurangzīb.

The Editor notes with regret that in spite of his best efforts he could not establish contact with Prof. Abdur Rashid who wrote Chapters VI and VII (Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān) and Prof. M. W. Mirza who wrote the section on Islām in Chapter XX, both of whom were in Pakistan, and could not revise the proofs of their articles. The Editor had not, therefore, the advantage of discussing with Prof. Rashid some points on which serious differences of opinion made this course a very desirable one. He has therefore kept unaltered the text of Prof. Rashid and expressed his own views in the footnotes.

The Editor begs to convey his thanks to 'The Associated Advertisers & Printers, Bombay,' for the great care they took in maintaining the high standard of printing and get-up of this series, and to Shri B. Srinivasa Rao for the great care and ability with which he corrected the proofs at the initial stage. The Editor also thanks the editors of various journals for their appreciative reviews of the preceding volume. He also thanks the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, and the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for lending photos for illustrations. Special thanks are due to H. E. the Governor of West Bengal, Mr. A. L. Dias, I.C.S., for his personal interference in removing the difficulties created in respect of some of the photos supplied by the Indian Museum.

In conclusion, the Editor places on record his high appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the two successive Assistant Editors, Dr. J.N. Chaudhuri and Dr. S. Chaudhuri. Dr. J.N. Chaudhuri had to give up his work for troubles in his eyes and the work was taken up by Dr. S. Chaudhuri. The thanks of the Editor are due to both of them as also to Dr. C. M. Kulkarni, for their valuable assistance in the preparation of this volume.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(In addition to those used in Vol. VI)

Ain	*Āīn-i-Akbarī* by Shaikh Abu-'l-Fazl. English translation published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. Vol. I by Blochmann and Vols. II and III by Jarrett.
Bib. Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica Series published by A.S.B. (*Asiatic Society of Bengal*).
I.O.	India Office.
M.T.I.	*Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* by 'Abdul Qādir Badāūni also known as Tārīkh-i-Badāūni. English translation (Bib. Ind.)—Vol. I by Lt. Col. Ranking, Vol. II by Rev. W. H. Lowe, Vol. III by Lt. Colonel Haig.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES

The sources for the Mughul period are full and copious. We have not only the chronicles of the reigns of all the Mughul monarchs from 1526 to 1707, but often more than one work dealing with the history of each reign. These contemporary works, mostly in Persian, were written by court historians (who had access to the State papers and other documents) and sometimes by other competent writers who were interested in the history of their times. There are also quite a few general histories of Muslim rule in India from the advent of Islām as a political force in this land to the time of the Mughul emperor during whose reign these works were written. It is worthy of note that there are two autobiographies written by the rulers themselves, e.g., the *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* by Bābur and the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* by Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān, though he did not write his autobiography, had the history of his reign written under his supervision, and it was read out to him during the progress of its composition. Another peculiarity about the sources of the period is the fact that there is extant at least one history written by a woman, besides the poetical and literary compositions left by a few cultured princesses. These compositions are entitled *Dīwāns*. Fourthly, quite a large number of royal *farmāns* and official orders of various descriptions, dating from the time of Akbar, and many semi-official papers have survived, unlike those of the Sultanate period, and serve as the most reliable source of some aspects of Mughul history. Fifthly, the sources of the period include statistical surveys and accounts of the empire and the first Imperial Gazetteer in the world, and revenue rules, regulations and statistics called the *Dastūr-ul-Amal*. Sixthly, there are court bulletins and news-papers described as *Akhbārāt-i-darbār-i-mu'alla*. Several hundreds of these are preserved in the Rājasthān Archives, and elsewhere. Seventhly, many important officers and secretaries (*munshīs*) have left behind a series of collections of historical letters to serve as models of epistolary style for posterity, which are available to us in several volumes, called by various names—*Inshā* or *Maktūbāt* or *Ruq'āt*. These are of great historical value. Eighthly, we have a few accounts of the description of the country, its physical aspect, towns, rivers and mountains, and other important details which throw a flood of light on the condition of the times. Ninthly, there is a good deal of religious literature, called *Malfūzāt,* which gives a clear indication of the social and religious life of the age. And finally, a stream of European missionaries and travellers, besides those from Islāmic countries, who visited India from time to time have recorded their observations in dozens of volumes. These observations supplement the information contained in the works referred to above, and, in some particulars, serve as correctives to them. At least from the time of Akbar onward every happening and transaction at the court and, in fact, all that the emperor said or did were recorded then and there every day, and preserved in the Royal Record Office. Unfortunately, this kind of valuable material has perished. Time, weather and human neglect have also wrought havoc with all types of written records. Still, what remains of the various categories of historical and literary sources is enormous and can scarcely be mastered by a syndicate of scholars in the course of a lifetime.

I. LITERARY SOURCES

A—Turkī, Persian and Arabic

(i) *Chronicles, Memoirs and Letter Books*

The first work of the period entitled *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* or the Memoirs of Bābur is by Bābur himself, who had laid the first stone in the foundation of the Mughul empire in India. It is his autobiography, written in Turki, during his leisure. Unfortunately, it is not complete, and all the known copies have three gaps—from 1508 to 1519, from 1520 to 1525, and from 1529 to 1530. The text was edited by N. Ilminski in 1857 and subsequently from a facsimile of the more reliable Hyderābād Codex by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge in 1905. The *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* was so popular throughout the Mughul period that it was four times translated into Persian—first by Zain Khān, next by Pāyandah Hasan (in the time of Humāyūn), a third time at Akbar's orders by 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān Khānān, and lastly, by Mīr Abu Talib Turbatī during the reign of Shāh Jahān. It is easily the most important authority on Bābur's reign, and on the early life of Humāyūn. The author's style is at once plain and graceful, and the entire work reads like a novel. It is characterized by candour and freshness. Bābur has frankly mentioned his faults, foibles and vices as well as his virtues, besides describing political and military events and giving pen-pictures of notable celebrities of the age. He has given a detailed description of the physical features and social and economic conditions of the country, its animals and birds, flowers and trees. Nevertheless, it will be uncritical to take for granted all that he has written in this remarkable book. For example, in order to magnify the importance of his victory over Ibrāhīm Lodī, he writes that whereas he had come with 12,000 men, all told, Ibrāhīm Lodī brought an army of one lakh of men and one thousand elephants into the field. He had, moreover, a foreigner's and an invader's prejudice about the country, its people and civilization. Notwithstanding these and similar deficiencies, the third volume of the Memoirs is considered the most authentic and valuable authority on the history of the third decade of the sixteenth century and the condition of India during that epoch. The *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* has been reckoned "among the most enthralling and romantic works in the literature of all time."

The next important source of information on Bābur and Humāyūn is the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Persian)[1] of Bābur's cousin Mīrzā Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt, who was a friend and admirer of Bābur. It was completed in A.D. 1551 (958 A.H.). As the author was an eye-witness of many of the incidents described by him, especially Bābur's struggle, Humāyūn's contest with Sher Shāh, the battle of Bilgrām, his flight and the affairs of Kāshmīr, the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* supplements the *Tūzuk-i-Bāburī* and the *Humāyūn-nāma,* and constitutes a first-rate authority on the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Then follow the well-known historian Khvānd Amīr's two works, *Habīb-us-Siyar* and *Humāyūn-nāma.* The author was born in Herat in A.D. 1475 (880 A.H.) and died at Gwalior in A.D. 1534 (941 A.H.). The *Habīb-us-Siyar,* lithographed at Tehrān (1855) and at Bombay (1857), throws welcome light on Bābur and on the first three years of Humāyūn's rule. *Humāyūn-nāma*[2] was written at the suggestion of that ruler and describes in detail the history of the first three years of his reign. It must be reckoned as the first-rate authority for that period, Humāyūn's initial difficulties and plans. Another equally contemporary work is the *Ahsan-us-Siyar*[3] by Mīrzā Barkhwardār Turkmān which describes Bābur's relations with Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia. The *Shaibānī-nāma,*[4] written in Turkī by Muhammad Sālih, is an authority on Bābur's relations with that Uzbeg ruler. The text was edited and translated into German by H. Vambéry in 1885. It was also edited by P. M. Melioransky and A. N. Samoīlovich in 1908. The *Tārīkh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī*[5] of Iskandar Munshī in Persian, lithographed at Tehrān (1896), is valuable for the relations between India and Persia in the sixteenth century. The *Humāyūn-nāma*[6] of Gulbadan Begam, Bābur's daughter, was written (A.D. 1587) in Persian at Akbar's desire and is a first-rate authority on the domestic relations of the first two Mughul rulers with their wives, sons, daughters and other members of the family, and on their social and harem life.

reign. The work was published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in April, 1913.

(4) *Inshā-i-Abu-'l-Fazl,*[15] also called *Maqtūbāt-i-Allāmī.* This contains official despatches written by Abu-'l-Fazl. It is divided into two parts, the first of which contains Akbar's letters to 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg of Turān, Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, the ruler of Kāshghar, the divines of Mecca, the wise men of Europe, Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khāndesh, Burhān-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar, and his own nobles such as 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān Khānān, Khān A'zam Mīrzā Azīz Kūka, etc. The second part consists of Abu-'l-Fazl's letters to Akbar, Dāniyāl, Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, the Khān Khānān, etc. It is a very valuable collection and throws fresh light on many incidents and matters which have been only very briefly alluded to in the *Akbar-nāma.*

Khvāja-Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the next great writer of the age, was the author of *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,*[16] a general history from the beginning of the Muslim rule to the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign. It is divided into three volumes and is published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The first volume commences with the advent of Islām to India and gives the history of the Sultanate period. The second volume describes the reigns of Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar, and the third gives the history of provincial kingdoms in the country. The author belonged to an influential family which held high posts under Bābur and Humāyūn. Nizām-ud-dīn himself was Akbar's *Mīr Bakhshī* and a highly polished courtier, enjoying friendship of the orthodox as well as liberal-minded Musalmāns of all grades of society. He was liked by Abu-'l-Fazl and also by 'Abdul-Qādir Badāūnī. In fact, the latter considered him one of his best friends. The work of such a polished courtier was bound to be a cautious chronicle with no comments of his own. Nevertheless, it is of considerable importance, particularly with regard to the history of Gujarāt during Akbar's reign.

The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* or *Tārīkh-i-Badāūnī,*[17] by the famous historian 'Abdul-Qādir Badāūnī, son of Mulūk Shāh, is a general history of the Muslim world in three volumes. The first volume contains an account of Bābur and Humāyūn. The second volume is exclusively devoted to Akbar's reign and comes down to 1594. It is an unusually frank and critical account of Akbar's administrative measures, particularly religious, and his conduct. It was consequently kept concealed till that emperor's death, and was published after Jahāngīr's accession. The book is written from the point of view of a bigoted Sunnī Musalmān, and gives a biassed account of the development of Akbar's views on religion and his religious policy. It serves as a corrective to the liberal presentation of the great emperor's latitudinarian views by Abu-'l-Fazl. The third volume describes the careers, lives and works of Muslim saints and scholars.

The book is defective in dates and sometimes in the presentation of the sequence of events.

The *Takmīl-i-Akbar-nāma*[18] by 'Ināyat-Ullāh is a continuation of Abu-'l-Fazl's *Akbar-nāma* beginning with the 46th regnal year where Abu-'l-Fazl's work stops on account of his death, and comes down to the death of Akbar in October, 1605. It was obviously completed in 1605 A.D. It is a dry chronicle and omits the account of many happenings between 1602 and 1605.

The *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* alias *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,*[19] of Mulla Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh, was written in 1606-07 (1015 A.H.). It is a general history of Muslim India and comes down to the accession of Jahāngīr. It also describes the history of provincial kingdoms, particularly the Deccan Sultanates, during the medieval age. Although it is a compilation based on the works of earlier writers, particularly Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad's *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* yet it gives at places fresh information which is not found in other works. The author was an eye-witness of many events that took place in the Deccan and of which he has left an account. The work was lithographed—first in Bombay in 1832, and later by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1864 and again in 1905.

Tārīkh-i-Haqqī of 'Abdul-Haqq was written in 1596-97. The author was the father of Nūr-ul-Haqq who wrote *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh.* He was an orthodox Musalmān and was opposed to Akbar's liberal religious policy. He also wrote a series of letters which were subsequently collected and published under the title of *Maktūbāt-i-Hazrat 'Abdul-Haqq.* The copy of *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* is preserved in the Sarasvatī Bhavan Library of Udaipur. The *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh* of Shaikh Nūr-ul-Haqq, written during the early years of Jahāngīr's reign (Ms. copy in the Sarasvatī Bhavan Library, Udaipur), is a work of value for the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. 'Alāhdād Faizī Sarhindī wrote two valuable chronicles, named *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Shāhī* and *Akbar-nāma.*[19a] Both are well-written works, and supply useful details about the reigns of these two monarchs. The details regarding the siege and capture of Asīrgarh in the *Akbar-nāma* are valuable. Some extracts from Faizī Sarhindī's *Akbar-nāma* are translated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India,* Vol. VI. Hasan Beg Romlu's *Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh,* written in

A.D. 1577, is a contemporary work on Persia and Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-daulah Qazvīnī's *Nafāis-ul-Maāsir,* written in A.D. 1575, gives biographical accounts of Persian poets of Akbar's time. A manuscript copy of this work is available in the Rāmpur Library. Among the works written at Akbar's suggestion is the well-known chronicle, 'Abbās Sarwānī's *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī*[20] alias *Tuhfā-i-Akbar Shāhī* written in 1587. It deals principally with the reign and administration of Sher Shāh and is indispensable.

Among the general histories of the period, mention may be made of *An-nūr-us-Sāfir*[21] of Muhi-ud-dīn 'Abd-ur Qādir, written about 1603, and *Rauzat-ut-Tāhirin*[22] written in 1605, which are available in manuscript form. Muhammad Āmīn's *Anfāul-i-Akbhār*[23] is a general history of the Muslim world and was completed in A.D. 1626. Yahyā-bin-'Abdul Latif's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*[24] gives an account of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar. It was written towards the end of Akbar's reign and is available in manuscript form in the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna. The *Wāqaya* or *Hālāt-i-Asad Beg* by Asad Beg (Aligarh Ms.) was written about 1631-32. It is primarily a memoir of the author, but it also gives an authoritative account of the murder of Abu-'l-Fazl and the pursuit of his murderer, Bīr Siṁha Deva Bundelā, and of the conspiracy to place Khusrav on the throne by setting aside the claim of Salīm (Jahāngīr).

By far the most authoritative work of the reign of Jahāngīr is the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* which is that emperor's autobiography written by himself in two volumes. When the narrative of the first twelve years of his reign was completed, it was bound and presented to the emperor's sons and nobles. Jahāngīr himself wrote his Memoirs for nearly 17 years, after which the work was entrusted to Mu'tamid Khān who continued it to the beginning of the 19th year. It is the foremost authority on Jahāngīr's personality and character, and the events of his reign. Jahāngīr is unusually frank in recording the incidents and happenings, but sometimes he suppresses inconvenient truths and glosses over certain others, such as his revolt against his father, the circumstances of Khusrav's death, and his marriage with Nūr Jahān. Nevertheless, no student of the history of the period can do without the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī.*[25] Next in importance are Mu'tamid Khān's *Iqbāl-nāma* in three parts and *Tatimma Wāqi'āt-i-Jahāngīrī*[26] of Muhammad Hādī. The first part of the former deals with the history of the Tīmūrid dynasty till the end of Humāyūn's reign, the second describes the reign of Akbar, and the third that of Jahāngīr, and comes down to the accession of Shāh Jahān. It is a most valuable work, for the author was not only a contemporary writer but also held the important post of *Bakhshī* in Jahāngīr's reign, and was employed on several other responsible duties. After Jahāngīr's death he showed partiality for Shāh Jahān and displayed antipathy towards Nūr Jahān. The fourth work, in point of importance, is the *Maāsir-i-Jahāngīrī*[27] written by Khvāja Kāmgār Ghairat Khān. It describes Jahāngīr as a prince, and its second part supplements the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. Then we have the *Intikhāb-i-Jahāngīr Shāh*[28] by an anonymous author. The Ms. is preserved in the Rāmpur Library.

The reign of Shāh Jahān is covered by several first-rate court chronicles. The earliest work is the *Pādshāh-nāma* of Muhammad Amīn Qazvīnī, alias Amīnāī Qazvīnī,, written at Shāh Jahān's orders. It covers the first ten years of his reign and was completed in A.D. 1636. It is a detailed history containing a minute account of all events, happenings and transactions. The next work, too, is entitled *Pādshāh-nāma*[29] and was written by the famous historian 'Abdul-Hamīd Lāhaurī, whose reputation as a writer was next only to that of Abu-'l-Fazl. In his two-volume work, he describes Shāh Jahān's life and activities, first as a prince and then as a ruler, for the first twenty years of his reign. It is the primary authority and a most detailed work on the period with which it deals. The third work, also entitled *Pādshāh-nāma,*[30] is by Muhammad Wāris, a pupil and assistant of 'Abdul-Hamīd Lāhaurī. When 'Abdul-Hamīd became weak and incapacitated by age, Wāris was commissioned to complete his master's *magnum opus,* and he wrote a complete history of Shāh Jahān's reign. For the first twenty years of the reign he followed Lāhaurī, but as far as the last ten years of the reign were concerned, Wāris wrote an independent volume. It is as good an authority for these ten years of Shāh Jahān's reign as 'Abdul-Hamīd's is for the earlier twenty years. Then we have the *Shāhjahān-nāma*[31] of 'Ināyat Khān, whose original name was Muhammad Tāhir. It comes down to 1657-58 (1068 A.H.), the year of Aurangzīb's seizure of power and occupation of the palace-fort of Āgra. The book is written in plain style and constitutes a valuable authority. The fifth history of the reign is entitled *'Amal-i-Sālih*[32] of which the author was Muhammad Sālih Kambū. He describes Shāh Jahān's career from his birth to his death in A.D. 1666. Like the other works of the reign, the *'Amal-i-Sālih* gives at the end a biographical account of the Sayyids, Shaikhs, learned men, physicians, poets and calligraphists of Shāh Jahān's time, and a list of the princes, nobles and commanders, arranged according to their respective ranks. The sixth chronicle is the *Shāhjahān-nāma*[33] written by Muhammad Sādiq Khān, a

Wāqāyānavīs formerly attached to Shāh Jahān's establishment during his expedition against Rānā Amar Siṁha of Mewār. This work deals with the history of Shāh Jahān from his accession to the date of his deposition and imprisonment, and is written in a simple style.

Although during the twenty-first year of his reign Aurangzīb forbade the writing of history, yet we have several valuable volumes dealing with his reign. The first of these is the *'Ālamgīr-nāma*[34] written by Mīrzā Muhammad Kāzim. It is an official history of the first ten years of the reign when there was no prohibition against history-writing, and is based on State records and other documents. It is full and authentic, and is a primary authority for the period with which it deals. The next work is the *Maāsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*[35] by Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khān. It is a complete history of Aurangzīb's reign and is based on State papers and documents. The third work is the *Zafar-nāma-i-'Ālamgīrī*,[36] also entitled the *Wāqi'āt* or *Hālāt-i-Ālamgīrī,* written by 'Āqil Khān Rāzī. It comes down to the year 1663, and is reliable. Then we have the *Aurangzīb-nāma,*[37] a poem composed by a soldier whose pen-name was *Haqīrī.* It describes Aurangzīb's war of succession and comes down to the execution of Dārā. The *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*[38] of Muhammad Hāshim Khāfi Khān is a general history of the Tīmūrid dynasty, and gives a complete history of the reign of Aurangzīb.

There are two valuable histories of Aurangzīb's reign written by two Hindu officers. The first is entitled *Nuskha-i-Dilkūshā*[39] by Bhīmsen, who was mostly employed in the Deccan and was an eye-witness of many facts and incidents recorded by him. The work is particularly of value for the Mughul activities in the Deccan from 1670 to 1707. The second is entitled *Futūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī*[40] written by Īshwar Dās, who was posted as a civil officer in Jodhpur. The work is of great value for the history of Rājasthān from 1657 to 1698. The *Fathiyya-i-abriyya*[41] of Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Tālish is a diary of Mīr Jumla's invasion of Cooch Bēhar and Assam. The *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā'ī*[42] of Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm, too, is invaluable for the history of Bengal during the viceroyalty of Shujā'. It comes down to April, 1660. The *Waqāi* of Niamat Khān 'Ālī[43] describes the siege of Golconda of 1687 in a highly flourishing style. The *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī*[44] by Hamīd-ud-dīn Khān gives Aurangzīb's anecdotes and orders, and throws a flood of light on his personality and character. There are two regional histories of great importance. They are *Mīrāt-i-Armadī*[45] of 'Alī Muhammad Khān in three volumes. It is a first-rate authority on Gujarāt during the Mughul times and contains copies of many royal *farmāns* and other orders. The second is *Tavārīkh-i-Bangāla*[46] of Salīm-ullah. Then we have an important *Dastūr-ul-Amal*[47] or the official manual containing statistics, office procedure, administrative regulations and other useful miscellaneous information. It is of priceless value for the administration of the empire under Aurangzīb. There are several hundred news-letters, entitled *Akbhārāt-i-darbār-i-mu'alla*,[48] i.e. news-letters from the imperial court, which are preserved in several manuscript libraries. They are the very raw materials of history, and no serious student of Aurangzīb's reign can dispense with them. Finally, we have a large number of historical letters, some of which have been collected and bound in book-form. Some of these are: *Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī*, *Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī* (by 'Ināyat-ullah Khān), *Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt, Kalimāt-i-Aurangzīb, Zāhir-ul-Inshā, Bahār-i-Sakhun, Haft Anjuman* and *Ruq'āt-i-Hamīd-ud-dīn Khān.*[49]

On the dynastic history of the provinces, we have numerous works which it is difficult to enumerate, far less describe, here in detail. Many of these relate to the provincial kingdoms of the Deccan. Prominent among them are the *Burhān-i-Maāsir*[50] of Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā and *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāhi*,[51] written about 1680 by Habīb-ullah. It gives an account of the kingdom of Golconda. The *Tārīkh-i-'Alī 'Ādil Shāh Sānī*[52] is a history of Bijāpur, written at the request of an English officer. The *Muhammad-nāma*[53] is a valuable account of the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom of Bijāpur, written by Zahūr bin Zahūrī in A.D. 1641. The *Tazkirāt-ul-Mulūk*[54] of Mīrzā Rafī was written during the reign of Jahāngīr. The first and the last of these works have been described in Vol. VI (p. 7) of this History Series.

We have several works dealing with western India. *Tārīkh-i-Sind* alias *Tārīkh-i-M'asūmī*[55] was written during the early days of Jahāngīr's reign. The *Baglān-nāma*[56], another history of Sind, was written about A.D. 1624. The *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī* of Tāhir Muhammad and the *Tuhfat-ul-Kirām* of Ālī Sher Kāni' are noticed in Vol. VI of this History Series. For Gujarāt we have the *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī* of Sikandar bin Muhammad, written in 1613, and the celebrated *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī* by 'Alī Muhammad Khān already referred to. Then there is the *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt* of Mīr Abu Turāb Valī, and finally the Arabic history of Gujarāt, entitled *Zafar-ul-Walīh bi Muzaffar wa Alih*[57] by 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī, written soon after A.D. 1611. As for Bengal we have *Bahāristān-i-Ghāibī* written by Shitāb Khān during the reign of Shāh Jahān. The next work is the *Riyāz-us-Salātīn* by Ghulām Husain Salīm, written in 1787-88. Salīm-ullah's history of Bengal entitled *Tavārīkh-i-Ban-*

gāla is a useful compilation. A valuable work dealing with Bengal is the *Tārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā'ī* already referred to. The *Tārīkh-i-Assam* dealing with Mīr Jumla's campaign is an important history.

For Kāshmīr Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt's *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī,* already described, is valuable. Then we have the *Tārīkh-i-A'zamī* written about 1748 by Mullā Muhammad A'zamī and the *Tārīkh-i-Kāshmīr*[58] by Haidar Malik (1578). The *Lataif-ul-Akhbār*[59] by Badi-uz-Zamān gives an account of Mughul expeditions to Qandahār. The *Jinat-ul-Fardus,*[60] written in A.D. 1714, gives the history of the different provincial dynasties of India.

During the age of Akbar (1556-1627) numerous other works of history were produced, and, although they were not primarily intended as works of Mughul history, they throw considerable light on the period in which they were written. A very important work of this category is the *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*[61] of Mullā 'Abdul-Bāqī Nahāvandī in three volumes. Written in A.D. 1616, it is primarily an account of the life and activities of 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān Khānān. The second volume is a history of the Tīmūrid dynasty and comes down to the time of Jahāngīr. It also gives an account of the life of numerous poets patronised by the Khān Khānān, and extracts from their compositions. Some of the general histories dealing particularly with the two Afghān dynasties (viz., the Sūr and the Lodī), but throwing at the same time considerable light on the history of the Mughuls, particularly Akbar and Jahāngīr, are: (i) *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* or *Tārīkh-i-Khān-Jahānī-wa-Makhzan-i-Afghānī*[62] of Khvāja Ni'mat-Ullāh, (ii) the *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* or *Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghina*[63] of Ahmad Yādgār, (iii) *Tārīkh-i-Dā'ūdī*[64] of 'Abdullāh and (iv) *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*[65] of Yahiyā bin Ahmad (which deals with the Sayyid dynasty).

No serious student of Mughul history can ignore the celebrated work entitled *Tārīkh-Khāndān-i-Tīmūrid,*[66] an anonymous production preserved in manuscript form at the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna. It relates to the history of the Tīmūrid dynasty, and comes down to the 22nd year of Akbar's reign. Its distinctive feature is that it is profusely illustrated and gives an idea of the development of the Mughul School of painting in India. Muhammad Hādī Kāmwār Khān's *Tazkirat-us-salātīn-i-Chaghtaia,*[67] written in A.D. 1724 is very important for the accurate chronology that it gives of the events of the early years of the 18th century. Then we have Shāh Nawāz Khān's *Maāsir-ul-Umrā,*[68] a dictionary of the Mughul Peerage, which is a mine of information about the careers of nobles and officers of the Mughul period. It is a compilation based on contemporary sources and was completed in A.D. 1780. The *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib,*[69] written in 1648 by one Muhsin Fānī, is the only comparative study of religions that flourished during the Mughul period. It is equally helpful for a knowledge of religious discussions held at Akbar's court. There are a few other general histories, such as *Subh-i-Sādiq*[70] of Mīrzā Muhammad Sādiq Isfāhānī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*[71] of Muhammad Yūsuf Atakī, *Mīrāt-i-Jahān-Numa*[72] of Shaikh Muhammad Baqā, *Mīrāt-ul-'Ālam*[73] of Bakhtāwar Khān, *Lubbut-Tawārīkh*[74] of Vrindāvana Dās, *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh*[75] of Sujan Rāi Khattirī, and *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*[76] by Jaffar Beg and Āsaf Khān (in five volumes written at Akbar's orders in 1588-89).

(ii) *Farmāns*

There are five valuable collections of royal *farmāns* dating from the time of Akbar. They are: (i) *Jarīdāta-i-Farmān-i-Salātīn-i-Delhi* (Aligarh Ms.); (ii) *Imperial Farmāns,*[77] ed. K. M. Jhaveri, that is, the *farmāns* granted by Akbar and his successors to Viṭhal Nāth Gosvāmī of Mathurā and Vrindāvana and his descendants; (iii) *The Mughuls and the Jogīs of Jakhbar,*[78] edited by B. N. Gosvāmī and J. S. Grewal, containing the *farmāns* of Akbar and his descendants relating to free grants of land to the Nāth Jogīs of Jakhbar in Punjab; (iv) *The Parsees at the court of Akbar and Dastūr Meharjī Rānā* (ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay, 1903), which includes copies of Akbar's and Jahāngīr's *farmāns* of *Madad-i-Ma'āsh* grant to the Pārsī priests of Navsārī, and (v) *A Descriptive List of Farmāns, Manshurs and Nishāns addressed by the Imperial Mughuls to the Princes of Rājasthān* (Published by the Directorate of Archives, Government of Rājasthān, Bikāner, 1962). This gives English translations of ninety-three *farmāns* from the time of Akbar to that of Shāh 'Ālam II to the rulers of Bikāner, besides a very large descriptive list of documents of Jaipur, Sirohī and Jodhpur. These are of priceless importance for a history of the Mughul age. To these five collections may be added *A Descriptive List of the Vakīl Reports addressed to the Rulers of Jaipur,* Vol. I (Persian) (Government Press, Bikaner, 1967). This work is of equal value.

(iii) *Dīwāns, Mathnavis and Kulliyāts*

There are numerous *Dīwāns,*[79] *Mathnavis*[80] and *Kulliyāts*[81] of Mughul rulers, princes, princesses, nobles, officials. scholars and poets. They are so large in number that for lack of space, it is not possible to enumerate them here. All that can be done is to mention the names of a few prominent works of this category. For example, among nearly 300 *Dīwāns* or collections of poems some are those of Bābur, Humāyūn, Kāmrān, Dārā Shukoh, Qutb Shāh,

Shāh 'Ālam, Zib-un-Nisā, etc. Among the *Kulliyāts*, at least twenty-nine were written by the notables of the period. Thirty *Mathnavis* belonging to the period are preserved in various manuscript libraries. The works of these three categories give a clear idea of the literary achievement of the Mughul period. They also throw considerable light on social and religious conditions.

(iv) *Malfūzāts*[82]

There is one more class of Persian literature, entitled *Malfūzāt*, which deals with the lives and teachings of Muslim saints and *sūfīs*. It can only be briefly noticed: (1) *Siyar-ul-'Ārifīn* or biographical accounts of fourteen Chishtī and Suhrawardī saints, compiled by Hamīd bin Fazullāh in 1536; (2) *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār*, by Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavī, published in 1914; (3) *Zad-ul-Muttāqīn* or biographical accounts of Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī and Shaikh 'Abul-Wahhāb, by the same author (Ms., Rāmpur); (4) *Akhbār-ul-Āsfiya* which consists of biographical notes of 250 *sūfīs*, by 'Abdus-Samad in 1605-16 (Ms., Aligarh Muslim University Library); (5) *Gulzār-i-Abrār* consisting of biographical accounts of Shattarī *Sūfīs*, by Muhammad Ghausī Shattarī, written in 1613 (Ms., Rāmpur); (6) *Manāqib-ul-Akhyār*, by Muhammad Qāsim (Ms., Rāmpur), gives the biography of Sayyid Jamāl-ud-dīn *alias* Khvāja Dīwāna Sayyid Atāi; (7) *Kalimāt-us-Sādiqīn*, by Muhammad Sādiq Kāshmirī Hamadānī, written in 1614 (Ms., Patna), which gives biographical accounts of 125 saints buried at Delhi; (8) *Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī*, by Muhammad Sādiq Hamadānī (Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms.) consists of biographical notes of 87 *sūfīs*; (9) *Hazarat-ul-Quds* by Badrud-dīn Sirhindī. It is a biographical dictionary of the Naqshbandī saints, which has been translated into Urdu by Khvāja Ahmad Husain Khān, Lahore, 1923; (10) *Safīnāt-ul-Aulīyā*, by Dārā Shukoh, completed on 21 January, 1640, consists of biographical notes of orthodox Caliphs, Imāms, *Sūfīs* etc., Kanpur 1884; *Safīnāt-ul-Aulīyā*, by Dārā Shukoh, completed in 1642-43 (Ms., Lakhnau University Library)—this work gives the biographies by Mjan Mir and his disciples; (12) *Risālah-i-Haqnūma*, by Dārā Shukoh, N. K. Press, Lucknow; (13) *Maj-Ma'āl Bahrain* (Sir J. Sarkar, Sec., National Library Cal., Ms.) by Dārā Shukoh; (14) *Sirr-i-Akbar* (Dacca Ms.) by Dārā Shukoh; (15) *Munīs-ul-Arwāh*, by Jahānāra Begam, written in 1681 (Ms., Rāmpur)—it describes the life of Mu'in-ud-dīn Chishtī and gives biographical notes of some of his disciples; (16) *Sāhibiyā*, by Aparāo Bholānāth, written in 1641, which gives an account of Mullāh Shāh and is partly translated into Urdu, vide Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, August, 1937; (17) *Siyar-ul-Aqtāb* by Ilah-diyah, written in 1646-57, which gives biographical notes of 27 Muslim saints; (18) *Mīrāt-ul-Asrar,* by 'Abd-ur-Rasul Chishtī, written in 1654, which gives biographical accounts of a large number of Muslim saints (Ms., Patna); (19) *Mīrāt-i-Madāri* or biography of Shāh Madār of Mahanpur (Kanpur), written in 1654 by 'Abd-ur-Rasul Chishtī (Ms., Patna); (20) *Chishtiya-i-Bihishtiya* of 'Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad Chishtī Barnavī, written in 1655-56, which consists of biographies of *Sūfīs* of the Chishtī Order; (21) *Manāqib-ul-Hazarāt* by Muhammad Āmīn Badakhshī which gives biographical accounts and teachings of Naqshbandī *Sūfīs* (Ms., belonging to Dr. S. A. A. Rizvī); (22) *Riyāz-ul-Aulīyā,* by Muhammad Baqa Sahāranpurī, written in 1679-80, which gives biographical notices of the first four Caliphs, Imāms and *Sūfīs* (Ms., Rieu, III, 975 a); (23) *Kalid-i-Makhāzin,* by Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (Ms., Rāmpur), deals with the doctrines of *Sūfīsm;* (24) *Irshād*-ut-Tālibīn, a treatise on *Tauhid-i-Wujudī,* by Shaikh Jalāl-ud-dīn Thānesarī (Ms.,); (25) *Mabda wa Ma'ād* (N.K. Press, Lucknow) by Mujāddid Alf Sānī; (26) *M'arif-i-Ladunīya,* a work on *Wahadt-ul-Wujud* (Ms., Rāmpur); (27) *Maktubāt-i-Imām Rabbānī,* by Mujāddid Alf Sānī in 3 vols. (N.K. Press, Lucknow); (28) *Makalma Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shukoh,* Dialogues of Bābā Lāl and Dārā Shukoh, compiled in 1652, Delhi, 1885; (29) *Malfūzāt-i-Shāh Kalimullāh Akbarābādī,* a saint of the 17th century, opposed to Mujāddid.

B.—*Sanskrit*[83]

In the extant Sanskrit and Hindī sources, there is hardly anything contemporary with the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. From the time of Akbar, however, Sanskrit and Hindī scholars produced many works of historical and literary value. For example, we have a Sanskrit history of Akbar's reign, entitled *Sarvadeśavrittānt Sangrah,* called popularly *Akbar-nāma,* by Mahesh Thākur. Next to it are the *Akbar Shāhī Śriṅgār Darpaṇ* by Padma Sunder, the *Bhānu Chandra Charitra* by Siddhi Chandra Upādhyāya and *Hirā Saubhāgyam* by Deva Vimala, which describe the visits of Jain monks to the court of Akbar. The *Karamchand Vaṁshatkirtanaka-Kāvyam* by Jayasoma Upādhyāya notices some important events of Akbar's reign and his relations with certain Jain monks. The *Kṛipāras Kos* of Śānti Chānd confirms Akbar's religious and other liberal policies as given by court chroniclers. The *Sūrjan-Charitra Mahākāvyam* by Chandraśekhar describes the exploits of Rāi Sūrjan of Ranthambhor. The *Amar Kāvya Vaṁśāvali* by Raṇchhod Bhatt gives the history of the Rāṇās of Mewār and their relations with Akbar, and the *Vīra-bhānudaya Kāvyam* is a history of the Vāghelā kings of Bhātt (Rewah) and their relations with the Mughuls. Kṛishṇa Gaṇaka and a few other Sanskrit writers were patronised by Jahāngīr. There are numerous Sanskrit works of the time of Shāh Jahān, particularly those of Jagannātha Paṇḍit, the Poet Laureate of Sanskrit, Vedāṅgarāja and Kavīndrāchārya Sarasvatī. Jagannātha Paṇḍit wrote *Jagadādharaṇ*, *Asaf Vilāsa* and *Bhāminī Vilāsa, Ras Gaṅgādhar, Gaṅgā Laharī* and several poems on Shāh Jahān and Asaf Khān. Shāh Jahān, like his grandfather, patronised Sanskrit scholars and poets some of whom adorned his court. Numerous Sanskrit scholars from the time of Akbar to that of Shāh Jahān produced, with or without court patronage, a large number of works on religion, philosophy, poetics, astronomy and other subjects which no serious student of Mughul history can afford to ignore.

C.—Hindī, Bengali, Oriyā, Gujarātī and Assamese

Among the Hindī works, *Dalpat Vilāsa* by Prince Dalpat Siṁha of Bikāner, *Jahāngīr Chandrikā* by Keshav Dās, *Vīra Siṁha Deva Charitra* by the same author, *Nainsi Khyāt* by Mohta Nainsi (written during the reign of *Mahārāja* Yaśovant Singh of Jodhpur), *Amar Vaṁshāvalī* and *Chhatra Prakāsh* by Lāl Kavi are of special value and throw considerable light on the history of the age. *Ardhkathā* or *Ardhkathānak* by Banārasī Dās, a Jain writer and poet, born in 1643 V.S. (1586 A.D.), produced his autobiography in verse. The author flourished in the times of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān and his account is important for the political, social and economic conditions of the age. He wrote other books, viz., *Banārasī Vilāsa, Nām-Mālā* and *Nātak Sāmaya Sār.* The poetical works of great Hindī masters from Tulsī Dās and Sūr Dās to Bhushan, covering the entire Mughul age are too many to be enumerated, but they are of value for a cultural and literary history of the period. There is considerable contemporary literature on the *bhakti* movement in Hindī, Bengali, Oriyā, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, which is indispensable for a correct understanding of the religious condition of the Hindus during the Mughul period. The most important works of this category are the *Bhaktamāl,* by Nābhadās, and *Chaurāsī Vaishṇav Ki Vārtā.* In the Rājasthānī dialect of Hindī we have several works, important among them being *Rānā Rāso* and *Rāj Vilās,* besides *Nainsī Khyāt* already referred to. There are a few well-known works in other modern Indian languages also. For example, we have in Bengali *Śrī Chaitanya Maṅgala* by Kavi Jayānanda who flourished in the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. *Chaṇḍī Kāvya* by Mukundarām, popularly known as Kavi Kaṅkan, throws a good deal of light on the social and cultural condition of Bengal. The *Maṅgal Chaṇḍīr Gīta* by Dvija Mādhab written about 1579, *Chaitanya Bhāgavat* by Vṛindāvana Dās Ṭhākur, *Chaitanya-Charitāmṛita* by Kṛishṇadās Kavīrāj Gosvāmī and *Chaitanya-Maṅgala* of

Lochan Dās are useful. In Oriyā too there are a few contemporary poetical works, such as *Hari-vaṁśa* by Achuta Nand Dās, *Ichhwatī Haran* by Banamāli Dās, *Kāñchi-Kāvēri* by Purushottam Dās and *Sasisena* by Pratāpa Rāi which give a graphic picture of the social condition of Orissa. Narsī Mehtā's and Akho's works in Gujarātī are of some value, and so are those of Prema Nand, who was considered the greatest poet of Gujarāt in the 17th century.

There are a few works of historical value in Assamese. They are: (1) *Buranji* from Khunlun and Khunlai, Eng. tr. in Ms. from the Ahom language, in Assam Govt. Secretariat; (2) *Kāmarūpar Buranji,* Ed. S. K. Bhuyān, Assamese text; and (3) *Purānī 'Āsām Buranji,* Gauhāti, 1930.

D.—*Marāṭhī*

The Marāṭhī sources assume importance from the time of Shāh Jahān and are indispensable for Aurangzīb's reign. The *Śiva-Chhatrapatichen Charitra* of Krishnaji Anant Sabhāsad gives an account of the life and activity of Shivājī. *Jēdhayanchī Sakhāvalī* comes next in importance. The *91 Qalmī Bakhar* by Dattajī, a chronicler of Shivājī, is a work of great value, and has been ably edited by V. S. Wakaskar (Baroda, 1930). *Śivakālin-Patra-Sār-Sangraha* in three volumes contains valuable letters and other documents. The work gives a full chronology and an index. *Śiva-Charitra Sāhitya,* in eight volumes, consists of letters and other documents for the period not covered by the above *Sangraha.* An equally important collection is entitled *Śiva-Charitrā Pradīpa.* It contains valuable documents and is ably edited by D. V. Apte and S. M. Divekar (Poona, 1925). There are several other works, such as *Chitra Gupta Bakhar, Śiva-Digvijaya, Chitnis Bakhar, Śiva Pratāpa Shedgāonkar Bakhar, Moreyanchi Bakhar, Jedhé Karīnā, Powādas* and *Tanjavur cha Śilalekh.* These have been rejected by Sir J. N. Sarkar as unreliable. *Sri Sampradayāchi Kāgadpatre* (edited by S. S. Deo, Dhulia, 1915), *Karvir Chhatrapati Gharānyāchyā Itihāsāchi Sadhane,* Vols. I, II (Ed. M. V. Gujar, Poona, 1962) and *Aitihāsik Sānkrina Sāhitya,* in several volumes (Published by the Bhārat Itihās Saṁshodhak Maṇḍala, Poona, 1931-1946) are of great value for the period, 1680-1707 A.D.

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

The archaeological sources for the period consist of—(1) *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Vols. I-XXXIII, ed. by Alexander Cunningham, Simla and Calcutta, 1865-87; (2) *The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Im-*

perial Series from 1902-1903 to date, Ed. by Sir John Marshall and others; (3) *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri,* described and illustrated in 4 volumes, by E. W. Smith, Government Press, Allāhabād, 1894-98; (4) *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandrah, near Agra,* described and illustrated, by E. W. Smith, published by the Government Press, Allāhabād, 1909; (5) *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* by James Fergusson, revised and edited, with additions by James Burgess and Rhene Spiers, 2 Vols., published by John Murray, London, 1910; (6) *Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra,* described and illustrated, by E. W. Smith, Allāhabād Government Press, 1901; (7) *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure and History from the first Muhammadan Invasion to the present day,* by E. B. Havell, London, 1913; (8) *Handbook to Agra and the Tāj* by E. B. Havell (Longmans, 1912); (9) *Mathurā, a district Memoir,* by F. S. Growse, 1883; (10) *Delhi Fort, a guide to the Buildings and Gardens,* Calcutta, 1929; (11) *Mosque of Wazīr Khān,* Lahore, (*J.I.H.,* Vol. X); (12) *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon* by V. A. Smith, 2nd Ed., Oxford, 1950; (13) *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi,* by Carr Stephen, Calcutta, 1876; (14) *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra,* 1874, Delhi; (15) *Indian Architecture* by Percy Brown, Vol. II (Islamic Period), 4th Ed., Bombay, 1964.

The number of inscriptions of the period is not considerably large. The Archaeological Department of the Government of India has published Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1907-1938). It may be noted that all these inscriptions, arranged chronologically with summaries, are given in V. S. Bandrey's *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions* (Karnātak Publishing House, Bombay, 1944).

As regards Numismatic sources, we have several important modern publications describing the coins of the period. These are of great value in settling conflicting dates, and also throwing light on the economic condition of the age. These works are:

1. Edward Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi,* illustrated by coins, inscriptions and other antiquarian memoirs (London, Trübner, 1871). This work furnishes some information about the coinage and history of the Mughul age also.

2. Lane-Poole, Stanley, *The Coins of the Mogul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum,* London, 1892.

3. Wright, H. Nelson, *A Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum,* Calcutta, Vol. III, Oxford, 1908.

4. Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. II, Oxford, 1914.

5. Brown, C. J., *Catalogue of Coins in the Lucknow Museum*, 2 Vols., 1920.

6. Hodivala, S.H., *Historical Studies in Mughul Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923.

7. Rodgers, C.J., *Copper Coins of Akbar* (*JASB*, Part I, 1880, 1885).

8. Rodgers, C.J., *Mogul Copper Coins* (*JASB*, Part I, 1895).

9. Rodgers, C.J., *Rare Copper Coins of Akbar* (*Indian Antiquary*, 1890).

10. Whitehead, R.B., *The Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India* (*J. Pro. A. S. B.*, 1912).

11. White King, L., *Novelties in Moghal Coins* (*Num. Chron.*, 1896).

12. Dames, M.L., *Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors* (*Num. Chron.*, 1902).

13. Habīb, Arfān, *The Mughal Currency System* (*Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-21).

There is considerable contemporary material on painting. Reference has already been made to the *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūria*, which is profusely illustrated and which traces the evolution of the art of Mughul painting in India. There are numerous other profusely illustrated works on the history and literature of the times of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. They are preserved at Jaipur and several other Ms. libraries in India, England and some other Western countries. There are numerous extant portraits of the Mughul emperors, princes, and some of the queens and princesses in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; Victoria Memorial, Calcutta; Kalā Bhawan, Banāras; Jaipur; British Museum; South Kensington Museum; and India Office Library. The mural paintings and decorations can be seen in the Mughul buildings of the period. Several modern scholars from Coomaraswamy to N. C. Mehta have made a special study of the Mughul art. The works of Percy Brown and Moti Chānd are of special value in throwing light on the technique of Mughul painting. V. A. Smith rightly observes that there is enough contemporary material on Mughul art for writing more than one volume.

III. ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN VISITORS

More European monks, travellers, merchants and adventurers visited India in the sixteenth, seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth centuries than ever before, and quite a few have left valuable descriptions of their observations. These accounts cannot be accepted at their face-value, for some of them are mere *bazar* gossip, and certain others are vitiated on account of their racial, religious and national prejudices. Nevertheless, they are of value, for the foreigners noted what appeared to Indian historians as commonplace things and unworthy of being recorded. To the foreigners, however, these were novel and interesting. Hence the value of the foreign accounts. But it is not possible, for lack of space, to notice these accounts in detail. All that can be done here is to give a list of these works:

1. *The Travels and Adventures* of the Turkish Admiral Sīdī ‘Alī Ra‘īs in India, Afghānistān, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556, is the first in point of time. His account, translated by A. Vambéry (Luzac & Co., London, 1899) throws light on Humāyūn's last days and death, and on the accession of Akbar.

2. *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius,* by F. Anthony Monserrate, S. J., (1580-1583); Latin Text published in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* III, No. 9, 1914; English translation by J. S. Hoyland, 1922.

3. J. H. Van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies,* Ed. A. C. Burnell (Vol. I) and P. A. Tiele (Vol. II), Hakluyt Society, Vols. 70-71, London, 1885.

4. Travels of Ralph Fitch (1583-91) and John Mildenhall (1599-1606) in *Early Travels in India,* Ed. by W. Foster, 1921.

5. *The Annual Relation* of Father Fernão Guerreiro, S. J., (1607-8); Abstract Translation by H. Hosten, S. J., in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society,* VII, 50.

6. *The Voyage to the East Indies, etc. of François Pyrard,* of Laval (1608-9); translated into English by Albert Gray & Ball in two vols., Hakluyt Society, London.

7. *Early Travels in India* of W. Hawkins (1608-13), W. Finch (1608-11), N. Withington (1612-16), T. Coryat (1612-17), E. Terry (1616-19), Ed. by W. Foster, 1921.

8. *A Journal of the Fourth and Sixth Voyage* of Sir James Lancester (1610-11) in Purchas, IV, pp. 214-15.

9. *Account of the Sixth Voyage* of Sir Henry Middleton (1610-11) in Purchas, III, pp. 115-94.

10. *The Voyage through India, Persia, etc.* of Master Joseph Salbancke (1609-10) in Purchas, III.

11. *Description of Hindustān and Guzarāte* (Gujarāt) by Eredia de Manuel Godino (1611); English translation by H. Hosten in *J.R.A.S.B.* (Letters), Vol. IV, 1938.

12. *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues, etc.* Vols. 1-3. By F. Pierre du Jarric. Wr. 1614 A.D., Ed. and translated into English in 2 Volumes, by C. H. Payne under the title of *Akbar and the Jesuits* (1926), and *Jahāngīr and the Jesuits* (1930), London.

13. *The Voyage to East Indies,* by Nicholes Dowton (1614-15), Ed. W. Foster, London, 1939.

14. *Richard Steel & John Crowther,* 'Journall', 1615-16. *Purchas His Pilgrims,* IV, 266-80.

15. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India* (*1615-19*). Ed. by W. Foster, London, 1936.

16. *Jahāngīr's India* (The Remanstrantie of F. Pelsaert); translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl. Cambridge, 1925.

17. *Voyage of Peter Floris to the East Indies* (1611-15). Ed. by W. H. Moreland, Hakluyt Society, 1934.

18. *Voyage of Thomas Best* (1612-14), Ed. by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 1934.

19. Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (1620-29) in *J.I.H.,* Vol. X, pp. 235-50, Vol. XI, pp. 1-16, 203-18.

20. *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India* (*1623-24*), 2 Vols., Ed. Edward Grey, Hakluyt Society, London.

21. De Laet, *De Imperio Magni Moglis, sive India vera Commentarius ex variis Auctoribus Congestis, Leyden, 1631;* translated into English by J. S. Hoyland, and annotated by S. N. Banerjee, *The Empire of the Great Mogal,* Bombay, 1928.

22. *The Travels of Peter Mundy,* Vol. II (1630-34), Ed. by Richard Temple, Hakluyt Society, 1914.

23. *The Travels of Sebastian Manrique* (1629-43), 2 Vols., Ed. by C. E. Luard and Fr. H. Hosten, Hakluyt Society, 1926 and 1927.

24. *The Voyages and Travels, etc.* of Albert Mandelslo (1638-39), Ed. Adam Olearius, 2nd ed., London, 1669.

25. *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (1656-1688), by François Bernier, Ed. by A. Constable, Oxford University Press, 1914.

26. *Travels in India* by Jean Baptist Tavernier (1640-67); translated and edited by V. Ball in 2 Vols. Macmillan & Co., London, 1889. Second Ed. revised by V. Crooke, London, 1925.

27. *Storia do Mogor* of Niccolao Venetian Manucci (1653-1708); translated into English and edited by W. Irvine, Vols. I-IV, 1907-8.

28. *Travels of M. de Thevenot* (1667) in the Levant, in three parts, Eng. translation, 1686.

29. *John Marshall in India (1668-72)*, Ed. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Oxford, 1927.

30. *A Geographical Account of the Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, by Thomas Bowrey (1669-79), Ed. R. C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, 1905.

31. *A New Account of East Indies and Persia* by John Fryer (1672-81), Ed. W. Crooke, 3 Vols., Hakluyt Society, 1909, 1912, 1915.

32. *The Diary of William Hedges* (1681-87), 2 Vols., Ed. Col. Henry Yule, London.

33. *A New Account of the East Indies* by Alexander Hamilton (1688-1723) in 2 Vols., London, 1724.

34. *A Voyage to Surat in 1689* by Ovington, London, 1696. Ed. by H. G. Rawlinson, London, 1929.

35. *The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* (1695), Ed. S. N. Sen, National Archives of India, 1949.

36. *The Norris Embassy to Aurangzīb* (1699-1702), Harihar Das, Ed. S. C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1959.

1. A Ms. copy is preserved in Aligarh Muslim University Library. English Translation by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, 1895.
2. Partly translated in Elliot and Dowson, Vol. V, 116-126.
3. Persian Ms. in 4 vols., Raza Library, Rampur. See *JASB.*, N.S. XII (1916).
4. Turkī text translated into German by H. Vambéry, 1885.
5. Lithographed in Tehrān, 1896.
6. Persian text, edited and translated by A. S. Beveridge, 1902.
7. Translated by C. Stewart, 1832.
8. Persian text, edited by D. C. Phillott (Bib. Indica), Calcutta, 1912.
9. Ms. copy available at the Allāhabād University Library, Persian Text (Bib. Indica), 1941.
10. Persian Ms., partly translated in the *JASB*, 1898.
11. Edited by M. Hidayat Husain and translated by Beni Prasad (Bibliotheca Indica), Calcutta.

11a. Ms. copy in Raza Library, Rāmpur.

12. For Abu-'l-Fazl's life, see *Āīn-i-Akbarī,* Vol. I (Introduction) and Vol. III (Last chapter).
13. Persian Text (Bibliotheca Indica), 3 vols., translated by H. Beveridge (Bibliotheca Indica) in three vols.
14. Published in 3 vols. (Bibliotheca Indica), translation, Vol. 1 by H. Blochmann; 2nd edn. revised by D. C. Phillott, 1927; Vols. II & III by Jarrett; 2nd edn. revised by Sir J. Sarkar. Published in the same series, 1949, 1948 respectively.
15. Lithographed by N. K. Press, Lucknow, in 1846.
16. Litho. N. K. Press, Lucknow, 1875; Bib. Indica Series in 3 Vols. Calcutta, 1940. Eng. Trans., by B.De, 1940.
17. Text in 3 vols. (Bib. Indica). Trans. in the same series. Vol. I by Ranking; Vol. II, by W. H. Lowe; Vol. III by Haig.
18. Eng. Trans. appended to Vol. III of H. Beveridge's English Translation of *Akbar-nāma.*
19. Translation by J. Briggs, London, 1892; reprinted Calcutta, 1908.

19a. Ms. in Record Office, Patiāla.

20. Ms. in A.S.B., Calcutta and also in Sarasvatī Bhavan Library, Udaipur, Eng. Trans. in E. & D., Vol. IV.
21. Persian Text.
22. The Ms., of which the author was Tāhir Muhammad, is in the Public Library, Lahore.
23. Central Record Office, Hyderābād, Ms.
24. Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
25. Text ed. by Sayyid Ahmad Khān; also N. K. Press, Lucknow, lithograph; Eng. Trans. by Rodgers and Beveridge in 2 Vols, 1909.
26. Lithographed by N. K. Press, Lucknow (n.d.), Urdu Trans. by Ahmad 'Ālī Shauq, Lucknow, 1874. *Iqbāl-nāma,* text (Calcutta), 1865.
27. Rāmpur Ms., Eng. Trans. in E & D., Vol. VI.
28. MS: R. iii 931a. Portions translated in E. & D., Vol. VI, 447-52.
29. Published in Bib. Indica Series in 2 vols., Calcutta, 1866-72.
30. Raghubīr Library, Sitāmau, Ms.
31. B. M. Ms. Add. 39, 777, foll. 1-562.
32. Sarasvatī Bhavan Library Ms., Udaipur; text (Bib. Indica) Calcutta, 1912-1946.
33. Rāmpur Ms.

34. Bib. Indica, Calcutta.
35. Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1870-73.
36. Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
37. Hyderābād Asafiya Library Ms.
38. Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1869; this narrative of Aurangzīb's reign is not original
39. B.M. or. 23. Also National Library (Sarkar Collection), Calcutta.
40. National Library. (Sarkar Collection), Calcutta; it is described in Sir J. Sarkar's *Studies in Mughal India.*
41. Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
42. Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
43. Text lithographed at Lucknow, 1259 A.H.
44. Text ed. by Sir J. Sarkar and translated by him as *Anecdotes of Aurangzīb* (2nd ed.).
45. Text in 3 vols. published in Gaekwāḍ Oriental Series, Barodā.
46. Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1918.
47. National Library (Sarkar Collection Ms.), Calcutta.
48. National Library (Sarkar Collection Ms.), Calcutta.
49. National Library (Sarkar Collection Ms.), Calcutta.
50. Hyderābād Ms.
51. National Library (Sarkar Collection Ms.), Calcutta.
52. National Library (Sarkar Collection Ms.), Calcutta.
53. Kapurthalā Ms.
54. National Library (Sarkar Collection Ms.), Calcutta.
55. Sarasvatī Bhavan Library, Udaipur Ms.
56. Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
57. Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
58. A. S. B. Calcutta Ms.
59. National Library (Sarkar Collection Ms.), Calcutta.
60. Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
61. Text (Bibliotheca Indica), Calcutta.
62. Sarasvatī Bhavan Library, Udaipur, Ms.
63. Sarasvatī Bhavan Library, Udaipur, Ms.
64. Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
65. Text (Bib. Indica), Calcutta; Eng. Trans. by K. K. Basu, Barodā.
66. This is the only copy known to exist.
67. A.S.B.' Calcutta M.; and also Sarasvatī Bhavan Library, Udaipur, Ms.
68. Bib. Indica, Calcutta, Text in 3 vols., Vols. 1-2, translated by H. Beveridge and Beni Prasad.
69. Text lithographed by N. K. Press, Lucknow, 1904, Eng. Trans. by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Paris, 1948.
70. Written in 1636 A.D., Habibganj Ms.
71. Written in 1646 A.D., Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
72. Written in 1682 A.D., Rāmpur Ms.
73. Written in 1667 A.D., National Library (Buhar Section), Calcutta Ms.
74. Written in 1689 A.D., A.S.B., Calcutta Ms.
75. Written in 1695 A.D., Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna, Ms.
76. A.S.B., Calcutta Ms.
77. The *farmāns,* date from 1577 to 1805; published in Bombay, 1928.
78. Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1967.
79. For *Dīwāns,* see *Mughals in India,* Vol. I by D. N. Marshall, *passim.*
80. See *Mughals in India* by D. N. Marshall, Vol. I, 1967, *passim.*
81. See *Mughals in India* by D. N. Marshall, Vol. I, 1967, *passim.*
82. See *Mughals in India* by D. N. Marshall, Vol. I, 1967, *passim.*
83. For Sanskrit Works, see *Akbar the Great,* Vol. I (1962) by A. L. Srivastava, pp. 538-39.

CHAPTER II

BĀBUR

I. *Early History*

The early history of Zahīr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bābur, which was a tissue of romantic successes and surprising reverses, belongs to Central Asia. The blood of two great conquerors flowed in his veins; he was fifth in descent from Tīmūr, 'the earth-shaker', while through his mother he could trace his ancestry from Chingīz, the terrible.[1] His mother, Qutluq Nigār Khānum, was the daughter of Yūnus Khān who was descended from Chaghatāi Khān, the second son of Chingīz Khān. On the death of Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā, a great-grandson of Tīmūr and Bābur's grandfather, his extensive dominions covering Khurāsān and Transoxiana were divided among his sons (1469). The fourth son, 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, the father of Bābur, obtained the kingdom of Farghāna.[2] Here the founder of the Mughul empire was born on 14 February, 1483, and inherited his father's precarious throne at the tender age of eleven years and a few months. The petty kingdom of Farghāna, that 'weak child separated from the mother-empire' of Tīmūr, could hardly satisfy the ambition of the young prince whose dream was Samarqand, the proud capital of his great ancestor. After a hard struggle of three years against his cousin Baisunqur Mīrzā, he was able to capture it in November, 1497, after a siege of seven months; but he could not hold it for more than a hundred days, as he had to leave Samarqand for Farghāna to quell a rebellion led by Auzun Hasan and Ahmad Tambal who acted in the name of his younger brother Jahāngīr Mīrzā. Bābur failed and now lost both. He recovered Farghāna in June, 1498, and won Samarqand for the second time in November, 1500, not from a Tīmūrid rival but from Shaibānī Khān, the chief of the Uzbegs. Bābur then made peace with Jahāngīr Mīrzā by ceding parts of Farghāna, but the latter ultimately occupied the whole of it. For the next twelve years the main episode in Bābur's life was his struggle with the Uzbegs. In May, 1501, he was badly defeated by Shaibānī Khān at Sar-i-pul and forced to surrender Samarqand and give his eldest sister Khānzāda Begam in marriage to the enemy. He was now once more a throneless wanderer and retired to Tāshkent under the shelter of his maternal uncle Sultān Mahmūd Khān. With his two uncles, Mahmūd Khān and Ahmad Khān, he made several attempts on Farghāna. Ahmad

Tambal, finding himself no match for such a Tīmūrid-Mongol coalition, invited Shaibānī Khān who ultimately inflicted a crushing defeat upon the two Khāns (the uncles of Bābur) in the battle of Archiyān (June, 1503).

The battle of Archiyān moulded the future history of Bābur: it gave a new orientation to his ambition and policy. He bade last farewell to the land of his birth and set out to try his fortune beyond the Hindu Kush away from the grasp of his arch-enemy. He turned to Kābul which was captured in 1501 by Muqīm the Arghūn from its legal ruler 'Abdur-Razzāq, son of Ulugh Beg, who had inherited it from his father Sultān Abū Sa'īd. Bābur's army was now reinforced by the arrival of the Mongol deserters from the camp of Khusrav Shāh who had been driven from Qunduz by Shaibānī. Probably Bābur won the Mongols over to his side, and had they not joined his standard, the conquest of Kābul might not have been possible. In October, 1504, he crossed the Hindu Kush and took Kābul from the Arghūn usurper almost without any opposition.[3]

The bloodless conquest of Kābul was the turning-point in Bābur's career. He had now a place under the sun, a base from which he could turn his attention either west to Samarqand or east to Hindusthān. It was from Kābul that he first had the lure of the fertile plains of India, and the idea of conquering it seized his mind. This did not mean the abandonment of his ambitions in Central Asia. It was not by choice but by force of circumstances that the grandson of Abū Sa'īd laid the foundation of an empire in Hindusthān.

It was a few months after the conquest of Kābul that Bābur made his first invasion into the territory of Hindusthān. In January, 1505, he set out by the Khyber Pass for Peshāwar and instead of crossing the Indus marched on to Kohāt. From Kohāt he marched towards Bangash and finally reached the Indus at Tarbila.[4] The raid, which was confined to fighting against the Afghān tribes and ravaging the banks of the Indus, lasted four months, and in May, 1505, Bābur returned to Kābul by way of Ghaznī.

The alarming growth of the power of Shaibānī Khān, who had captured Khiva and was threatening Balkh, at last moved Sultān Husain Mīrzā Baiqara, the renowned king of Herāt, who called on the Tīmūrid princes for a joint attack upon the Uzbeg enemy. Bābur hastened from Kābul in response to the invitation, but on the way, at Kahmard, he received the report of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Baiqara's death (5 May, 1506). Nevertheless he pushed on and after a march of eight hundred miles met on 26 October the two sons of the late sultān on the river Murghab and accompanied them to Herāt; but in spite of the lavish offers of hospitality the fashionable and cultured princes did not make proper winter arrangements for his army, whereupon he left on 24 December for Kābul, undertaking a perilous journey through the snow-clad passes. On his return he put down a conspiracy of the Mongol troops to place his cousin Wais Mīrzā, son of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā, on the throne. Shaibānī Khān did not miss the golden opportunity of attacking Khurāsān and took Herāt in June, 1507.

The arch-enemy of Bābur was now at the height of his power: he had humbled the Mongols as well as the Tīmūrids. It was a critical juncture for the prince of Kābul, the only Tīmūrid State that survived the fall of Herāt. Bābur, who was fully alive to the strategic importance of Qandahār, responded to the call of Shāh Beg and Muqīm Beg, the sons of Zū-'n-Nūn Arghūn, governor of Qandahār under Sultān Husain Baiqara, for military aid against the Uzbegs. As he approached Qandahār, Bābur found the Arghūn princes hostile, but he took the city and put them to flight. He had soon to leave Qandahār as Shaibānī Khān was hastening towards the city at the invitation of the fugitive Muqīm. Bābur deemed it expedient to keep himself away from the Uzbegs and diverted his energies to making a raid into Hindusthān. Shaibānī came and took Qandahār, but left for the north on account of the rebellion of one of his chiefs. In September, 1507, Bābur had set out for the Indus and, marching down the Kābul river, advanced as far as Mandrāwar,[5] but returned to Kābul on account of disagreement among his nobles according to Abu-'l-Fazl, but more probably due to the retirement of Shaibānī. The raid of 1507, though barren, was very significant; it was symptomatic of the way in which Bābur turned from the West to the East, from the arid steppes of Central Asia to the fertile plains of Hindusthān.

It was after the retirement of Shaibānī from Qandahār and on his return to Kābul that Bābur abandoned the title of Mīrzā (prince) and styled himself Pādishāh (emperor) and thus asserted the headship of the Tīmūrids. The birth of his son Humāyūn gave the death-blow to the partisans of the house of Ulugh Mīrzā who organized a formidable rebellion in favour of 'Abdur-Razzāq, but Bābur gave them a severe defeat and put them to flight. The rest of the year 1508 and the whole of the next year he spent quietly in arranging the internal economy of his petty kingdom.

In 1510 the perpetual menace to Bābur by the ever-waxing power of Shaibānī was suddenly removed. The latter came into conflict with Shāh Isma'īl, the Safavī ruler of Īrān, and was badly defeated. Shaibānī was killed and his army was annihilated. This news raised high hopes in the mind of Bābur. He could now expect to recover his lost territories. Leaving Nasīr Mīrzā in charge of Kābul, he reached Qunduz in January, 1511. Here he received an embassy from the Safavī king, Shāh Isma'īl of Īrān, who offered his friendship and sent back his sister Khānzāda Begam who had fallen into the hands of the Persians. Bābur sent Wais Mīrzā to Īrān with congratulations, thanks and presents. The Shāh agreed to help Bābur on condition that he should read the Shāh's name in the *khutba* and stamp it on his coins together with those of the Twelve *Imāms*.[6]

With Persian auxiliaries Bābur took Bukhārā; his cousin Haidar Mīrzā had already driven the Uzbegs out of Farghāna. The road to Samarqand now lay open and from Bukhārā Bābur marched direct to the capital of Tīmūr and proclaimed himself king amidst popular rejoicings. His popularity soon waned in Sunnī Samarqand which bitterly disliked his concessions to Shi'ism in his compact with the Shāh. The Uzbegs under 'Ubaid-ullah Khān, nephew of Shaibānī, taking advantage of Shāh Isma'il's preoccupation in the affairs of Āzarbāijān and the growing coolness between him and Bābur due to the latter's failure to fully satisfy the Shāh's Shi'ite zeal, attacked Bukhārā. Bābur thereupon marched against the Uzbegs but was defeated at Kul-i-Malik in the vicinity of Bukhārā (May, 1512). Bābur lost not only Bukhārā but also Samarqand to the Uzbegs, and retired to Hissār (in Badakhshān). Shāh Isma'īl had meanwhile sent an army under Najm Beg to assist Bābur against the Uzbegs.[6a]

The combined forces of Najm Beg and Bābur marched towards Bukhārā, taking Khuzar and Qarshī on the way. The Uzbegs had entrenched themselves in the fort of Ghazdawān which Najm Beg besieged. The garrison was well-provisioned against a long siege, while the Persian troops badly suffered from winter and scarcity. Najm Beg therefore decided to raise the siege and withdraw, as Bābur and others advised him, but next day the Uzbeg army, greatly reinforced, surprised the Persians. The Persian army was thrown into confusion and badly defeated and Najm Beg was slain (November, 1512). Bābur, who was in command of the rear-guard, escaped to Hissār. Persian historians accuse Bābur of treachery in the battle, and his son Humāyūn, while at the Persian court, was taunted by reference to his father's treachery at Ghazdāwan. It is quite probable that Bābur remained coldly neutral as he had no love lost for the Persian ally who had exacted too great a price for his help. From Hissār, where the Mongols had rebelled against him, Bābur went to Qunduz, but as he had no hope of recovering Hissār, he crossed the Hindu Kush and returned to Kābul (1514).

Nasīr Mīrzā, who had been left in charge of Kābul, was now appointed to Ghaznī, but his death shortly after occasioned a revolt of local chiefs and Mongol troops, which Bābur quelled. For the next four years, 1515-1518, the history of Bābur is comparatively uneventful. He was now merely the chief of a petty kingdom. He realized at last that Central Asia was a lost field to him; he was no match for the Uzbegs, specially after Shāh Isma'īl's tragic defeat at Tabrīz in August, 1514, at the hands of the Ottoman Turks, as there was now no prospect of Safavīd-Tīmūrid alliance against them. But he was too optimistic to despair, and too ambitious to remain inactive, and turned his eyes towards the East as a probable compensation for the lost dominions in the North. These quiet years were spent in preparation for that ultimate goal, in punitive expeditions around Kābul, as well as in organizing his army, for which he utilized the services of a Turk named Ustād 'Alī Qulī. The battle of Ghazdawān therefore finally moulded Bābur's destiny. Since the conquest of Kābul in 1504 the idea of the conquest of India had been in his mind, but after Ghazdawān the thought of carving a kingdom in India was forced on him. If the battle of Archiyān turned him from Farghāna to Kābul, that of Ghazdawān turned him from Kābul to India. But for Shaibānī Khān and the Uzbegs, the founder of the Mughul empire in India might have died as a Tīmūrid ruler of Samarqand.

II. *Conquest of Hindusthān*

Both the great ancestors of Bābur, Chingīz and Tīmūr, had invaded India. The raid of Chingīz had touched only the fringe of the country, but the invasion of Tīmūr caused wide-spread anarchy in Hindusthān, as the kingdom of Delhi had already become a shadow of its former self. The Sayyids were hardly the persons to cope with the prevailing anarchy and dislocation and gave way to the Lodīs. The kingdom of the Lodīs was a loose confederacy of semi-independent governorships held by the *amīrs,* the leaders of the Afghān tribes, and the king 'was no more conspicuous than a royal oakling in a forest of oaks'. The first two Lodīs managed the turbulent nobles: Buhlūl, by respecting the sentiments of the Afghāns, wedded to the ideal of tribal polity, and Sikandar, by a policy of tempered firmness. But Ibrāhīm, who came to the throne in 1517, was ambitious, tactless, arrogant and impatient; he tried to play the monarch, even to those who detested monarchy. He thus alienated the sympathy of the Afghān nobles who raised the standard of rebellion. The Punjab and Jaunpur openly revolted and the Rājputs also defeated him.[7]

While the king of Kābul was preparing for the realization of his long-cherished dream of the conquest of Hindusthān, the Hindusthān of Ibrāhīm Lodī offered him the most favourable circumstances. Outside the Lodī kingdom there were the Muslim kingdoms of Multān, Sind, Gujarāt, Mālwa, Khāndesh, and Bengal in Northern India while in the Deccan the Bahmanī empire had been split into five States, viz., Berar, Bīdar, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda. The notable Hindu States were Rājasthān and Orissa in the north and Vijayanagara in the south. The Muslim kingdoms were very weak because of their internal divisions and mutual jealousies. The Rājput confederacy led by Rānā Sangrām Siṁha of Mewār had grown to be a great political force, almost ready to make a bid for the Delhi empire. The great expansion of the kingdom of Vijayanagara under Krishna Deva Rāya (1509-1530), who had humbled the power of Orissa, caused not a little anxiety to the Muslim powers of the Deccan. Such was the Indian scene when Bābur seriously turned to invade the country.

Early in 1519 Bābur made a sudden raid on Bājaur, besieged it, and stormed it after a spirited struggle. To strike terror into the heart of the Afghān tribes, he put the inhabitants to the sword, to which reference will be made later. At the same time, with a view to conciliating them, he married the daughter of a Yūsufzāī chief. He crossed the Swāt, and fording the Indus, made his way almost unopposed to the Jhelum. Most of the local chieftains and the fort of Bhera submitted. Bābur regarded the Punjab as his own by hereditary right from Tīmūr, who had conquered it, and instructed his troops not to do violence on the people or their flocks and crops. He sent an embassy to the court of Ibrāhīm Lodī asking for the recognition of his claim to the Punjab, but his envoy Mullā Murshid was detained at Lahore by the governor of the Punjab, Daulat Khān, and the letter remained undelivered. Bābur left Hindū Beg in charge of Bhera and came back to Kābul on 31 March, attacking and subduing the Gakkhars on the way. The expedition bore no permanent result—it was rather a reconnoitreing raid; and no sooner had he left than his officer Hindū Beg was expelled.

Bābur himself states that from the year 925 A.H. (A.D. 1519), when he took Bājaur, to the year 932 A.H. (A.D. 1526), he led his army five times into Hindusthān. Bābur thus regarded the expedition of early 1519 as his first Indian invasion. There is no disagreement about his fifth expedition which led to the battle of Pānīpat, but we are not told which expeditions Bābur regarded as second, third and fourth. Abu-'l-Fazl regards the raids of 1505 and 1507 as the first and second and that of early 1519 as the third, but could not be definite regarding the fourth. If we take into consideration the earlier raids of 1505 and 1507, we find that Bābur made altogether seven expeditions into Indian territory.

The same year, 1519, in September Bābur crossed the Khyber and advanced as far as Peshāwar, subduing the Yūsufzāī Afghāns on the way. But he had to hasten back to Kābul on receipt of the report that the ruler of Kāshghar was advancing on Badakhshān. This was Bābur's fourth raid into Hindusthān and most probably Bābur regarded it as his second.[8]

In 1520 Bābur made his fifth expedition (third according to Firishta and probably also to Bābur) into Hindusthān. He marched out of Kābul through Bājaur, crossed the Indus and reached Bhera where he punished those who had revolted against him. Crossing the Jhelum he advanced on to Siālkot, which submitted, and then marched on Sayyidpur which offered resistance. Bābur stormed it, put the inhabitants to the sword, and took the women and children into captivity. The expedition came to an abrupt end because Bābur had to return to Kābul which was threatened by Shāh Beg Arghūn, ruler of Qandahār.

Bābur realized the necessity of having Qandahār as a base before he should lead his troops into Hindusthān. It would be almost indispensable for a ruler of Kābul and the Indian kingdom as the first line of defence against the growing power of Safavī Persia. Qandahār was held by Zū-'n-Nūn Beg Arghūn on behalf of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Baiqara of Herāt, but after the fall of Herāt and Zū-'n-Nūn Beg's death, his sons Muqim and Shāh Beg secured independent possession of it. Already in 1517 Bābur had made an unsuccessful attempt on it. On his return to Kābul from the Indian raid, he laid siege to Qandahār (1520) but could not take it. Next year also he made another unsuccessful siege. Shāh Beg, as he failed to persuade Shāh Isma'īl to interfere against Bābur, left Qandahār for Sind where he was able to carve out an independent kingdom. Bābur accordingly marched to Qandahār, took it without any opposition on 6 September, 1522,[9] and left his younger son Mīrzā Kāmrān in charge. Garmsīr also fell into the hands of Bābur. Badakhshān, too, had come to his hands in 1520 on the death of his cousin Wais Mīrzā, when Bābur, setting aside the claim of the former's son Sulaimān Mīrzā, had appointed his own son Humāyūn to its government.

Bābur was now free to turn his attention to Hindusthān. There the position of Ibrāhīm Lodī was growing more and more precarious on account of the revolt of his nobles and relations. The most serious enemies of the Sultān were ‘Ālam Khān, his uncle, and Daulat Khān Lodī, viceroy of the Punjab, both of whom appealed to Bābur for help. ‘Ālam Khān, who had been living at the court of Sultān Muzaffar of Gujarāt, went to Kābul and begged Bābur to advance to the Punjab and place him on the throne of Delhi. Daulat Khān, apprehending that Sultān Ibrāhīm would soon deprive him of his position, sent messengers to Bābur, offering to acknowledge him as his sovereign and asking his aid against Ibrāhīm. Bābur responded to Daulat Khān's appeal and undertook his sixth invasion of Hindusthān (1524).[10]

Passing through the Khyber Pass and the Gakkhar country, Bābur crossed the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenāb and advanced within ten miles of Lahore. There he was encountered by the Lodī army under Bihār Khān, Mubārak Khān and others. The Afghān army was defeated and Lahore fell into Bābur's hands. He then pushed on southwards to Dīpālpur which he stormed. Here he was joined by Daulat Khān and his sons, Ghāzī Khān and Dilāwar Khān, who had been driven from Lahore. Bābur gave Daulat Khān, Jullundur and Sultānpur as assignments. This could hardly satisfy Daulat Khān who wanted a free hand in the Punjab. He had sought an ally but found a master, and along with his son, Ghāzī Khān, left Bābur in silent indignation and began to intrigue against him. Dilāwar Khān, who remained loyal to Bābur, was now given Sultānpur. To the pretender ‘Ālam Khān, Bābur gave Dīpālpur. Bābur was proceeding eastwards towards Sirhind but, considering his forces inadequate, retreated to Lahore and then returned to Kābul.

No sooner had Bābur left than Daulat Khān came out of his retreat, seized Sultānpur and drove ‘Ālam Khān from Dīpālpur. ‘Ālam Khān, who still harped on his claim to the throne of Delhi, escaped to Kābul and offered Bābur the formal cession of Lahore and the territory west of it on condition that Bābur would place him on the Delhi throne. The king of Kābul accepted the offer and sent instructions to his generals in the Punjab to help ‘Ālam Khān in his attack on Delhi. Bābur could not accompany ‘Alam Khān to Hindusthān as he had to go to Balkh to the aid of Shāh Isma‘īl against the Uzbegs who had besieged it. ‘Ālam Khān, after his return to India, abandoned the alliance with Bābur and joined hands with Daulat Khān who offered him his help and allegiance. With the assistance of Daulat Khān and his son, Ghāzī Khān, 'Ālam Khān marched on Delhi and surprised Ibrāhīm Lodī's camp at night, but was ultimately routed. With his army dispersed, 'Ālam Khān made good his escape.

Bābur meanwhile had driven the Uzbegs from Balkh and now turned his attention to Hindusthān. On 17 November, 1525, he set out on his last and most momentous Indian campaign. On the way he was joined by Humāyūn from Badakhshān and Khvāja Kilān from Ghaznī. When he crossed the Indus on 16 December, the entire army amounted to twelve thousand men including non-combatant camp followers. As Bābur advanced towards Siālkot, Daulat Khān and Ghāzī Khān, who were overrunning the Punjab, escaped to Milwat. Bābur blockaded the strong fortress and forced Daulat Khān, who had girded himself with two swords as a challenge against the invader, to capitulate. Ghāzī Khān fled, leaving his precious library to the enemy. Dilāwar Khān proved faithless towards his father and again joined Bābur. 'Ālam Khān Lodī also joined Bābur in a forlorn condition and Bābur considered it expedient to make political use of an Afghān pretender. Lahore and its dependent territories fell into Bābur's hands and the first stage of his campaign was brought to a close.

The road to Delhi now lay open. As Bābur advanced towards his goal by way of Sirhind and Ambāla, Sultān Ibrāhīm also advanced from Delhi with a big army to meet the invader. Two advance parties of the Afghāns fell upon the Mughul army: the first under Hamīd Khān, which came into contact with Bābur's right wing, was completely routed by Humāyūn, then only eighteen years old, in his 'maiden battle'; the second under Dāūd Khān and Hātim Khān was similarly routed. Bābur, having crossed the Sutlej near Rūpar, proceeded to Ambāla and from there two marches along the Yamunā brought him to the historic city of Pānīpat where he came within the sight of the enemy. Here Bābur encamped and prepared himself for the battle.

Bābur stationed the army in such a way that the town of Pānīpat sheltered his extreme right while his left was protected by a ditch and an abatis. His centre was strengthened by a line of some seven hundred movable carts, tied together by ropes of raw hide, and between every two carts there were five or six breastworks for the protection of the match-lock-men and artillery-men. The line was not continuous but passages were provided wide enough for a hundred and fifty horsemen to march out abreast.[10a]

For eight days from 12 April to 19 April the two armies stood face to face. With a view to drawing the enemy into battle, Bābur sent out four or five thousand men on 20 April to attempt a night surprise, and though it failed on account of the negligence of the troops, it had the desired effect of making the enemy move. On 21 April at dawn the Afghāns were on the move in battle array. As Bābur noticed it, he bade his men take their station and drew them up according to the traditional formation of the Turks and the Mongols.

Bābur took his position in the centre. The right centre was led by Chīn Tīmūr Sultān and the left centre by the Chief Minister Mīr 'Alī Khalīfa. Humāyūn, assisted by Khvāja Kilān, commanded the right wing and in charge of the left wing were Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and Mahdī Khvāja. On the right and left extremities of the entire line there were two flying columns to wheel round on the enemy and take them in the flank and rear. The van was commanded by Khusrav Kūkultāsh and Muhammad 'Alī Jang, and the reserve by 'Abd-ul-'Azīz, the Master of the Horse. Along the front of the entire line, protected by the palisade of carts and breastworks, were placed the artillery under Ustād 'Alī on the right side and the musketeers under Mustafā on the left. From his key position in the centre Bābur could have a view of the activities of the entire army.

Ibrāhīm Lodī had with him a force of 100,000 men and 1,000 elephants while Bābur's army was 24,000 strong.[11] The Afghān army came straight on at a rapid march, and as they came near his defences, they hesitated and halted, but the ranks behind still pressed forward and caused great confusion among the whole force. Bābur seized the opportunity and sent out his flanking columns to wheel round the Afghāns and deliver a violent attack on their rear, while his right and left wings charged straight on. Bābur sent timely reinforcement to the left wing under Mahdī Khvāja which was hard pressed, as well as to the right wing which felt the brunt of the Afghān attack. From the centre Ustād 'Alī with his artillery and Mustafā with his match-locks began their action. Ibrāhīm's centre gave way and the Afghāns, beset on all sides by arrows and fire and crowded into a narrow space with no room to use their arms, could neither advance nor retreat. The battle ended at noon when the Afghāns were completely routed and took to flight, leaving some twenty thousand dead, including Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī. The superior generalship and strategy of Bābur, the higher discipline and morale of his troops, and the discontent rampant among the Afghān troops were the secrets of his easy victory. The efficacy of Bābur's artillery at Pānīpat has been over-estimated; it seems Bābur had only two guns and, even if he had more, it appears from his own description that he won at Pānīpat a bow-man's victory.[12] The importance of the battle, great as it was, has also been exaggerated. It sealed the fate of the Lodī dynasty and marks the completion of the second stage of Bābur's conquest of India. It did nothing more; it could not finally decide the fate of Hindusthān.

From the field of Pānīpat Bābur marched to Delhi. On 27 April, 1526, the *khutba* was read in his name in the Jami' Mosque and the king of Kābul was hailed as the Emperor of Hindusthān.[13] From Delhi Bābur proceeded to Āgra which Prince Humāyūn had already captured. Āgra became Bābur's new Samarqand. Here Humāyūn presented him a big and precious diamond which he had received from the family of the late Rājā Vikramajit of Gwalior as a mark of gratitude for his chivalrous treatment. This has been identified with the world-famous *Koh-i-Nūr*.[14] Bābur, however, affectionately returned it to his son as a gift.

Bābur had won the throne of Delhi but not yet the empire of Hindusthān. The various Afghān leaders rose against the Mughul usurper from different centres: Sambhal, Bayāna, Mewāt, Dholpur, Gwalior, Rāprī, Etāwa[15] and Kālpī. They found a pretender in Ibrāhīm Lodī's brother, Mahmūd Lodī. Nāsir Khān Lohānī and Ma'rūf Farmūlī still held Kanauj and the country beyond the Gaṅgā (Ganges), and the Afghāns in Bihār had set up Bihār Khān, son of Daryā Khān, as their king. Besides, Bābur experienced much difficulty in procuring provisions for his army on account of the hostility of the people, and his officers, weary of the oppressive summer of Hindusthān, murmured for the cool air of Kābul. Bābur discouraged their timid conservatism and his eloquence hushed all dissentients; Khvāja Kilān, the only notable exception, was sent to Ghaznī as its governor.

The Afghān chiefs now realized that, unlike Tīmūr, Bābur had come to conquer and not merely to raid, and many laid down their arms; among them were such notable Afghān leaders as Shaikh Bāyazīd and Mahmūd Khān Lohānī. Bābur had now two major enemies to face: the Afghāns of the East who had set up Bihār Khān as their king, and the Rājputs in the south-west under Rānā Saṅgrām Siṁha of Mewār. The Afghān menace seemed more imminent and Humāyūn was sent with an expeditionary force against them. In a brilliant campaign Humāyūn took Jaunpur, Ghāzīpur and Kālpī; and line was not continuous but passages were provided wide enough for a hundred and fifty horsemen to march out abreast.[10a]

For eight days from 12 April to 19 April the two armies stood face to face. With a view to drawing the enemy into battle, Bābur sent out four or five thousand men on 20 April to attempt a night surprise, and though it failed on account of the negligence of the troops, it had the desired effect of making the enemy move. On 21 April at dawn the Afghāns were on the move in battle array. As Bābur noticed it, he bade his men take their station and drew them up according to the traditional formation of the Turks and the Mongols.

Bābur took his position in the centre. The right centre was led by Chīn Tīmūr Sultān and the left centre by the Chief Minister Mīr 'Alī Khalīfa. Humāyūn, assisted by Khvāja Kilān, commanded the right wing and in charge of the left wing were Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and Mahdī Khvāja. On the right and left extremities of the entire line there were two flying columns to wheel round on the enemy and take them in the flank and rear. The van was commanded by Khusrav Kūkultāsh and Muhammad 'Alī Jang, and the reserve by 'Abd-ul-'Azīz, the Master of the Horse. Along the front of the entire line, protected by the palisade of carts and breastworks, were placed the artillery under Ustād 'Alī on the right side and the musketeers under Mustafā on the left. From his key position in the centre Bābur could have a view of the activities of the entire army.

Ibrāhīm Lodī had with him a force of 100,000 men and 1,000 elephants while Bābur's army was 24,000 strong.[11] The Afghān army came straight on at a rapid march, and as they came near his defences, they hesitated and halted, but the ranks behind still pressed forward and caused great confusion among the whole force. Bābur seized the opportunity and sent out his flanking columns to wheel round the Afghāns and deliver a violent attack on their rear, while his right and left wings charged straight on. Bābur sent timely reinforcement to the left wing under Mahdī Khvāja which was hard pressed, as well as to the right wing which felt the brunt of the Afghān attack. From the centre Ustād 'Alī with his artillery and Mustafā with his match-locks began their action. Ibrāhīm's centre gave way and the Afghāns, beset on all sides by arrows and fire and crowded into a narrow space with no room to use their arms, could neither advance nor retreat. The battle ended at noon when the Afghāns were completely routed and took to flight, leaving some twenty thousand dead, including Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī. The superior generalship and strategy of Bābur, the higher discipline and morale of his troops, and the discontent rampant among the Afghān troops were the secrets of his easy victory. The efficacy of Bābur's artillery at Pānīpat has been over-estimated; it seems Bābur had only two guns and, even if he had more, it appears from his own description that he won at Pānīpat a bow-man's victory.[12] The importance of the battle, great as it was, has also been exaggerated. It sealed the fate of the Lodī dynasty and marks the completion of the second stage of Bābur's conquest of India. It did nothing more; it could not finally decide the fate of Hindusthān.

From the field of Pānīpat Bābur marched to Delhi. On 27 April, 1526, the *khutba* was read in his name in the Jami' Mosque and the king of Kābul was hailed as the Emperor of Hindusthān.[13] From Delhi Bābur proceeded to Āgra which Prince Humāyūn had already captured. Āgra became Bābur's new Samarqand. Here Humāyūn presented him a big and precious diamond which he had received from the family of the late Rājā Vikramajit of Gwalior as a mark of gratitude for his chivalrous treatment. This has been identified with the world-famous *Koh-i-Nūr*.[14] Bābur, however, affectionately returned it to his son as a gift.

Bābur had won the throne of Delhi but not yet the empire of Hindusthān. The various Afghān leaders rose against the Mughul usurper from different centres: Sambhal, Bayāna, Mewāt, Dholpur, Gwalior, Rāprī, Etāwa[15] and Kālpī. They found a pretender in Ibrāhīm Lodī's brother, Mahmūd Lodī. Nāsir Khān Lohānī and Ma'rūf Farmūlī still held Kanauj and the country beyond the Gaṅgā (Ganges), and the Afghāns in Bihār had set up Bihār Khān, son of Daryā Khān, as their king. Besides, Bābur experienced much difficulty in procuring provisions for his army on account of the hostility of the people, and his officers, weary of the oppressive summer of Hindusthān, murmured for the cool air of Kābul. Bābur discouraged their timid conservatism and his eloquence hushed all dissentients; Khvāja Kilān, the only notable exception, was sent to Ghaznī as its governor.

The Afghān chiefs now realized that, unlike Tīmūr, Bābur had come to conquer and not merely to raid, and many laid down their arms; among them were such notable Afghān leaders as Shaikh Bāyazīd and Mahmūd Khān Lohānī. Bābur had now two major enemies to face: the Afghāns of the East who had set up Bihār Khān as their king, and the Rājputs in the south-west under Rānā Saṅgrām Siṁha of Mewār. The Afghān menace seemed more imminent and Humāyūn was sent with an expeditionary force against them. In a brilliant campaign Humāyūn took Jaunpur, Ghāzīpur and Kālpī; and

Gwalior was obtained by treachery. About this time (December, 1526) Bābur narrowly escaped death from poison mixed with his food by Sultān Ibrāhīm's mother through royal servants.

Bābur now turned his attention to the arch-enemy, Rānā Saṅgrām Siṁha. This undisputed leader of the Rājput confederacy was an indefatigable fighter, with one arm and one eye lost and eighty scars in his body. He had sent a friendly embassy to Bābur at Kābul and offered his help against Ibrāhīm, but the situation had now changed and Saṅgrām Siṁha lost no time in declaring war against his rival for the mastery of Hindusthān. Bābur declared his first *jihād* (holy war) against the 'infidels' and sent reinforcement to Bayāna which had been besieged by the united forces of Hasan Khān of Mewāt and Rānā Saṅgrām Siṁha. On 11 February, 1527, Bābur himself marched against the enemy and encamped at Sīkrī where he was joined by the garrison from Bayāna. In some skirmishes which followed, the Rājputs inflicted defeat upon his advance-guard. Rāprī and Chāndwār[16] fell into the hands of the Afghāns; Sambhal and Kanauj were abandoned; Gwalior was besieged by the Hindus; and the Indians who had joined his ranks began to desert. It was at this critical juncture that Bābur made the memorable renunciation of his besetting sin, wine, and restored the morale of his troops by a stirring oration.[17] He then pushed on and met the enemy near Khānuā, a village some thirty-seven miles west of Āgra.

Here on 17 March, 1527, the battle took place.[18] Bābur employed the same tactics that he had employed at Pānīpat. Along the front of the line were placed groups of carts, connected together by chains of iron and breastworks of wheeled wooden tripods fastened by ropes of hide, and behind them were the artillery and the match-locks. As at Pānīpat, Bābur himself commanded the centre. On the right of the centre was Chīn Tīmūr Sultān and the right wing was led by Humāyūn. The left wing was under the general command of Khalīfa who was assisted by Mahdī Khvāja and Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā. Mustafā with his match-locks was posted in front of the right wing while Ustād 'Alī with his ordnance stood in front of the centre. On the two extremities were the flanking columns (*Tulghama*). Of the numerical strength of Bābur's army there is no estimate, and though the Mughul estimate of the Rājput army numbering 200,000 was exaggerated, there can be no doubt about their preponderating numerical superiority. According to Tod, the Rānā could place himself at the head of seven Rājās, nine Rāos, one hundred and four chieftains, eighty thousand horsemen and five hundred war-elephants.[19] Its accuracy may, however, be doubted.

The battle began about half-past nine in the morning with a magnificent charge by the Rājput left wing upon the Mughul right. The timely reinforcement under Chīn Tīmūr Sultān saved the hard-pressed right of Bābur. Mustafā brought forward his tripods and culverins and opened fire upon the assailants. With fresh reinforcements from the centre and Mustafā's fire, the Mughul right repulsed the increasing attacks of the enemy and inflicted heavy losses upon them. The Rājputs now fiercely charged the Mughul left wing, but it stood fast while the flanking column wheeled round and fell upon the rear of the enemy. The Mughul artillery (match-locks and stone missiles discharged by 'Alī Qulī) began to rain death, but the Rājputs by the sheer weight of superior numbers maintained unceasing pressure. Bābur had to send his reserve and then led his centre forward. The Rājputs then made the last desperate charge upon the Mughul right and left wings. In the evening, after ten hours' hard contest, the Rājputs were completely routed, and the Rānā, badly wounded, took to flight. The battle of Khānuā is probably even more important than the battle of Pānīpat; the one broke the unstable power of an Afghān dynasty, while the other shattered 'India's most splendid chivalry', the powerful Rājput confederacy, which was making a bid for the mastery of Hindusthān. The battle of Khānuā decided the issue in favour of Bābur and marked the most important stage in his conquest of Hindusthān. Āgra and not Kābul became henceforward the centre of his power.

Bābur now assumed the title of 'Ghāzī' and, with a view to reducing Mewāt, marched into its capital, Alwār (7 April, 1527). Humāyūn was despatched to Badakhshān with a large force to keep his trans-Indian territory secure. Towards the end of the year Bābur led his troops against Medinī Rāi, a Rājput chief of influence and king-maker in Mālwa, who held the great fortress of Chanderī on the north-east of Mālwa. He encamped before Chanderī on 21 January, 1528, and, after a week of fruitless negotiation for peace, besieged it on the 28th. After a desperate fight Bābur took it next morning in spite of the heroic sacrifice of the garrison, which was almost tantamount to suicide.

On 2 February, 1528, Bābur set out on an eastern campaign against the Afghāns under Bīban who had routed the Mughul army in Ajodhyā and seized Lakhnau. Arriving at Kanauj, he crossed the Gaṅgā (Ganges) in the middle of March by constructing a pontoon bridge, defeated the Afghāns, and hotly pursued them as far as Ajodhyā. Bīban escaped to Bengal, and Bāyazīd as well as Ma'rūf also took to heels. But in the beginning of the next year Bābur had to set out on his second great eastern campaign against a formidable coalition of the Afghān chiefs who had all rallied under Sultān Mahmūd Lodī, the brother of Ibrāhīm Lodī, in Bihār, and gathered an army of 100,000 men. It was the last great stand of the Afghāns against the Mughul usurper. In three months the Mughul army arrived at Chunār (April, 1529), when Mahmūd, who was besieging it, took to flight. Sher Khān abandoned Banāras, several Afghān leaders surrendered to Bābur, and Mahmūd Lodī, finding himself deserted, sought refuge with the Bengal army which was massed on the frontier. Sultān Nusrat Shāh of Bengal had only recently sent an envoy to Bābur at Āgra offering his submission, and Bābur had no intention of invading his territory. Bābur, however, was bent on chastising the Afghān rebels, and as he moved eastward, he found the Bengal troops standing in his way at the confluence of the Gaṅgā (Ganges) and the Gogra. On 6 May, 1529, was fought the battle of Gogra, Bābur's third great battle in Hindusthān. He brilliantly forced the passage of the Gogra under heavy fire from the Bengal artillery, while 'Askarī, crossing at a different place, attacked the flank of the Bengal army. After a fierce struggle the enemy, attacked in front, rear and flank, broke and fled. The battle of Gogra is the supplement to the battles of Pānīpat and Khānuā; these three battles made Bābur master of Northern India. The battle of Gogra frustrated the last stand of the Afghāns. Ma'rūf and several other Afghān chiefs joined him, while Bīban, Bāyazīd and Mahmūd Lodī retired. Jalāl Khān, the late boy-king of Bihār, acknowledged Bābur as overlord and a treaty of peace was concluded with Nusrat Shāh, by which Bābur's sovereignty in Bihār was recognized. All seemed quiet in the eastern front. This was the last exploit of Bābur's stormy career.

Bābur seemed to have never lost his trans-Indian ambition, the dream of Samarqand. The report of the battle of Jām (26 September, 1528) in which Shāh Tahmāsp had inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Uzbegs revived it, and in his letter to Humāyūn, dated 13 November, 1528, Bābur enjoined his son to undertake an expedition against the Uzbegs in Hissār, Samarqand or Marv as might seem advisable. Humāyūn marched upon Samarqand and occupied Hissār, but he ultimately failed, when Shāh Tahmāsp left for the west against the Turks. Bābur was highly displeased at the failure of his son. Probably with a view to remaining near his father whose health was failing, Humāyūn suddenly left Badakhshān and arrived at Āgra on 27 June (1529). Sa'īd Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar, marched on Badakhshān and besieged Qil'a Zafar. Bābur was highly displeased at his son's conduct and sent Mīrzā Sulaimān to his father's kingdom and compelled Sā'īd Khān to recognize him as the prince of Badakhshān.

Humāyūn retired to his *Jāgīr* at Sambhal, but after six months fell seriously ill and was brought to Āgra. The skill of the best physicians failed to cure him and Bābur, in accordance with the suggestion of the saint Mīr Abū Baqā to sacrifice the most precious thing in his possession, offered to sacrifice his life. He walked three times round his sick son and exclaimed that he had borne away the disease.[20] Shortly after, Humāyūn recovered and Bābur, whose health had already been failing, was taken ill, and this illness continued for two or three months. Mīr Khalīfa, who had a poor opinion of Humāyūn, made an attempt to place Mahdī Khvāja, Bābur's brother-in-law, on the throne, but he revised his opinion on account of the arrogance of his nominee.[21] Bābur nominated Humāyūn as his successor, and a few days later, passed away on 30 December, 1530.

III. *Personality of Bābur*

Inheriting, as a boy of eleven, but the shadow of a petty kingdom in Central Asia, Bābur died at the age of forty-eight, master of extensive dominions, stretching from the Oxus in the West to Bihār in the east and the foot of the Himālayas in the north to Mālwa and Rājasthān in the south. He could now compare himself with the Sultān of Turkey and the Shāh of Persia. His permanent place in history rests no doubt upon his conquests in Hindusthān which paved the way for the foundation of an empire that excelled, in glory and greatness, the ephemeral structure of Chingīz as well as the ill-cemented empire of Tīmūr whom he emulated. It is, however, in the military sense that Bābur can be regarded as the founder of the Mughul empire in India. The monarchy of Bābur's ideal was 'a divine inheritance'—the sacrosanct monarchy of Tīmūr; the monarchy that he established in reality was a 'human compromise'. He had neither the time to organize nor the genius for reconstruction; he failed in the task of the re-creation of a new theory of kingship and the foundation of a stable, centralized polity for his far-flung empire. As in Kābul, so in India, the government that he set up was *saifī* (by the sword) and not *qalamī* (by the pen). A considerable part of the empire, about one-fifth, was held by old '*zamīndārs* and *rāis*' in full internal sovereignty. The territory directly under his authority he assigned to his great *amīrs* who were responsible for the administration of the area under their control; the monarch had only nominal authority over local administration. In fact, Bābur adopted the old obsolete administrative machinery of the Lodīs. He was an organizer of victory but not an organizer of polity, great conqueror but no 'architect of empire'. If he is 'the link between Tamerlane and Akbar', Bābur in this respect seems rather nearer his famous ancestor than his truly great grandson.

Bābur is one of the most fascinating characters of history. With iron nerves and robust optimism he combined the virtues of industry, daring and vigour. Love of action was the dominant note of his character: from the age of eleven he never observed the Ramzān twice in the same place. Intrepid as a soldier, a great strategist as a general, prompt to take advantage of the enemy's weakness as a commander, he became an organizer of victory. He had little regard for the sanctity of human life: the massacre of Bājaur, the cold-blooded murder of prisoners, and the inhuman punishments which are referred to in his *Memoirs* only prove that he inherited the Mongol ferocity and Turkish savagery of his ancestors. Yet he was capable of generosity and chivalry on occasions. He possessed a joyous nature, strong affections, faculty of judging men and events, and a charming personality. He was fond of gardening and architecture, and proficient in music. He was an orthodox Sunnī, though for political reasons he had to conform to some Shi'ite rites. To compare Bābur's 'moral courage' in this respect with Akbar's religious eclecticism is as inaccurate as it is unjust. Though not a zealous bigot like the Safavī Shāhs of Persia, he could never dream of the *sulh-i-kull* (universal toleration) cult of his grandson. True to his age, he rejoiced in the glory of *Jihād* (holy war against infidels) and the majesty of the title of *Ghāzī*. To him Sunnism was the 'pure faith', Shiism 'heresy', and a Shiah was 'a rank heretic'. With righteous satisfaction he justifies and records the cruel massacre of Bājaur because the victims were infidels.[22] An incorrigible but repentant drunkard, he was keenly sensitive to the beauties of nature. His description of the flora and fauna of Hindusthān reveals his quickness of observation and his marvellous interest in natural history. The sweeping condemnation of Hindusthān—its people as well as its culture—betrays as much his superficial acquaintance with, as his supreme contempt for, the land he conquered to stay in. His mind was as active as his body. In him were combined the vigour and stubbornness of the Mongol, the hardihood and capability of the Turk, and the culture and suavity of the Persian. He was a master of Turkī, his mother tongue, as well as Persian, the language of culture, the 'French' of Muslim Asia. His autobiography in Turkī is a permanent contribution to literature. He was a poet of no mean order in both the languages. He wrote a *Dīwān* in Turkī and a collection of *Masnavīs* called the *Mubayyin* which is a treatise on Muslim law. He was the author of a Turkī treatise on prosody which was discovered in 1923 in a manuscript found in Paris.

Though he conquered Hindusthān and laid the first stone of the splendid fabric of the Mughul empire, he had no love lost for the country. He sighed for the hills of Farghāna, the blue domes and glittering minars of Samarqand, and the verdure and flowers of Kābul, where, by his own choice, he lies buried.[23] The first Mughul emperor of India died, as he had lived, as a Central Asian.

APPENDIX

(Note by the Editor on Foot-note 12 and the passage in p. 35 to which it relates)

The author of this chapter has challenged the generally accepted view about the size and nature of Bābur's artillery and the very important role it played in his victories at Pānīpat and Khānuā. As this is a very important question, a more detailed discussion is necessary. So far as the general view is concerned, it would suffice to refer to Rushbrook Williams and Denison Ross, two of the latest writers on the subject, who had before them the English translation of the *Bābur-nāma* by A. S. Beveridge whom the author cites as his authority. The following sentences from the description of the battle of Pānīpat in *An Empire Builder of the 16th Century* by L. F. Rushbrook Williams leave no doubt about his view that the artillery played a very great role—greater than bow and arrow—in Bābur's victory at Pānīpat:

"The ordnance and match-locks poured in a withering fire from the centre" (p. 136). "Ustād 'Alī and Mustafā (in charge of Bābur's artillery) rained death upon the crowded ranks, and the unfortunate Afghāns fell by thousands beneath the swords and arrows of the Mughals........For some hours the slaughter continued"......"a total death-roll of some twenty thousand......a terrible testimony alike to the skill of the leader and to the deadliness of his scientific combination of cavalry and artillery" (p. 137).

As regards 'Khānuā', Rushbrook Williams writes:

"Along the front of the line were the artillery-men and the musketeers, secure in the shelter of the chained wagons and of the tripod-like breastworks. Mustafā, with the match-locks and culverins, was posted in advance of the right wing, while Ustād 'Alī, with the heavy ordnance, held the ground in front of the centre." (p. 149). "Mustafā, the artillery-man, trundled his culverins and his tripods into the open field, and from this position of advantage commenced a destructive fire with small-calibre ordnance and match-locks. So great was the effect that the morale of the discomfited Mughals was restored" (p. 153). "Thus supported, and aided in addition by Mustafā's deadly firearms, the Mughal right beat off all attacks and inflicted severe losses upon the enemy." (p. 154). "On the one hand the Mughal artillery caused fearful carnage in the crowded Rājput ranks, and on the other, the unceasing pressure of superior numbers reduced Bābur's men almost to their last gasp".

(p. 154). (There was) "a clear passage down the middle for Ustād 'Alī's 'great balls'. Simultaneously, it would appear, a strong body of match-lock men was brought from the right wing, whose fire supplemented the efforts of Ustād 'Alī. This clever manoeuvre was crowned with success. The charge of the household troops forced back the Rājput centre, and the firearms blasted a lane of death into the thick of the foe. The match-lock-men then advanced from behind the artillery, trundling their tripods in front of them, and the ground was quickly occupied by the Mughal infantry. The Pādshāh in person now ordered a general advance in the centre. The guns were moved forward, and Ustād'Alī redoubled his activities....On the left, where the pressure was greatest, the Rājputs came within an ace of breaking through. But the advantage gained by their antagonists was too marked, and the toll taken by the artillery was too severe. Sullenly the Rājput chivalry ebbed back". (pp. 154-5).

Denison Ross writes in the *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. IV.

1. *Re. Pānīpat*

"Between every pair of guns there were six or seven movable breastworks (*tura*) for the protection of the matchlock men" (*CHI.* IV. 12). "At this juncture Bābur ordered his gunners to open fire, and then the main attacking force of the Afghāns found themselves exposed to arrows on either flank and to shot or bullets in front". (p. 13).

2. *Re. Khānuā*

"The artillery line was commanded by....Mustafā Rūmī, the Turkish gunner, who brought forward the carts and guns...... and broke the enemy's ranks".[24] (*CHI.* 17).

These descriptions are based on Bābur's own account in his autobiography, which is, of course, the most important and, in this case, the sole authority available to us. Unfortunately, a few crucial words in Turkish (the language in which the book is written) are obscure and have been differently interpreted by different scholars. Mrs. Beveridge, in her translation of the book, refers to the matchlock men and guns at Pānīpat, but in a foot-note states that Bābur could not possibly have a large number of guns with him, and adds, "he can be read as indicating that he had two guns only" (pp. 468-9, f.n. 3). But her translation contains the following: "Ustād 'Alīqulī made good discharge of *firingī* shots", "Mustafā made excellent discharge of *Zarb-zan* shots." In a foot-note she observes:

"The size of these artillery at this time is very uncertain. The word *firingī* is now (1826 A.D.) used in the Deccan for a swivel. At the present day, *zarb-zan* in common usage is a small species of swivel. Both words in Bābur's time appear to have been used for field cannon". (pp. 473-4, f.n. 3).

As regards Khānuā also we read in the translation of Beveridge:

"This Mustafā of Rūmī had the carts brought forward and broke the ranks of pagans with match-lock and culverin". Again in ornate language we are told that "the match-lock men poured a ruddy crepuscle of the blood of those ill-fated pagans......Ustād'Alī-qulī did deeds of valour, discharging stones of such size...and, were such stones discharged against a hill, broad of base and high of summit, it would become like carded wool. Such stones Ustād 'Alī-qulī discharged at the iron-clad fortress of the pagan ranks and by this discharge of stones, and abundance of culverins and match-locks (?) destroyed many of builded bodies of the pagans. The match-lock men of the royal centre, in obedience to orders, going from behind the carts into the midst of the battle; each one of them made many a pagan taste of the poison of death." (pp. 570-71).

So it would appear that even according to this translation—which broadly justifies the accounts of Rushbrook Williams and Denison Ross—the role played by artillery, both match-lock and guns, was a very important one. Besides, the description is hardly compatible with the view that Bābur had only two guns.

As regards the importance of the battle of Pānīpat, also, the view taken in this chapter differs from those of many, including Rushbrook Williams, who observes about the battle of Pānīpat that "from the political point of view it was eminently decisive." (p. 137).

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1. Bābur never boasts of his Mongol ancestry; he invariably refers to the Mongols with supreme contempt, though he owed a great deal to them.

2. We accept the version of Bābur. *Khvānd Amīr*, Bk III, Ch. iii, p. 192 and *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 191 say that he was the sixth son of Abu Sa'īd Mīrzā.

3. Muqīm Arghūn married a daughter of Ulugh Beg.

4. In the *sarkār* of Bhakkar under the *sūba* of Multān, Jarrett, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, ii, p. 334.

5. On the Alingār river in Lamghān, Cf. Raverty, *Notes on Afghānistān*, p. 103.

6. *Habīb-us-Siyar*, Bk., III, Ch. iv, p. 66; *Tārīkh-i-'Alamārāi 'Abbāsī*, p. 30; *Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh*, p. 127. R.S. Poole, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Persian Shāhs*, 1887, pp. XXIV *et. seq.*

6a. Some historians hold the view that Najm Beg was sent by the Shāh to punish Bābur for his failure to propagate Shiism in his territories (Mrs. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Bābur* II. Transl. p. 359; Rushbrook Williams, *Bābur*, pp. 106-7), but this does not seem probable. In that case, the Persians would not have so strongly complained of Bābur's treachery in the battle of Ghazdawān. Out of political expediency the Shāh could not have alienated Bābur in the face of the grave Uzbeg menace.

7. Tod, *Annals*, Ed. by Crooke, Vol. I, p. 349. For details of Ibrāhīm's reign, vide Chapter IX of Vol. VI of this series.

8. Firishta regards the two invasions of 925 A.H. (A.D. 1519) as the first and the second (Brigg's *Firishta*, Vol. II, pp. 35-6).

9. Darmesteter—La grande inscription de Qandahār, *Journal Asiatique*, 1890, p. 210.

10. Fourth according to *Firishta* (Vol. II, pp. 37-8) and probably Bābur as well.
Abu-'l-Fazl also suggests that this was the fourth; he does not recognize

the invasion of September, 1519, and that of 1520. A. N.: Eng. Trans., Vol. 1, pp. 234-40.

10a. Rushbrook Williams, p. 129.

11. Ahmad Yādgār puts the Afghān force at 50,000 cavalry and 2,000 elephants and the Mughul army at 24,000; A.S.B. text, p. 95. Bābur, in his autobiography, estimates Ibrāhīm's army at 1 lakh horsemen and 1,000 elephants and his own army at 12,000 only, including non-combatants. It is not possible properly to ascertain the size of Bābur's artillery.

12. The wrong translation of the word *araba* as gun-carriages (but which really means baggage carts) has been responsible for the impression that Pānīpat was a triumph of artillery. Vide A.S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma* f.n. 3 pp. 468-9; *Pānīpat* by C. Collin Davies in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Vol. III, pp. 1025-26. (Cf. Appendix by the Editor).

13. A. S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma,* Vol. II, p. 476.

14. See *Nature,* 1890, 1891; *The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1899, pp. 370-389.

15. 26° 58′ N., 78° 36′ E., 44 miles south-west of Mainpuri town.

16. Chāndwār is an ancient place of considerable historical importance, standing on the left bank of the Yamunā at a distance of three miles south-west from Firūzābād (*Agra Dt. Gazetteer,* Allahabad, 1905).

17. While the naïvete of his vow should not be doubted, it must be confessed that he broke it; vide *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī,* p. 128. The statement of S. Lane-Poole that 'he never took wine again' (*Bābur,* p. 153) seems incorrect.

18. A. S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma,* III, pp. 558, 563.

19. See *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān,* Ed. Crooke, Vol. 1, pp. 348-57 for the battle according to the Rājput version. (It is, however, interesting to record in this connection that the army of the Rānā included twelve thousand horse led by Hasan Khān Mewātī and ten thousand horse led by Mahmūd Khān, son of Sikandar Lodī, and the former died fighting (Bābur, *Memoirs,* pp. 562, 573). This is, perhaps, the only instance known in Indian history of Muslim nobles fighting with an army under a Hindu king against the Muslims.) [Editor, whose attention was drawn to this passage by Dr. A. K. Majumdar].

20. Bābur believed he had done so; it was generally believed at the time. A picture illustrating the incident occurs in *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Timūrīya,* reproduced by A. S. Beveridge in the *Humāyūn-nāma,* p. 104.

21. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* Eng. Trans. II, pp. 41-44.

22. The Bhopal document in which Bābur prescribes for his son Humāyūn a policy of perfect toleration towards the Hindus and the Shiahs and even advises him to refrain from cow slaughter seems to be spurious. For contrary view see Dr. Syed Mahmūd, *The Indian Review,* August, 1923, pp. 498-99.

23. He was buried at Āgra where he died. Several years later his body was removed to its present grave at Kābul.

24. Sir Jadunath Sarkar also holds similar views. Cf. *Military History of India,* Calcutta, 1969; pp. 50-52.

CHAPTER III

HUMĀYŪN

Four days after the death of Bābur on 30 December, 1530, Humāyūn ascended the throne at the age of twenty-three.[1] The history of Humāyūn, except towards the end, offers a record of unsuccessful struggle for dominion—a tragedy of errors and failures. Humāyūn's personal character and the circumstances in which he was placed equally contributed to this. From the very beginning, Humāyūn was beset with troubles. As there was no fixed law of succession among the Tīmūrids, not only Humāyūn's brothers but every prince of royal blood aspired to the throne or sovereign power: the arch-enemy Kāmrān and his understudy 'Askarī, the vacillating Hindāl, and the two grandsons of the grand monarch of Herāt—that arch-rebel Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, Humāyūn's brother-in-law, and his political disciple, Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā, Humāyūn's cousin. Bābur's occupation of India was 'unrooted, military and the sport of war'. The army was a heterogeneous body of adventurers—Chaghatāī, Uzbeg, Mughul, Persian, Afghān and Hindusthānī. The nobles (*amīrs*) were too conscious of their own importance and authority, while the more prominent of them did not consider the throne beyond the range of their ambition. On the borders of the infant Mughul kingdom were two powers to reckon with: the kingdom of Gujarāt which was fast growing into a menacing factor under Bahādur Shāh and the Afghāns who had rallied in Bihār and considered Humāyūn as but a usurper's son. In Sher Khān Sūr they produced a truly great leader who might have proved a serious rival to Bābur. His indolent son was hardly the pilot to steer the ship of State on such a stormy voyage.

The history of Humāyūn is a drama in four acts. The first act offers the story of the hectic ten years from 1530 to 1540 during which he struggled for defending his dominion; the second unfolds the tragedy of exile from 1540 to 1545 when he had no place under the sun and sought his fortune in Sind, Rājasthān and in Persia; the third tells the story of the period from 1545 to 1554, when from his bases at Qandahār and at Kābul, he made preparations for the recovery of his dominion; and the fourth deals with the restoration during 1555-1556 when he recovered the throne of Delhi and a fragment of his kingdom.

I. STRUGGLE (1530-1540)

In accordance with Bābur's dying advice to be generous towards his brothers, Humāyūn allowed Mīrzā Kāmrān to govern the territories of Kābul and Qandahār, as well as the western Punjab, while he assigned Sambhal to his third brother 'Askarī, and Alwar to the youngest, Hindāl. The position of Humāyūn was full of peril; he had to face the combined opposition of the Afghāns, nominally under the leadership of Sultān Mahmūd Lodī, the brother of the late Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, but under the actual command of Bīban Khān Jalwāni and Shaikh Bāyazīd Qarmalī, 'heroes of a hundred battles'. From Bihār, now their vantage ground, they had marched triumphantly towards Lakhnau and forced Sultān Junaid Barlās, the Mughul governor of Jaunpur, to retire. Due to indiscipline, disunion and treachery among the Afghāns, Humāyūn easily won a victory at the battle of Dadrah (1532),[2] and the main force of the Afghāns was routed and dispersed. There was, however, Sher Khān, who had deserted them and thus served Mughul interest at the battle,[2a] but was in possession of the strategic fort of Chunār on the Gaṅgā (Ganges), south-west of Banāras. Humāyūn marched to Chunār and laid siege to it. The siege lasted for four months when Humāyūn, anxious to return to Āgra on account of the aggressive movements of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, accepted the terms of Sher Khān who agreed to hold Chunār as a vassal of the Mughul emperor (December, 1531).

After returning to Āgra, Humāyūn, generous brother as he was, not only acquiesced in Mīrzā Kāmrān's occupation of Lahore during his absence but added Multān and Hissār (Fīrūza) to his territory. In August, 1533, he laid the foundation of a new city in Delhi named Dīnpanāḥ (believed by some to be the site of old Indraprastha) which was completed in nine months. This brief respite was soon disturbed in July, 1534, when Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā and Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā, who had rebelled soon after Humāyūn's accession but had been kindly pardoned and reinstated in their *jāgīrs,* again raised the standard of rebellion in Bihār. They were defeated and imprisoned; Sultān Mīrzā was blinded but Zamān Mīrzā escaped to the court of Sultān Bahādur in Gujarāt. Humāyūn now turned his attention again towards Sher Khān and marched up to Kānār in Kālpī district, but had to hasten back to Āgra on account of the alarming successes of Bahādur Shāh who had entered into a pact with Sher Khān that each would open a second front for his ally when attacked by the Mughuls.

Bahādur Shāh, who had annexed Mālwa to his kingdom (1531) and had next year taken from the Rājput chief Silhādi his territory of Rāisen, Chanderī and Bhilsa, captured Ranthambhor and in January, 1533, laid siege to the fort of Chitor. Humāyūn, who had received an appeal for help from the Rājputs, was not prepared to meet Bahādur but made a diplomatic move to Gwālior which possibly prompted the Gujarāt king to make peace with the Rānā who offered it as he failed to receive active help of the Mughul emperor (March, 1533). Bahādur, however, took Ajmer and Nāgaur and in November, 1534, broke the treaty by an unprovoked siege of Chitor. Bahādur's conquest in Rājasthān thus became a direct menace to the Mughul territory. Bahādur also gave great offence to Humāyūn by harbouring notable Afghān leaders like 'Ālam Khān 'Ālā-ud-dīn Lodī, a son of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī, who had once contested the throne of Delhi, and his ambitious son Tātār Khān who still harped on his father's claims. Bahādur even sent or rather subsidized a three-pronged campaign led by them, directed against Kālinjar, Delhi and Āgra, and, though Tātār Khān was able to take Bayāna and his advance columns raided the gates of Āgra, the entire project ended in a fiasco at Mandrel where he was badly defeated by 'Askarī and slain (November, 1534). Last but not the least, Bahādur warmly received the disaffected Mughuls led by that faithless arch-rebel Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, and added insult to injury by sending a most insolent reply to Humāyūn's demand for his extradition.[3] There was now no other way for even slow-moving Humāyūn but to move.

In November, 1534, Humāyūn moved from Āgra to Gwālior where he halted for two months expecting that this would induce Bahādur to raise the siege of Chitor. When this proved fruitless, Humāyūn, as expected by Bahādur Shāh, allowed him to conquer Chitor, the capital city of an infidel ruler, but took advantage of Bahādur's pre-occupation by invading his dominion and proceeding to Sārangpur and then to Ujjain in the very heart of Mālwa. After the fall of Chitor (8 March, 1535) Humāyūn moved northward towards Mandasor where Bahādur came down to meet him. The Gujarāt sultān, relying upon the advice of his mastergunner Rūmī Khān, now a traitor conspiring with the enemy, remained on the defensive and entrenched himself behind a bulwark of baggage carts instead of giving battle in the open field as his nobles suggested. Besieged by the Mughul troops, their supplies cut off, the Gujarāt troops found themselves in a prison of their own making and one night Bahādur fled towards Māndū (25 April, 1535).[4] Not until the next morning was the real situation revealed to the victorious

Mughuls who, after plundering his camp, pursued him to Māndū. Humāyūn laid siege to Māndū but realizing the difficulties of besieging such a gigantic fortress, twenty-three miles in circumference and defended by a large garrison, he opened negotiation for peace on condition that Bahādur should retain Gujarāt and surrender the rest of his territories to the Mughul emperor.[5] Negotiations were going on and there was prospect of peace when the Mughuls, taking advantage of the consequent relaxation in the Gujarāt garrison, made way into the fort through one of its unguarded parts and threw the enemy into confusion. Bahādur, roused from sleep, offered some resistance but, considering discretion as the better part of valour, slipped away to Chāmpāner. Humāyūn meted out a most severe treatment to the people of Māndū: the lanes and bazars of Māndū ran red with blood. The reduction of Māndū put Humāyūn in possession of the whole of Mālwa. Emboldened by these successes, Humāyūn invaded Gujarāt with a force of thirty thousand horsemen. As soon as he reached the environs of Chāmpāner, Bahādur left the fort in charge of Ikhtiyār Khān and, adopting the scorched-earth policy, set fire to the town and fled north to Cambay. Humāyūn pursued Bahādur as far as Cambay, but missed the enemy narrowly as Bahādur had left for Diu a few hours earlier. In revenge for a night attack on the Mughul camp by the Kolīs, Humāyūn sacked the town of Cambay for three days. Considering him as a spent force, Humāyūn now left Bahādur to his own fate and returned to Chāmpāner to undertake the siege of the fort which his officers had begun on his first arrival there on 13 June, 1535.

The celebrated fortress of Chāmpāner towers over the level plains of the eastern portion of Gujarāt. With some of its sides formed of nearly perpendicular and precipitous rocks and the deep and almost impenetrable jungle covering its foot, the fort was considered impregnable in medieval warfare. The provisions of the fort, we are told by the chroniclers, were sufficient against a siege of ten years. The Mughuls, who were not well-equipped for siege operations, realized that the fort would not surrender in spite of their best efforts. Accidentally some villagers, who used to supply food secretly to the garrison, fell into the hands of the Mughuls while they were reconnoitring their position and were forced to reveal the way to a vulnerable point of the fort. Here, at the advice of Bairam Beg, Humāyūn arranged for escalade by driving iron spikes into the mortar between the stones; and one night, as the garrison were not so vigilant to guard this side, three hundred Mughuls scaled the walls of the fort, Humāyūn being the forty-first.[6] At dawn, attack was made on the fort in all directions and the *coup de main* so terrified the defenders that three hundred Mughuls seized the gate. Many of the garrison were killed, their provisions fell into the hands of the Mughuls and munitions ran short, and Ikhtiyār Khān, who had taken refuge in the upper citadel, surrendered the fort (August, 1535). All the treasures of Gujarāt sultāns, accumulated in the fort by generations, fell into the hands of the victorious troops.

After the conquest of Chāmpāner, Humāyūn became master of all Gujarāt as far as the Māhī, but he was so busy in enjoying the booty that he did not take steps to consolidate his rule, not even to collect revenue. The chiefs and people of Gujarāt offered to pay revenue even to their exiled king at Diu. Bahādur availed of this sentiment and deputed 'Imād-ul-Mulk with this duty as well as with the task of organizing an army of opposition. As he was marching to Ahmadābād, he found himself at the head of a considerable army of fifty thousand horsemen. Humāyūn now left Chāmpāner to meet the enemy. His advance guard under Mīrzā 'Askarī was defeated by 'Imād-ul-Mulk, but in the battle that ensued at a place between Nadīād and Mahmūdābād the latter was routed by the main body of the Mughul army. Humāyūn marched triumphantly to Ahmadābād and this marks the climax of his successful career in Mālwa and Gujarāt.

Humāyūn now took some steps to settle the government of the newly acquired province. He appointed Mīrzā 'Askarī viceroy of Gujarāt with his headquarters at Ahmadābād, and the veteran Hindū Beg as his adviser. Officers were posted at strategic places: Chāmpāner, Pātan, Cambay, Barodā, Broach and Surat. Rejecting the sound advice of his counsellors to restore Gujarāt to Bahādur in view of the alarming situation in Bihār and Bengal, Humāyūn marched on towards Diu in pursuit of Bahādur, but the rebellion of local chieftains in Mālwa forced him to proceed to Māndū. His arrival at Māndū restored Mughul authority without serious opposition, but after these great successes he relapsed into his chronic lethargy and opiated idleness at the attractive and luxurious capital of Mālwa. Taking advantage of this inactivity of his enemy, Bahādur issued out of his retreat. Humāyūn's conquest of Gujarāt was hardly more than a military occupation and immediately after he left for Mālwa, a counter revolution began in favour of Bahādur Shāh who was supported by the local chiefs and the people and joined by his scattered troops. The country was in revolt against the invader. The Mughul officers were driven from Navsārī, Broach, Surat, Cambay and Pātan (December, 1535). Mīrzā 'Askarī, the viceroy of Gujarāt, was only imitating his master in the neglect of his duties and himself aspired to sovereign power, while his foster-brother Ghaznafar deserted after an angry quarrel to Bahādur and revealed to him the precarious position of the Mughuls. In response to appeals of his followers to recover his territory, Bahādur marched towards Ahmadābād and at Sarkhej, opposite the capital, he fought an indecisive battle with 'Askarī who was bent on retreating rather than maintaining his position at the capital. After a skirmish near Mahmūdābād[7] between Bahādur's vanguard and his rear, 'Askarī crossed the river Māhī and after severe loss reached Chāmpāner where he expected reinforcement in men and money. Its loyal governor Tardī Beg Khān answered 'Askarī with a gallant refusal and the pretender took the road to Āgra with a view to establishing his authority there. Bahādur now advanced towards Chāmpāner and Tardī Beg, unable to resist or acting on instruction from Humāyūn, retreated to Māndū taking with him as much of the treasure as he could (25 May, 1536). At long last, Humāyūn left Māndū in haste for Āgra, and at Chitor overtook his delinquent brother whom he pardoned and carried to the capital. With Tardī Beg's retreat from Chāmpāner ended Mughul domination in Gujarāt, and after Humāyūn's departure from Māndū, Mālwa fell into the hands of Mallū Khān, a nobleman of the late sultāns of Mālwa and Bahādur's governor. Gujarāt and Mālwa were as easily and rapidly lost as they had been conquered.

On his return to Āgra in August, 1536, Humāyūn found the situation embarrassing. That stormy petrel, Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, was still at large, though after his return from Bahādur's camp at Mandasor, his attempt at the capture of Lahore had proved futile and Hindāl had just subdued Sultān Mīrzā and his sons. Sultān Mīrzā had escaped from prison and established himself at Bilgrām near Kanauj while his eldest son occupied territory in the east as far as Jaunpur, and his second son extended his authority in the south-east as far as Karā-Mānikpur. Hindāl, who had been left in charge at Āgra, marched against the rebels, met them piecemeal, before they could unite their forces, at Bilgrām and then at Awadh, and pushed on to Jaunpur, while Sultān Mīrzā with his sons retired to Bihār among the Afghāns.

The danger-spot of Humāyūn's empire was Bihār, the vantage-ground of the Afghāns who, after the battle of Dadrah and the retirement of the old leaders, found a great leader in Sher Khān, that grandson of a petty and unsuccessful horse-dealer of Roh, who hardly deserves the contemptuous remark of the Mughul historiographer.[8] During the four years (1533-1536) while Humāyūn was mainly engaged in Gujarāt and Mālwa affairs, Sher Khān not only consolidated his position in Bihār, of which he became the king in all but name, but extended his power at the expense of the effete monarchy of Bengal. He had inflicted several crushing defeats upon the Bengal army, notably at Sūrajgarh (1534), as a result of which he became master of the territory from Chunār to Sūrajgarh. In 1536 he made a surprise attack on Bengal's capital through Jhārkhand route and forced Sultān Mahmūd to conclude peace on payment of huge indemnity.

Humāyūn, after his return from Māndū, wasted one full year, partly because of his chronic indolence and partly because he still harped on the idea of recovering his lost kingdom in Gujarāt and Mālwa in which he was offered the alliance of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. He, therefore, remained satisfied with the report of Hindū Beg, whom he had despatched to Jaunpur for this purpose, that all was quiet on the eastern front. Legally, the only offence that Sher had given to the Mughul emperor was the departure of Qutb Khān, his son and hostage with the Mughuls (according to the Treaty of Chunār, of December, 1531), during Humāyūn's Gujarāt campaign, but this was not deemed sufficient by Humāyūn to serve as the *casus belli*. Like Bahādur, Sher Khān availed himself of the inactivity of the Mughul emperor and, tearing that 'scrap of paper' he had signed, made a second invasion of Bengal with a view to crushing Sultān Mahmūd before the latter could secure the promised Portuguese help. It was this invasion of Bengal which made Humāyūn realize at the eleventh hour the gravity of the situation and decide to lead an expedition against his astute adversary.

Accompanied by Mīrzā 'Askarī, Mīrzā Hindāl and the prominent nobles, and with a big army, Humāyūn marched from Āgra in July, 1537.[9] On the way he received the submission of the incorrigible rebel Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā who, after his failure to seize the throne of Gujarāt on Bahādur's death, joined the Mughul camp. The army proceeded partly by land and partly by water along the Yamunā (Jumnā) and the Gaṅgā (Ganges) and reached the environs of Chunār. With the help of Rūmī Khān, the celebrated military engineer of Bahādur Shāh, now in his service, Humāyūn laid siege to the fort which was gallantly defended by Jalāl Khān for about three months until it fell, thanks to a stratagem of the Turkish gunner. Rūmī Khān flogged a slave and sent him to the fort where he was able to convince the garrison that he had fled because of the cruelty of his master and, after studying the vulnerable points of the fort, escaped to the Mughul camp. Rūmī Khān then moved a floating battery close to that portion of the fort, where a breach was made, and by a severe bombardment forced the garrison to surrender.

The capture of Chunār was an admirable military triumph but a tremendous strategical blunder. A prompt direct march to Gaur might have prevented the fall of the Bengal monarchy and the consequent growth of Sher Khān's power. During the period Humāyūn wasted at Chunār he allowed his enemy to work according to his plans. Sher Khān besieged Gaur but, leaving Khavāss Khān in charge of the operations, proceeded to Bihār in order to keep watch over the Mughuls. Humāyūn marched from Chunār to Banāras and encamped in its neighbourhood. He now decided to follow a more vigorous plan of operations and march towards Bengal with a view to checking Sher Khān. Yet he attempted compromise with his adversary by offering him Chunār, Jaunpur and any other place except Bengal and Rohtās on condition of payment of tribute. At Muner, on the confluence of the Son and the Gaṅgā, he was met by Sultān Mahmūd, the fugitive king of Bengal, who further incited him to march without delay before Sher could become absolute master of Bengal. Sher Khān also became indifferent to the offer of peace as he received the report of the fall of Gaur (6 April, 1538) and he now transferred all his wealth to the fort of Rohtās which he had obtained by a stratagem to redress the loss of Chunār. Consequently, the negotiation fell through. At Patna, Humāyūn was advised by his nobles to postpone the Bengal campaign until the rains were over, but urged by Mahmūd he proceeded further. Sher Khān, who was very near the Mughul army, was pursued, but he made good his escape and reached Gaur. On his arrival at Bhāgalpur, Humāyūn despatched a force of about 5000 or 6000 men to clear the road at the pass of Teliyāgarhī, but the Mughuls found it already occupied by Jalāl Khān, son of Sher, and being routed by a surprise attack were driven back on the main army at Kahalgāon (Colgong). Sultān Mahmūd died here but Humāyūn pushed on, and as he arrived at the pass, he found it abandoned by Jalāl Khān on instruction from his father who had meanwhile arrived safely in South Bihār. Humāyūn therefore could, without opposition, march through Teliyāgarhī to the capital of Bengal—a capital, devastated, ruined and strewn with corpses (15 August 1538).[9a]

Humāyūn's conquest of Bengal proved his undoing. He renamed the city of Gaur as Jannatābād and parcelled out the kingdom among his nobles. But as at Māndū after the successful Gujarāt and

Mālwa campaigns, so at Gaur, his Jannatābād (abode of paradise), he fell a victim to his chronic lethargy and dreamed at opium-eater's paradise while his enemy was working his ruin. Indeed, Humāyūn's entry into Bengal's capital was no triumph but a strategical defeat, and Gaur proved the grave of his empire—a grave which his astute adversary had dug for him. From his safe Jhārkhand base, Sher Khān now cut off the communications of Humāyūn with Delhi and the desertion of his post by Mīrzā Hindāl at Tirhoot in North Bihār and that at Kanauj by Mīrzā Nūr-ud-dīn completely blockaded the Mughul emperor at Bengal's capital. Sher Khān, taking advantage of the situation of which he was mainly the author, took Banaras, sent his son Jalāl Khān to besiege Jaunpur, and invested Chunār, while his generals ravaged the whole country as far as Kanauj. Even Jaunpur fell after stubborn resistance and, as 'Abbās Sarwānī says, the whole country as far as Kanauj and Sambhal fell into the hands of the Afghāns.[10] Humāyūn could expect help from no quarter. The loyal governors of Delhi and Āgra, Mīr Faqr 'Alī and Mīr Muhammad Bakshī, persuaded Hindāl and Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā at Kālpī to move towards the east in aid of the emperor. But their efforts were foiled by the arrival of the Mughul nobles under Zāhid Beg who had indignantly refused Humāyūn's offer of the government of Bengal and had abandoned him, and now, in collaboration with Mīrzā Nūr-ud-dīn, incited Hindāl to assume royal power. Under their influence Hindāl executed the venerable Shaikh Buhlūl whom Humāyūn had sent from Gaur to reconcile his rebel brother. Hindāl now advanced to seize Delhi but was prevented by the arrival of Mīrzā Kāmrān who pursued him to Āgra, drove him to his *jāgīr* at Alwār and forced him to offer submission. If any one could save Humāyūn at this critical juncture, it was Mīrzā Kāmrān who had at his disposal the resources of Kābul, Qandahār and the Punjab intact, but he remained coldly neutral. The brothers indeed led a campaign as if to help Humāyūn, but after a few marches returned to Āgra. Mīrzā Kāmrān was selfish and hostile, Hindāl a rebel, and Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā was both incapable and lukewarm. The voice of the loyal governors of Delhi and Āgra proved but a cry in the wilderness. All these circumstances awakened Humāyūn from his torpor and forced him to leave 'the abode of paradise' in Bengal.[10a]

Probably towards the end of March, 1539,[11] Humāyūn set out from Bengal for the capital, leaving Jahāngīr Qulī Beg at Gaur with a force of five thousand men. 'His troops were demoralized by dissipation, disheartened by inaction, and reduced by sickness'. As he marched along the left bank of the Gaṅgā, he received the disheartening report of the defeat and capture of his vanguard under Dilāvar Khān Lodī at Mungir. Humāyūn then sent Mīrzā 'Askarī in advance and joined him at Mungir where, against the counsel of experienced officers, he crossed the river over to the southern bank which was entirely under the Afghān control. Sher Khān and the Afghāns were in close pursuit but there was no regular engagement and the Mughul army was able to reach Chausa in Shāhābād district with but little opposition from the enemy. Here again Humāyūn committed a blunder by not attacking the Afghāns immediately before they could be ready, and played into the hands of his adversary who was waiting for the rains. The two armies lay encamped for about three months. Humāyūn's position became extremely critical; the rains were coming and there was no hope of succour from any quarter, and he therefore opened negotiations for peace. The terms are variously stated in different chronicles. It appears that Humāyūn allowed Sher Khān to retain Bengal and his old *jāgīr* in Bihār as well, on condition of Sher's acknowledgement of the Mughul suzerainty by striking coins and reading the *khutba* in his name. Negotiations for peace were in progress and there was consequent relaxation in the Mughul camp, when suddenly at break of dawn Sher Khān, after a feigned night attack on Mahāratha Chero, attacked the Mughul army and completely surprised it (26 June, 1539).[12] Many were killed asleep, many who attempted to escape were drowned in the swollen waters of the Gaṅgā, and Humāyūn who owed his life to his personal valour and to the generosity of a water-carrier, somehow reached Āgra with Mīrzā 'Askarī. The army was completely annihilated; it was a disastrous and absolute defeat.

After this easy victory Sher Khān hastened to Bengal and destroyed the Mughul army and its leader left by Humāyūn at Gaur. He again assumed the royal title, struck coins and read the *khutba* in his own name.[13] At Āgra, Humāyūn excused the veiled hostility of Kāmrān and the open rebellion of Hindāl and tried his best to combine his brothers in a joint attack against Sher Shāh, but they simply deliberated and did not act. Mīrzā Kāmrān would not lend his troops but under his own command and retreated to Lahore on the pretext of illness. 'Seven months were wasted in weary indecision, until the opportunity was lost, and Sher Shāh was on the Gaṅgā (Ganges), ready for war'.[13a] Sher Shāh had meanwhile consolidated his position in Bengal and then marched again along the bank of the Gaṅgā. Humāyūn hastily collected a big army mostly consisting of rabble and, encouraged by the defeat of Sher's advance guard under his son Qutb Khān at Kālpī which was still held by

Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā, marched towards Kanauj to meet his adversary. The two armies remained for about a month facing each other with the Gaṅgā between them, until Humāyūn crossed it to give battle, as there were already considerable desertions from the Mughul camp. Various estimates are given in different chronicles as to the strength of the belligerents, but there is no doubt that the Afghān army was much smaller, about half in number.[14] As the Mughul camp in the lowland near the river was flooded owing to rains which came rather early that year, at the suggestion of Haidar Mīrzā, Bābur's cousin who had recently joined Humāyūn and was now his virtual commander, the Mughul army decided to move to a higher ground. It was during this manoeuvre on May 17, 1540, when the artillery and a portion of the army were being transferred, that Sher fell upon the Mughuls and put them to confusion. Disaffection and indiscipline among the soldiers as well as half-heartedness of the nobles, combined with bad management, added to the confusion in the Mughul army. Except the initial success obtained by Hindāl Mīrzā, who was placed in the left, against Jalāl Khān, everywhere the Mughuls were defeated: Mīrzā 'Askarī at the vanguard and Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā in the right were forced to fall back upon the centre, while Jalāl Khān, strengthened by reinforcements, pushed Hindāl back and the numerous non-combatants at the rear forced by the Afghān attack pressed on the centre and broke the chains fastening the guns and wagons. Meanwhile an Afghān division turned round the Mughul army and reached its rear, thus encompassing the entire army of the enemy. The confusion became so terrible that any action became impossible: the battle became a rout. The artillery became thoroughly inactive, not a gun could be fired as Mīrzā Haidar regrets. Though we cannot too literally accept his statement that the enemy did not discharge an arrow, it has to be confessed that it was rather an one-sided game. The Mughuls fled to the Gaṅgā; many were killed by the Afghān army in pursuit and many who escaped the sword of the enemy were drowned in the river.

Humāyūn crossed the Gaṅgā on an elephant and with a small number of his followers returned to Āgra. The rude behaviour that he received on the way from the people of Bhongāon[15] and afterwards from the villagers near Rohtak[16] testified to the declining prestige of the house of Tīmūr in Hindusthān. In the Punjab everything was in disorder. Humāyūn had nothing to expect from the hostile Kāmrān, the untrustworthy 'Askarī and the half-hearted Hindāl. 'The nobles were discontented; the peasantry, a prey to misrule and anarchy; the Afghāns hard in pursuit'. From

Āgra, he went to Delhi and, after a very short stay, left for Lahore via Sirhind with the hope of persuading Kāmrān to make a combined effort against Sher Shāh. The brothers met and deliberated, but could not combine. It was a mighty gathering of the Mughuls but five months were wasted in uncertain planning and barren talk. Humāyūn's plan of going to Badakhshān, via Kābul, fell through on account of the opposition of Kāmrān. Haidar Mīrzā made the suggestion to take shelter in the Punjab hills and try fortune in Kāshmīr, while Hindāl Mīrzā proposed to march to Sind and Gujarāt and from that base to make a renewed bid for the throne of Delhi. Humāyūn was rather inclined towards Haidar Mīrzā's view. During these heated debates Mīrzā Kāmrān was secretly making terms for himself with Sher Shāh and openly received his envoy,[16a] but Sher Shāh would not give the Punjab to a Mughul, even though it was Kāmrān. Humāyūn also made negotiation for peace with Sher Shāh who had now taken Āgra and Delhi, on condition that he should retain the Punjab, which Sher contemptuously dismissed with the remark that he should go to Kābul. Meanwhile the Afghān leader had reached Sultānpur and, as the Afghāns crossed the Beas, Humāyūn with his panic-stricken followers, to whom it was like the Day of Resurrection as Gulbadan describes it, left Lahore (end of October, 1540). Even now Humāyūn thought of moving to Kāshmīr but on account of lack of support from his officers as well as Kāmrān's hostility the idea was abandoned in favour of Hindāl's proposal to go to Sind.[17] Even at this juncture Humāyūn rejected the counsel of his followers to finish his arch-enemy Mīrzā Kāmrān who parted with him near Khushāb after an angry quarrel over the precedence in entering a defile and left for Kābul. Hindāl and Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā also followed suit and went south for Multān but, harassed by the Baluchis, they joined Humāyūn near Uchh. Sher's general Khavāss Khān was hard in pursuit of the Mughuls to drive them out of the Punjab. After a weary journey down the Indus, Humāyūn reached Bhakkar which was in the dominion of Shāh Husain Arghūn, the ruler of Sind, and encamped at Rohrī opposite Bhakkar (26 January, 1541). The second period of his history began—the period of exile.

II. EXILE (1540-1545)

Humāyūn called upon the governor of Bhakkar to deliver the fortress. As the governor replied that he was a mere subordinate to Shāh Husain, ruler of Sind, Humāyūn sent envoys to Shāh Husain at Tatta to persuade the latter to join him in an invasion of Gujarāt. After considerable and calculated delay Shāh Husain replied through his messenger that Humāyūn should go to Hājkān[18] where provisions would be available and he would present himself before Humāyūn at the earliest convenience. The nobles of Humāyūn suspected this proposal as a stratagem of Shāh Husain to drive him out of his territory as Hājkān had never been properly subjugated by the Sind ruler. Accordingly Humāyūn laid siege to the fort of Bhakkar and sent Mīrzā Hindāl to attack Sehwān. After the siege had continued for five or six months without any effect, Humāyūn, suspicious about Hindāl's movements and also because of famine raging in the area, marched to join his brother. He met Hindāl at Pātar[19] where, in spite of his brother's bitter protest, he married Hamīda Bānū, the daughter of Hindāl's tutor and spiritual guide. Mīrzā Hindāl, in disgust and on invitation from the governor of Qandahār, deserted Humāyūn and took the road to Qandahār. Humāyūn was therefore obliged to return to Rohrī and it was with difficulty that Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā was prevented from joining Hindāl. Leaving the affairs of Bhakkar in charge of Yādgār Nāsir, Humāyūn now turned his direction to Sehwān, which he reached on 6 November, 1541. Shāh Husain had adopted the same plan as he had done in Bhakkar; he had laid waste the surrounding country and cut off all supplies and he himself encamped in the vicinity of Sehwān. Humāyūn besieged the fort for several months against heavy odds. His army suffered much on account of the scarcity of provisions and desertion began in his camp. Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā, whom he had left in charge of the siege of Bhakkar, had been won over by Shāh Husain on promise of his daughter's hand and his kingdom. All these compelled Humāyūn to raise the siege of Sehwān (4 March, 1542)[19a] and make a hasty retreat to Bhakkar where he found no better prospect. Yādgār Nāsir threatened to attack him openly, and scarcity of provisions made the situation hopeless. There was little to hope for in Sind and much to fear from Shāh Husain who could have no love lost for Bābur's son[20] and risk an Afghān invasion into his territory by a barren Mughul alliance.

In this miserable plight Humāyūn threw himself on the protection of Rājā Māldev of Mārwār who had invited him to Jodhpur and promised him assistance. Proceeding by Uchh and the fort of Dilāwar,[21] Humāyūn reached the vicinity of Bikāner on 31 July, 1542, after a horrid journey in which many died and all suffered exceedingly, as Jauhar says. To his great surprise Humāyūn found the Rājā hostile. Probably the threat of an Afghān attack forced him to revise his policy. Māldev had offered his invitation and help at a time when Sher Shāh was preoccupied elsewhere. Humāyūn responded to it too late, after one year, when Sher Shāh had settled his affairs in the Punjab, Mālwa and Bengal, while the Mughul resources had become weaker. Sher Shāh sent an envoy to Māldev asking him to capture Humāyūn, and self-interest, seasoned with Rājput chivalry, induced Māldev to stage a march of Rājput troops against the Mughuls.[21a] Humāyūn was accordingly forced to leave Māldev's territory and turn towards Jaisalmer whose Rājā also proved hostile. Pursued by Māldev's troops, fatigued with thirst and hunger, the Mughuls arrived at 'Umarkot where the Rānā received them with hospitality and agreed to help Humāyūn to conquer Bhakkar and Tatta. After a stay of about a month and a half, Humāyūn started on an expedition to Sind at the head of the Mughul and Rājput troops. A few days later, on the way, he received the report that on 15 October, 1542, Hamīda Begam had given birth to a son at 'Umarkot, the celebrated Akbar of history.[22]

Humāyūn took the pleasant city of Jūn and remained there for nearly nine months. Shāh Husain opposed him with a formidable army. Though no major battle but only skirmishes took place, the situation of the Mughuls became precarious. The arrogant behaviour of some Mughul nobles alienated the Rājputs who left Humāyūn. One of his prominent noblemen, Mun'im Beg, deserted him, and desertion to the enemy became frequent and contagious. It was at this critical juncture that Humāyūn was joined by his valued servant Bairam Beg who had separated from him after the disastrous battle of Kanauj and made an adventurous escape from the clutches of Sher Shāh. From this time onwards Bairam Beg becomes Humāyūn's chief counsellor and guide. On his advice Humāyūn concluded a treaty with Shāh Husain who agreed to allow Humāyūn passage through his territory to Qandahār and supply him with money and other requisites for the journey.

On 11 July, 1543, Humāyūn left Jūn for Sehwān and from there via Gandāva and Sibī advanced as far as Shāl (Quetta). He could not proceed to Qandahār in view of the hostile attitude of Mīrzā Kāmrān but retreated southwards to Mastung. Mīrzā Kāmrān had ousted Hindāl from the government of Qandahār and carried him as well as Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā, who had arrived from Sind, to Kābul. He then sought the alliance of Shāh Husain Arghūn by proposing to marry his daughter and instructed Mīrzā 'Askarī, whom he had appointed governor of Qandahār, to oppose Humāyūn. The idea of going to Qandahār was given up and, on the advice of Bairam Beg, who was a Shiah and whose ancestors were related to, and in alliance with, the former rulers of Īrān, he decided to go to

Persia. In extreme haste Humāyūn departed from Mastung, leaving the child Akbar to the tender mercy of his uncles. From Garmsīr he wrote a letter to Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia asking permission to visit him but, pursued by Mīrzā 'Askarī's men, he entered the Shāh's territory before he received his reply (January, 1544).

It was not until August, 1544, that Humāyūn could meet the Shāh at his summer capital between Abhar and Sultānīya. Along the entire route wherever he had halted he had been given regal reception and a grand reception was held at the court to welcome him, but they were rather studied displays of the Shāh's magnificence than expressions of honour to his dethroned guest. Humāyūn remained at the Shāh's court for a few months during which he had to suffer humiliation and insult, and was forced by threat of violence to make a confession of the Shiah faith and agree to spread Shiahism in India. In lieu of this sacrifice, the zealous Persian monarch agreed to render him military help for the recovery of his territory in Afghānistān on condition that Qandahār should be restored to Persia. The Shāh's treatment of Humāyūn was marked by a curious compound of courtesy and insult, hospitality and hostility, generosity and meanness.

Reinforced with 14,000 Persian troops Humāyūn arrived at the vicinity of Qandahār on 21 March, 1545,[22a] and laid siege to it. As the siege went on, he sent Bairam Khān[23] on a diplomatic mission to Kābul with a view to winning the Tīmūrid princes and nobles over to his side. Mīrzā 'Askarī surrendered the fort on 3 September, 1545, and Qandahār was made over to the Persians as stipulated. But the Persian troops declined to render any further help to Humāyūn, who was now being joined by his followers but had no shelter. Pressed by sheer necessity, he made a sudden attack on Qandahār one month later, expelled the Persian garrison, and took it in violation of his agreement with Shāh Tahmāsp. The occupation of Qandahār was the turning point in the history of Humāyūn. He had now a place under the sun and a base for further operations. Thus ended the second period of his history, the period of exile. He could now think of recovering his kingdom in Afghānistān and ultimately his dominions in India. The significance of Humāyūn's Persian exile is indeed very great. Without it the restoration of the Mughul power in India would not have been possible. Not only was diplomatic relation established between the Safavī and Mughul courts, but it led to closer contacts between Īrān and India whose full significance was realized in the reign of Akbar.

III. RETURN

Humāyūn appointed Bairam Khān to the government of Qandahār and set out for Kābul. On the way Mīrzā Hindāl joined him and, as he advanced, desertion in his camp forced Mīrzā Kāmrān to escape to Sind by way of Ghaznī, and Humāyūn entered Kābul without any opposition (18 November, 1545) and met his son Akbar after an interval of about two years. The occupation of Qandahār and Kābul made Humāyūn master of southern Afghānistān.

In March, 1546, Humāyūn set out on a campaign in Badakhshān (Northern Afghānistān) whose ruler Mīrzā Sulaimān had recently been set free from Kāmrān's bondage at Kābul. Humāyūn took 'Askarī with him and ordered execution of Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā who had rejoined his service but had shown signs of disaffection. Humāyūn's campaign met with success; at Tīrgīrān he defeated Sulaimān and forced him to escape to Kūlāb. Humāyūn then advanced to Kishm and from there to Qil'a Zafar, but on the way fell dangerously ill which caused disaffection in the army and encouraged Kāmrān to move out of Sind. Reinforced by his father-in-law, Shāh Husain, Mīrzā Kāmrān returned to Afghānistān, took Ghaznī, whose governor Zāhid Beg he put to death, and marched upon Kābul. Kābul also fell into his hands and Mīrzā Kāmrān began a reign of terror, brutally killing and executing many of the followers of Humāyūn. Winter was at its worst, but Humāyūn had to hurry back towards Kābul. He besieged the city and the siege continued for several months. The contest was bitter, so much so that Kāmrān placed Akbar on the battlements, exposed to his father's gun and musket shots. Realizing, however, that it was impossible to hold the city, he fled through a hole made in the fort wall (27 April, 1547), narrowly escaping capture by Hājī Muhammad or, according to Jauhar, Mīrzā Hindāl who pursued him. He first went to Mīrzā Sulaimān but, failing to win him over to his side, approached the Uzbeg chief Pīr Muhammad Khān of Balkh, and with his help captured much of the territory of Badakhshān. Humāyūn accordingly set out on a second campaign against Badakhshān (June, 1548). By way of Andarāb, where he was joined by Mīrzā Hindāl who arrived from Qunduz, he proceeded to Tāliqān and besieged it. Mīrzā Kāmrān, failing to secure further help from the Uzbegs, surrendered the fort after some resistance (17 August, 1548) and rendered homage to Humāyūn who pardoned him and granted him Kūlāb, north of the Oxus, as his *jāgīr*, which, however, was considered as an insult by the ex-king of Kābul and Badakhshān. In October Humāyūn returned to Kābul.

In February, 1549, Humāyūn led a campaign against Balkh and the Uzbegs, his hereditary enemies. Though he was joined by Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Sulaimān on the way, Mīrzā Kāmrān refused to come to his aid. Humāyūn, after gaining some successes against the army of Pīr Muhammad Khān, was able to reach Balkh and was on the point of taking the city when the bogey of Kāmrān's attack on Kābul told upon the morale of the Mughul officers and, as they retreated, they were hard-pressed by the enemy from behind and many were killed. The retreat became a rout and the campaign ended in a tragic fiasco. Mīrzā Kāmrān now marched against Mīrzā Sulaimān, took Tāliqān and Qil'a Zafar, and attacked Mīrzā Hindāl, but was afterwards forced to withdraw into the Hazāra country on account of the combined opposition of Hindāl and Sulaimān.

In the middle of 1550 Humāyūn marched from Kābul towards Ghurband to chastise his incorrigible brother. He was surprised by Mīrzā Kāmrān in the Qibchaq defile[24] and in the battle that followed Humāyūn lost many of his soldiers and was himself wounded. Kāmrān made a hurried march to Kābul, took it and held it for three months. Kābul believed Humāyūn dead, while he was waiting in Andarāb. With the help of reinforcements sent by Mīrzā Sulaimān's wife, Humāyūn marched against Kāmrān who rejected his terms, fought the battle for Kābul and won it. Mīrzā Kāmrān fled and Mīrzā 'Askarī, who had joined Kāmrān, was captured and banished.[25]

The battle for Kābul had been won but the problem of Kāmrān remained. He was now joined by one of Humāyūn's most prominent officers, Hājī Muhammad Khān. To meet this dangerous situation Humāyūn recalled from Qandahār Bairam Khān who was able to conciliate Hājī Muhammad and bring him to his master. Humāyūn, who had on account of adversity and misfortune become wiser and sterner and put Yādgār Nāsir to death and banished 'Askarī, now executed Hājī Muhammad. Mīrzā Kāmrān gathered the Afghāns under him and stirred up strife in the territory between Kābul and the Indus. During one of these engagements on 20 November, 1551, Mīrzā Kāmrān surprised his brother at night at Jiryār in Nangnahar and, though he was defeated,[25a] Mīrzā Hindāl was killed in action. Humāyūn pursued him but he fled to the Punjab and sought shelter with Islām Shāh who treated him with cold neglect. Ultimately he took refuge with Sultān Ādam, the Gakkhar, who after some hesitation surrendered him to Humāyūn who had reached the Indus on receiving report from the Gakkhar chief.[26] On the advice of his nobles Humāyūn had Kāmrān blinded and gave him leave to proceed to Mecca (1553).[27] 'The great material of sedition and strife', as the Mughul imperial historian calls him, Mīrzā Kāmrān has been more sinned against than sinning, and so far as Kābul was concerned he was rather 'the defender of rights than their assailant'.[27a] Humāyūn now planned to lead an expedition into Kāshmir where the short-lived Mughul rule under Haidar Mīrzā had been overthrown two years ago, but on account of the opposition of his nobles he returned to Kābul by way of Peshāwar (December, 1553).

During Humāyūn's stay in Afghānistān he was greatly helped by Bairam Khān in the consolidation of Mughul power. While all around there was frequent commotion and strife, Qandahār was ably maintained by its governor as the undisputed base of Mughul operations. In 1554 Bairam left Qandahār for Kābul to join Humāyūn in his Indian campaign for which he had been making preparations. He was now master of Qandahār, Kābul and Ghaznī. His brothers were no longer on the scene and 'there was now no rival to the throne and no noble behind and above the throne.' When he received the report of Islām Shāh's death and the anarchical condition of Hindusthān on account of the accession of the boy king Fīrūz and the outbreak of civil war among the Afghāns,[28] he realized that the time had come for making a renewed bid for the throne of Delhi. The third chapter of his life ends here.

IV. RESTORATION

With an army of about 3,000 men, Humāyūn set out and reached Peshāwar on 25 December, 1554. He was soon joined by Bairam Khān, but Sultān Ādam, the Gakkhar, refused to attend on the ground that he had already concluded a treaty with Sikandar Shāh Sūr, who now held the Punjab after the murder of Fīrūz, and had surrendered his son as a hostage. Tātār Khān Kāshī, who held the fort of Rohtās for Sikandar Shāh, abandoned it on hearing of the advance of the Mughul army. Humāyūn marched on to Lahore and the Afghāns of the city took to flight. The Mughul force under Shāh Abu-'l-Ma'ālī defeated the Afghāns at Dīpālpur, while the main army under Bairam Khān had driven the Afghāns at Hariāna[29] and as he proceeded to Jullundur, the enemy retreated. Sirhind also fell into the hands of the Mughuls. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the Mughuls, Sikandar Shāh now despatched an army of 30,000 horse towards Sirhind. Bairam Khān, not unnerved by the enemy's superiority, hastened from Jullundur to give battle and crossed the Sutlej before the arrival of the enemy. Towards sunset, the two armies met at Māchīwārā in Ludhiāna district, and the battle began. As it grew dark at night, it became impossible for soldiers on either side to fight. Accidentally, fire broke out in the village in which the Afghān army had drawn up.[30] It enabled the Mughuls to see clearly every motion of the Afghāns and discharge arrows at them, whereas the Afghāns, who had no view of the enemy, shot at random, and ultimately failed to maintain their ground and took to flight (May, 1555).

Bairam Khān marched at the head of the victorious Mughuls to Sirhind and took it. The battle of Māchīwārā was but a big round in the struggle between the Mughuls and the Afghāns; the battle for Delhi was yet to be fought. On learning of the defeat of the Afghāns, Sikandar Shāh marched from Delhi with an army of 80,000 horse and a big train of artillery and war elephants, and encamped at Sirhind. Bairam Khān, whose forces amounted to seven or eight hundred horse,[31] appealed to Humāyūn at Lahore to come to his aid but, on account of illness, Humāyūn could not arrive at Sirhind before 27 May, 1555. The two armies remained encamped opposite each other for twenty-five days during which occasional skirmishes took place. On 22 June, Khvāja Mu'azzam, Atga Khān and others advanced and fell in with Kālā Pahār, the brother of Sikandar Shāh, and the battle began. The Afghāns concentrated their main attack on the division of Bairam Khān who stood on the defensive, while the two Mughul divisions under Shāh Abu-'l-Ma'ālī and Tardī Beg Khān wheeled round the enemy, and in a short time the Afghān army became a mass of confusion and took to flight. The Mughul troops, who were vastly inferior in number,[32] pursued the defeated Afghāns to a long distance and killed many of them, and a pyramid was made of the heads of the slain. Sikandar fled to the Siwālik hills. Māchīwārā and Sirhind undid the work of Chausa and Kanauj which had put an end to the empire of Bābur; they sealed the fate of the Afghān empire of Sher Shāh.

From Sirhind Humāyūn proceeded towards Delhi. When he reached Samānā, he appointed Shāh Abu-'l-Ma'ālī, governor of the Punjab, and despatched him to Lahore. Meanwhile Sikandar Khān, the Uzbeg, had occupied Delhi. Humāyūn accordingly left Samānā and on 23 July, 1555, re-entered the city of Delhi. He now distributed offices and commands to his faithful servants. Atga Khān took Hissār which surrendered after a siege of twenty-three days, while 'Alī Qulī Khān suppressed Qambar 'Alī, an unknown Mughul adventurer, who headed a rebellion at Badāūn, and put him to death, though he had appealed to Humāyūn for pardon which the king was willing to grant. Haidar Muhammad Ākhta Begī took Bayāna after treacherously putting to death its Afghān governor Ghāzī Khān, the father of Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, though he surrendered after he had received promise of pardon. The conduct of 'Alī-Qulī Khān and Haidar Muhammad offers but typical examples of the weakness of the royal power and the overpowering influence of an irresponsible and lawless aristocracy.

On account of Abu-'l-Ma'ālī's misbehaviour, Humāyūn placed the government of the Punjab in the nominal charge of prince Akbar but under the real control of his guardian Bairam Khān. On learning of the advance of Bairam Khān and Akbar, Sikandar, who had meanwhile come out of the hills, retired to the fortress of Mānkot. When they arrived at Hariāna, they received the report of Humāyūn's accident.[32a] On 24 January, 1556, in pious response to the sacred call of the *mu'azzin* for evening prayer, Humāyūn, while hurriedly coming down from his library, stumbled out of the stairs and, two days later, in the picturesque words of Lane-Poole, he tumbled out of life as he had tumbled through it.

The brilliant conquests of his father and the unique genius of his son have eclipsed the manifold good qualities of Humāyūn, but there is no doubt that his many virtues could not compensate for his serious defects. Generous and kindly in disposition, affable and urban in manners, possessing social bonhomie and ready wit, brave and chivalrous in temperament, cultured and fond of learning and the arts,[33] as became the son of Bābur, Humāyūn was the very flower of humanity and the model of a gentleman, the knight-errant of the Mughul dynasty. The very virtues of his character bred some of his defects; his charity bordered on prodigality, his affection, on weakness. He lacked resolution and sustained energy; his lethargy was chronic and contagious and he had no steady sense of duty and self-respect: 'he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in the saddle'. Daring as a soldier, he did not possess the superior talents of a general. He was equally deficient in the gifts of diplomacy and statesmanship. Māndū and Gaur revealed the obverse of the medal. A distinct improvement in his character is discernible after the period of his exile when some of his fatal defects which cost him his throne seemed to have been toned down. The author of the Tīmūrid restoration of 1555 was different from the gay prisoner of the harem who lost Gujarāt, Mālwa and Bengal; Kābul did not prove a second Māndū. He was a pious Muslim, rigid in the observance of rituals and regular in his devotions, with a mixture of mysticism and superstition in him—a liberal Sunni with predilection for the Shīahite faith.[34] In some traits Humāyūn, who loved opium probably more than the throne, resembles his bohemian grandson who practically abdicated in his loyalty to the wine cup. With all his weaknesses and failings, Humāyūn has a significant place in Indian history which is not, perhaps, always duly appreciated. The well-timed restoration of the Mughul power was a real achievement which paved the way for the splendid imperialism of Akbar, while the Indo-Persian contact, which he reinforced and stimulated, was a factor of far-reaching consequence in the history of Indian civilization.

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1. Dr. S. K. Banerji ascribes this delay of four days in Humāyūn's accession to Mīr Khalīfa's plot to place Mahdī Khvāja on the throne, but from Nizām-ud-Dīn Ahmad, who is our authority for the incident, it appears the Khalīfa's attempt was made while Bābur was still alive (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 43).
2. Dadrah on the Gumti in the Musafirkhana *tahsil* of the Sultanpur district and not the Dadrah in the Nawabganj *tahsil* of the Bara-Banki district, as S. K. Banerji suggests (*Humāyūn Bādshāh,* Vol. 1, p. 42, f.n. 2). According to Dr. Qanungo (*Sher Shah,* p. 72) the battle took place at Dauroh, and according to the *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. IV, pp. 21, 49, at Daunrūā on the river Sai, 15 miles east of Jaunpur. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History,* Vol I, p. 450, suggests Deunruh. Ishwari Prasad, p. 50, f.n. 1, has Daurah. The MSS. of Jauhar (Sarkar; British Museum; India Office; Rylands Library, Manchester) give the word in such a way that it can be read both as Daurah and Dadrah, but Faizī Sirhindī's recension of Jauhar (India Office MS.) has clear Dadrah; and Dadrah on the Gumti fits in with the description of Jauhar. Details are given in the writer's *Bairam Khān,* pp. 48-49 (In the press).

   The date 1532 is given in the *Akbar-nāma* I, p. 289, and *Tārīkh-i-Alfī,* I.O.MS., fol. 406b: 939 A.H., August, 1532-July, 1533. The year 1531 is based on the statement of Gulbadan Begam.

2a. According to some chronicles he remained aloof.

3. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī,* pp. 239-241; Abū Turāb, *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt,* pp. 9-11.
4. *Akbar-nāma,* Eng. trans. I, p. 303, but *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī,* p. 246, gives the date 20 Ramazan, 941/25 March, 1535. The *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. IV, p. 22, seems to accept this date.
5. Abū Turāb, *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt,* p. 16.
6. Fortieth according to some chronicles. There is a picture depicting the siege of Chāmpāner in the *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūrīya* at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.
7. 22° 50′ N., 72° 48′ E.
8. For the early history of Sher Shāh, see the next chapter.
9. There is a discrepancy among the chroniclers about the date of this campaign. The correct date seems to be that given by Firishta (Vol. I, p. 216): 18 Safar, 944/27 July, 1537, and confirmed by the *Riyāz-us-Salātīn* (p. 141). The Dacca University *History of Bengal,* Vol. II, edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 166, has curiously the incorrect date, July, 1538 (945 A.H.), and wrongly states in f.n. 2 that the *Riyāz-us-Salātīn* gives 945 A.H., on p. 143. What the chronicle states there is that Humāyūn left Bihār for Gaur in the beginning of 945 A.H. and he had already undertaken in 944 A.H. the siege of Chunār which surrendered after six months. See p. 141. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 74 and f.n. 20.

9a. According to Firishta I, p. 216, Humāyūn, after he was met by Sultān Mahmūd, marched towards Bengal in the beginning of 945 A.H. As 945 A.H. commences on May 30, 1538, we may fix June, 1538, as the date of the battle of Teliyāgarhī. After the battle the Mughul army returned to Kahalgāon. Sultān Mahmūd died here. We are told by Jauhar (British Museum MS. ff. 16a-17a) that Hājī Muhammad was sent from Kahalgrām to reconnoitre the position of the enemy at the pass. Hājī Muhammad found the pass under the occupation of Jalāl Khān; and it was only after the departure of Jalāl Khān that Humāyūn started from Kahalgrām and reached Gaur in a few days. From the above description of Jauhar it appears that Humāyūn probably reached Gaur early in July, 1538. The Afghān chronicles suggest a later date According to the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* (Dorn 1, 115) and 'Abbās (E. & D. IV. 367) Humāyūn was detained after the battle of Teliyāgarhī for one month and then he left for Gaur.

So, from the above, July, 1538, appears to be the correct date. Dr. S. K. Banerji (*Humāyūn* 1, 213, f.n.) gives definite date Rabi' 1, 20, 945/15 August, 1538, but I have not been able to find out his authority, nor does he mention it. Ishwari Prasad gives the date as June, 1538.

10. *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript), p. 152.

10a. *Akbar-nāma* I, pp. 339-40.

11. The chronology of Humāyūn's expedition to Bengal, as given in the chronicles, is confusing. As already stated above, Humāyūn reached Gaur probably early in July, 1538, and both Jauhar and Gulbadan state that he stayed there for 9 months. Calculating 9 lunar months, we find Humāyūn set out from Bengal at the end of March, 1539.

12. The treachery of Sher Khān is related not only by a neutral historian like Firishta (Vol. I, p. 217), but by the Afghān chroniclers as well: *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī,* pp. 158-162, *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi* pp. 184-5; (MS. Sarkar); *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* (A.S.B. MS.) f. 98a. *Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghina,* pp. 153, 197, 199. (Somewhat different account is given in Ch. IV. [Ed.]).

13. *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī,* p. 172. *Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī,* pp. 185-86. Coins struck in 945 A.H. (May, 1538-May, 1539) exist, from which it seems that he had assumed royal title earlier. See *Islamic Culture,* 1936, pp. 127-30.

13a. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī,* Elias and Ross, pp. 471-72.

14. *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī,* Elias and Ross, pp. 476-77. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* Vol. II, p. 45; Firishta, Vol. I, p. 218; Ahmad Yādgār, pp. 155-56, 203-4.

15. In the Mainpuri district, 27° 15′ N, 79° 14′ E.

16. 28° 54′ N, 76° 38′ E.

16a. *Akbar-nāma,* I, 358-59.

17. Haidar Mīrzā was able to carve out an independent kingdom in Kāshmīr, though short-lived (1541-1551).

18. *Āīn-i-Akbarī,* Jarrett, Vol. II, new ed., p. 341.

19. About 100 miles (fifty *kos*) south of Rohri.

19a. *Akbar-nāma* I, p. 369.

20. Shāh Husain's father, Mīrzā Shāh Beg Arghūn, had been deprived of Qandahār by Bābur. See the last chapter.

21. In Bahawalpur State, Punjab, 28° 44′ N, 71° 14′ E.

21a. Cf. Abu-'l-Fazl *A.N.* I. 37. Other reasons have been suggested for change of Māldev's policy. For example, Syāmaldās states in the *Vīrvinod* (II, 809) that Humāyūn's party slaughtered cows, on which Māldev asked them to get out of his territory.

22. We accept the date of Akbar's birth as given by Gulbadan Begam, Abu-'l-Fazl and 'Ārif Qandahārī, p. 16. For the other view see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1886, pp. 80-85 and *Indian Antiquary,* November, 1915, pp. 233-44.

22a. *Akbar-nāma,* I, p. 459.

23. The Shāh of Persia had conferred on him the title of Khān.

24. Near Ghurband.

25. In 1551 'Askarī went to Mecca and remained in exile till his death in 1558.

25a. *Akbar-nāma,* I, p. 582, Nizām-ud-dīn, II, p. 127.

26. The Gakkhars ruled in the territory between the Indus and the upper courses of the Jhelum.

27. He went to Mecca by way of Sind and died there on 5 October, 1557.

27a. This view is not likely to be accepted by all; cf. e.g. Ishwari Prasad, op. cit., p. 319. S. K. Banerji, who at first accepted the view, seems to have changed his mind (Vol. II, pp. 281-82). But in judging Kāmrān we should remember that we know Kāmrān only from the writings of the Mughul historians of Akbar's court who could not but be somewhat biassed against the arch-enemy of their patron's father. Badāūnī takes a different view (I.585). [Ed.]

28. For details, vide the next chapter.

29. 31° 38′ N and 72° 52′ E, in Hoshiarpur district.

30. Bāyazīd, pp. 191-92. Some chronicles suggest that the Afghāns kindled fire with a view to obtaining a view of the enemy which does not seem probable.

31. Jauhar, India Office MS. f. 52a.

32. According to Jauhar, Aligarh MS. (Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript), p. 224, the number was 5,000. The highest estimate puts it at 10,000.

32a. *Akbar-nāma,* I, 662.

33. He took interest in astrology, mathematics and literature and wrote good verses. The *Dīwān-i-Humāyūn* in MS. was exhibited by Professor Sayyid Hasan Askari at the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939. See Proceedings, pp. 1674-75.

34. Khvānd Amīr, *Humāyūn-nāma* (*Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*), pp. 31-44; Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma,* English Translation, pp. 118-26; *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarīkh* (Eng. trans.) Vol. I, pp. 467-68 and Vol. III, pp. 6-10; Firishta (Lucknow text), Vol. I, p. 243.

CHAPTER IV

SHER SHĀH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

I. SHER SHĀH (1538-1545)

Sher Shāh is one of the most striking and redoubtable figures in medieval Indian history. From an humble beginning in life he eventually revived the Afghān power in Northern India by defeating and ousting the Mughul emperor Humāyūn, and gave his newly established empire a well-organized administration, hitherto rare in medieval Indian history.

Farīd, as was his original name, was the grandson of Ibrāhīm Sūr, an obscure Afghān of Roh in the Sulaimān Range. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Ibrāhīm was a horse-dealer,[1] but as he could not prosper in his business there, he, along with his son Hasan, migrated to India during the later part of the reign of Sultān Buhlūl Lodī with a view to improving his fortune in Hindusthān.

But, as ill-luck would have it, he did not thrive here also; he could not rise to any higher position than that of a Commander of forty horsemen only, with assignments of some villages in the barren *parganā* of Nārnaul under Jamāl Khān Sārangkhānī of Hissār Fīrūza. On his decease, his son Hasan succeeded to his *jāgīr*.

Farīd was born of the first wife of Hasan. The date of his birth is usually given as about 1486; but the modern historians hold different views on the subject. No medieval historian, on whom the modern scholars depend for reconstruction of the history of Farīd, mentioned the exact date of his birth. Among the modern historians Dr. P. Saran, without any indication of evidence from earlier sources and depending mainly on two late works of the nineteenth century—*Jām-i-Jam* written in 1839 and *Āsār-us-Sanādīd* (1846) of Sir Sayyid Ahmad of Aligarh—holds that he was born in A.D. 1472;[2] but as these are very late works, it is neither reasonable nor safe to depend upon them in the absence of any such information from the earlier historians. Writing during the reign of Akbar, 'Abbās Sarwānī stated that Farīd was "born during the time of Buhlul" (1451-1489),[3] but this statement is too vague to arrive at an exact conclusion. From the meagre materials available about Ibrāhīm it is reasonable to hold that he migrated to India in his old age almost at the fag-end of the reign of Buhlūl when it was not possible for him to reap the advantage given to Afghān recruits during the early part of the reign of this monarch, and hence he could not rise to any higher position than that of the Commander of forty horsemen with a small *jāgīr* in the *parganā* of Nārnaul. Having due consideration to these facts it is not unreasonable to fix Farīd's birth about A.D. 1486.[4]

About his place of birth, also, the modern scholars are not in agreement. Dr. P. Saran is of opinion that he was born at Bajwāra, whereas Dr. Ishwari Prasād and Dr. K. R. Qanungo hold that his birth took place in the *parganā* of Nārnaul.[5] According to the *Makhzan*, his birth-place is Hissār,[6] but no earlier historian like 'Abbās Sarwānī or Abu-'l-Fazl mentioned the place of his birth. It is quite in keeping with the implication of Abu-'l-Fazl's writing[7] to say that Farīd was born in the *parganā* of Nārnaul where his father and grandfather lived and which he appears to have remembered so much in his later years as to establish in it a fortified district headquarters and build a mausoleum over the grave of his grandfather. On the other hand, no evidence is forthcoming to show his interest for Hissār.

Hasan's abilities attracted the attention of Jamāl Khān, who after his transfer to Jaunpur as governor, conferred the *parganās* of Sasarām and Khavāsspur Tāndā (in the modern Shāhābād district of Bihār) upon him as a *jāgīr* for the maintenance of five hundred troopers.

By his four marriages Hasan had eight sons, of whom Farīd and Nizām were born of his first wife, an Afghān lady, and Sulaimān and Ahmad were the sons of his youngest wife, originally a slave-girl. The boyhood of Farīd was far from happy and peaceful. His father had great attachment for his youngest wife, to the neglect of his first wife. The indifference and unkindness of the father and too much jealousy of the step-mother appeared so unbearable to Farīd that he left Sasarām and went to Jaunpur which was, in those days, an important centre of Muslim learning and culture, and where its *madrasas* gave free board and lodging to the Muslim students. There he studied both Arabic and Persian languages, including the well-known Persian works, the *Gulistān*, the *Bustān* and the *Sikandarnāma*. It is likely that he learnt there Hindī and arithmetic as well.

His efficient administration of his father's *jāgīr* on the very first occasion leads one to the natural assumption that he might have had opportunities of acquiring experience of civil administration also during his long period of absence from Sasarām.

He had come to Jaunpur about 1501, and on having a reconciliation with his father through the mediation of his well-wishers, he left for Sasarām probably in January, 1518. Dr. Qanungo holds that "the key to the situation that compelled Miān Hasan and Sulaimān's mother to agree to a reconciliation with Farīd and also induced them to appoint him temporarily to the charge of the *parganās*, lay in the political crisis of the Lodī Sultanate after the death of Sultān Sikandar in November, 1517."[8]

On his return, Farīd acted as his father's deputy in the *parganās* of Sasarām and Khavāsspur Tāndā, and during this period (c. 1518-1522) he administered justice to all, punishing the unruly *Zamīndārs* and the unscrupulous and oppressive officials, and protecting the ryots from all kinds of oppression and tyranny, as he realized "that the stability of every administration depended on justice, and that it should be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak or by permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity."[9] Fully aware that agriculture was the principal source of wealth, he encouraged cultivation in all possible ways and took steps to protect the cultivators from oppression. He said, "if the ruler cannot protect the ryots from oppressors, it is sheer injustice and shame to receive rents from them."[10] His personal care for the peasants and far-sighted revenue reforms increased cultivation and satisfied them. By his indefatigable industry he established peace, prosperity and happiness in his father's *jāgīr*. Little did he know then that he was thus serving a period of apprenticeship for the role of a monarch in the future.

The successful administration and growing fame of Farīd roused the jealousy of Sulaiman's mother all the more, and, despite his brilliant achievements, his father, who was under her spell, was alienated from him. Finding the position intolerable Farīd resigned his post and proceeded towards Āgra, the then capital of the Lodī Sultanate.

He succeeded there in obtaining a patron in Daulat Khān, an influential *amīr*, through whom his case was put before Sultān Ibrāhīm for taking possession of his father's *jāgīr*. But the Sultān turned down this request, saying, "he must be a bad man indeed who should complain against his own father".[11] However, it so happened that Hasan died soon after, and Daulat Khān was able to procure a royal *farmān* in favour of Farīd on the strength of which the latter got possession of his father's *jāgīr*.

On his arrival at Sasarām, Sulaimān, his step-brother, fled to Muhammad Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of Chaund,[12] and sought his assistance. To counteract this, Farīd entered the service of Bihār Khān

Lohānī, who, after the battle of Pānīpat in A.D. 1526, declared his independence in South Bihār and took the title of Sultān Muhammad.

Farīd worked very hard in the service of his master and won his favour. We learn from Firishta and 'Abbās Sarwānī that Sultān Muhammad bestowed the title of Sher Khān on him for killing a tiger single-handed in a hunting excursion.[13] He also discharged his duties efficiently as the deputy-governor (*vakīl*) of South Bihār and tutor (*ataliq*) of Jalāl Khān, minor son of Sultān Muhammad, in which capacities he had been appointed.

The rapid rise of Farīd was looked upon askance by some and specially by Sulaimān, his mother, and Muhammad Khān of Chaund through whose machination he was deprived of his *jāgīr* and compelled to leave Sasarām. He went to the Mughul camp (A. D. 1527), and, rendering useful service to Bābur during his eastern campaigns, he got back his *jāgīr* through his assistance (A.D. 1528). In the following year circumstances compelled him to join the Afghān rebels led by Mahmūd Lodī, the son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī, against Bābur, but he offered his submission again, as did many of the Afghān leaders, after their attempts had ended in a fiasco.

On the death of Sultān Muhammad in A.D. 1528, his minor son Jalāl was installed in his father's place with his mother Dūdū as the regent. But his capital was seized by Mahmūd Lodī in the same year. He was, however, restored in his position as a vassal of the Mughul emperor by Bābur after the submission of the Afghāns as mentioned above.

As it was not possible for Dūdū to manage the multifarious duties of the State, Sher Khān, who had already proved his administrative ability, was appointed as the Deputy (*nāib*) in A.D. 1529. Dūdū having died in the beginning of 1530, all the duties of State devolved on him, and although he performed them efficiently, he aimed at centralization of all powers in his own hands.

He created a strong party of his own and won the support of the greater part of the army to his cause. His position was further strengthened by the acquisition of the important fortress of Chunār, situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā (Ganges) south-west of Banāras, by his marriage with Lād Mālka, the childless widow of Tāj Khān, the commandant of the fort (A.D. 1530). After this, he took possession of the *parganā* of Chunār. In the same year, as a result of another marriage with Gauhar Gossain, the childless widow of Nāsir Khān Lohānī of Ghāzīpur, he got an enormous wealth of three hundred *mans* of gold.[14] Thus, by the end of 1530, he became a powerful factor to be reckoned with.

On the personal request of Sultān Mahmūd Lodī, Sher joined him against the Mughuls, as resistance was not feasible, but, at the same time he secured a *farmān* from him for the kingdom of Bihār, thus acting against the interest of Jalāl. In the ensuing battle between Sultān Mahmūd and Humāyūn, fought at Dadrah[15] on the bank of the Gomatī (c. September, 1531), he treacherously deserted the Sultān. This battle "marks a turning point in the career of Sher Khān and his relations with the Mughuls . . . . The almost total destruction of the Afghān army in this battle doomed the Lodī cause for ever, and Sher emerged as the forlorn hope of the Afghāns, whose hatred of the Mughuls was diverted to a new channel by him."[16]

After thus crushing the power of the Afghāns, Humāyūn was not inclined to leave the strategic fortress of Chunār to an Afghān, although the latter had served the interest of the Mughuls on the day of the above-mentioned battle. Humāyūn opened negotiations with Sher for its surrender, but, on finding the latter unwilling to comply with this, it was besieged. When the siege was in progress, Humāyūn was perturbed at the news of the hostile activities of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, and, accepting the nominal submission of Sher, he raised the siege and left the place (December, 1531). It was a great triumph for Sher, as he not only remained in possession of the fortress but got sufficient time to strengthen his position further to enable him to give his opponent a crushing defeat which eventually cost the latter his throne.

The Lohānī Chiefs, who were extremely jealous of the growing power of Sher, became restive and wanted to get rid of him by any means. His alliance with Makhdūm 'Ālam, the rebel Bengal governor of Hājīpur, brought about an invasion of South Bihār by Sultān Mahmūd Shāh of Bengal, particularly with the intention of punishing Sher, and this "had the secret support of the Lohānīs."[17] But the deputy-governor of South Bihār succeeded in winning a decisive victory over the army of Mahmūd, and took possession of the territory of Bengal up to the neighbourhood of Sūrajgarh. He had also received immense accumulated treasure which Makhdūm had deposited with him for safe custody before his defeat and death.

The defeat of the Bengal army was a blow to the Lohānīs whose chance of deliverance from the control of the deputy-governor vanished with it. Jalāl, also, was impatient of his tutelage and dictatorship. The Lohānī chiefs conspired to assassinate him, but the latter was too careful and cautious to be thrown off his guard. Accompanied by Jalāl, they then left South Bihār and went to Sultān Mahmūd of Bengal who had been burning with rage to take revenge for the discomfiture of his army at the hands of Sher.

The Sultān of Bengal made a huge preparation to crush him. The expeditionary force was placed under the command of Ibrāhīm Khān, an eminent commander, and, accompanied by Jalāl, it moved out of Mungir which had become the base of operations for this campaign. A decisive battle was fought between Sher and the Bengal army on the strategic plain of Sūrajgarh, a few miles east of Barh and about eighteen miles west of Mungir. It ended in a complete victory of Sher; Ibrāhīm fell fighting and Jalāl fled to Sultān Mahmūd (A.D. 1534).

The victory was undoubtedly a great feat on the part of Sher, and, besides his military success in routing the Bengal army for the second time, it had far-reaching political consequences. It humbled the power and prestige of Mahmūd to a great extent and Sher came to possess a wide territory on the southern bank of the Gaṅgā (Ganges) from Sūrajgarh to Chunār. After this, his ambition soared higher up. Dr. Qanungo has rightly said: "But for the victory of Sūrajgarh, the son of a nondescript *jāgīrdār* of Sasarām would perhaps never have emerged from his obscurity in quest of a crown."[18]

Apprehending no sudden attack from the west, as Humāyūn was busy in his Gujarāt campaign against Bahādur Shāh, Sher moved against Mahmūd Shāh before the rainy season of 1535 and conquered the territory as far as Bhāgalpur.

In the following year he again opened his campaign against Mahmūd and proceeded towards Gaur, the capital of Bengal. At Teliyāgarhī, he had to meet with a strong opposition of the Bengal army and their Portuguese allies. Leaving a detachment there under his son Jalāl Khān, he advanced through the unfrequented Jhārkhand route and surprised the Sultān of Bengal by suddenly appearing before his capital city. If Mahmūd would have taken courage to withstand his adversary, it would have been very difficult for Sher to capture Gaur with its impregnable fortifications, but Mahmūd was frightened beyond measure and acted with cowardice by offering terms of peace to the invader. By the terms of the treaty, Sher received thirteen lakhs of gold pieces and a wide territory from Kiul to Sakrigalī, ninety miles in length with a breadth of thirty miles at various places.

These achievements enhanced considerably his power and prestige, and on the fall of Bahādūr Shāh of Gujarāt, some of the Afghān chiefs, who looked upon him as their future hope, also joined him. The weakness of Mahmūd having been completely revealed, Sher was bent upon another invasion of Bengal and this he undertook on the pretext of the Bengal Sultān's non-payment of the annual tribute (1537).[19] He proceeded to Gaur and laid siege to it. After leaving Jalāl Khān and Khavāss Khān in charge of the siege operations, he went to Chunār, and, strengthening its defences, removed his family and treasures to the hill fort of Bharkunda, fifty miles south of Chunār.

Humāyūn's anxiety knew no bounds when the alarming news of Sher Khān's activities in the east reached him. Although slow to act, he, after necessary preparations, left Āgra and proceeded against Sher. But instead of marching straight to Bengal, he made the fatal mistake of first besieging the fort of Chunār. Had he gone direct to Gaur and rendered assistance to Mahmūd, as requested, he might have saved the Bengal monarchy and utilized its services in future to his advantage.

The siege of Chunār dragged on, despite heavy bombardment of Rūmī Khān, and, in the meantime, Sher pushed on with his work in Bengal according to his plan.

After heroic defence for about three months, the fort of Chunār fell in March, 1538.[20] But Sher soon compensated this loss by the capture of the impregnable fort of Rohtās in Bihār by a stratagem. Instead of sending Afghān families and his treasure for safe custody in this fort, as had been arranged with its Rājā, he sent armed men in *dolis* into it and they, by a sudden sally, overpowered the garrison and occupied it.[21] His men obtained success in Bengal also, and he received the happy tidings of the capture of Gaur and flight of Sultān Mahmūd.

After the capture of Chunār, Humāyūn opened negotiations with his adversary for a compromise and end of hostility, but it eventually fell through, and he marched towards Bengal. At Muner (on the Son), Sultān Mahmūd, the fugitive king of Bengal, met him and he was assured of every possible assistance.

As soon as Sher received information of Humāyūn's movements, he started towards Gaur, narrowly by-passed the emperor near Patna, and sailed swiftly from Mungir to Gaur, reaching there much earlier than the arrival of the Mughul army at Colgong (Kahalgām), twenty-three miles west of Teliyāgarhī. He despatched his own son

Jalāl Khān with some other officers immediately to defend the pass of Teliyāgarhī, where, on their arrival, the Mughul advance party suffered a defeat and fell back on the main army of Colgong.

Not unnerved by the fear of Mughul arms, Sher celebrated his coronation at Gaur (1538) and assumed the title of Farīd-ud-duniyā Wa-dīn Abu-'l Muzaffar Sher Shāh, as Sultān.[22] After this, on completion of his arrangements, he evacuated Gaur and went to Rohtās by the Jhārkhand route. Jalāl Khān, too, had been advised to leave Teliyāgarhī at a particular time according to his plan.

Humāyūn occupied Garhī without any opposition and thence he arrived triumphantly at Gaur (June, 1558).[22a]

Sher did not waste his time at Rohtās but made extensive preparations for an offensive against the Mughuls. His plans exhibited wonderful dexterity and foresight. He despatched Khavāss Khān to recover the lost places of Bihār and watch the movements of Humāyūn, while he himself proceeded westward from Bihār. He laid siege to Banāras and captured it. Jaunpur and Chunār were also besieged but they held on, and were closely blockaded. One detachment under experienced and capable officers was despatched against Bahrāich and they expelled the Mughuls from that part of the country. Sher's activities did not stop there; he ravaged and conquered the whole country as far as Kanauj, and, according to 'Abbās, Sambhal also was occupied by his invading forces.[23]

Humāyūn wasted precious time (about nine months) in Bengal, and such thoughtlessness and want of foresight on his part at a time when his powerful adversary was utilizing all his resources to topple him down proved most disastrous to him. At last, the alarming news of his opponent's activities and the rebellion of his brother Mīrzā Hindāl roused him from torpor, and, leaving Jahāngīr Qulī Beg with an army of five thousand, he left Gaur (1539). Reaching Mungir, he crossed the Gaṅgā (Ganges) against the advice of his veteran officers and marched by the southern bank of the river which was under the control of the Afghāns. He marched up to Muner without any hindrance, but during his westward march from that place he suffered from their attacks on his flank. At last, he reached Chausa, situated close to the east bank of the Karmanāsā and ten miles south-west of Buxār.[24]

Sher pitched his camp on the western side of this river close to its junction with the Gaṅgā (Ganges). With what skill and foresight he made his plans and acted up to them can be understood from his actions. He had harassed the Mughuls from behind on their march from Muner and then crossed the Karmanāsā ahead of them to occupy a position from which he could keep an eye on the possible Mughul aid coming from the west, crossing the Gaṅga (Ganges) there, and, at the same time, prevent the crossing of the Karmanāsā by Humāyūn till rains worsen his position, of which he (Sher) would take the fullest advantage. Skirmishes went on between the hostile armies from day to day for a pretty long time. Humāyūn's position grew worse; "disease, hardship, and fear of the enemy prompted many of his soldiers to desert for their homes."[25] The anxiety of approaching monsoon perplexed him further, and, news from Delhi and Āgra being unfavourable, there was no hope of relief from those quarters. So, he commenced negotiations for peace with his foe, which, according to Jauhar, finally broke off due to the emperor's refusal to give up Chunār.[26]

Sher did not sit idle indefinitely but hit upon a plan of surprising the Mughuls. He gave out that he was proceeding against Mahāratha Chero, the leader of an aboriginal tribe in modern Shāhābād district, who had been defying him, and, after marching a few miles in that direction at night, crossed the Karmanāsā about five miles below Humāyūn's position, unnoticed by the Mughuls, and, in the early dawn of June 26, 1539, fell upon the Mughuls from three sides. The surprise was complete; many were killed in their bed asleep, and many of those who took to flight were drowned in the Gaṅgā (Ganges). Humāyūn was able to gather about three hundred men, with whose assistance he fought gallantly, but was wounded in the left arm, and carried towards the Gaṅgā (Ganges), where Nizām, a water-carrier, saved him from drowning with the help of his *masak* or inflated leather bag. Such was the sad plight of the emperor who reached Āgra with difficulty, via Allāhabād and Kālpī.

The loss of the Mughuls, both in men and war-materials, was heavy. Eight thousand men were killed, the Mughul army being "practically destroyed",[27] and the whole camp equipage, stores and artillery fell into the hands of the enemy. Sher's treatment towards the captive *begam* of Humāyūn and other Mughul women was full of sympathy and respect.

The Afghān victory at Chausa was decisive and had far-reaching consequences. Dr. Qanungo says: "The horizon of Sher Khān's ambition widened immensely; twelve months before he would have been glad to hold Bengal as the vassal of the Emperor. Now he won by this single stroke the whole territory of the Sharqī kingdom of Jaunpur in addition to the kingdoms of Bengal and Bihār in independent sovereignty, and could legitimately claim equality with the Emperor. So Delhi was no longer such a far cry for the victor."[28]

Sher then proceeded to recover Bengal. Jahāngīr Qulī, the Mughul governor there, had taken his post at Garhī which was besieged. It was soon occupied and Jahāngīr Qulī was treacherously slain along with his followers.[29] Gaur was next captured, and, although Sher could not spend time to establish his authority over the whole of Bengal, it appears that his rule extended "over the country comprising Gaur and Sharīfabād, Sātgāon and Chittāgong."[30] It appears that during his stay in Bengal, his second coronation took place at Gaur with pomp and grandeur (1539).[31]

After appointing Khizr Khān as governor of Bengal, he left this province and proceeded with his further plan of action. He marched towards Kanauj, and on his way, sent a detachment under his son Qutb Khān to harass the Mughul forces from behind, if the emperor happened to move towards Jaunpur or Kanauj by way of Kālpī and Etāwa. But Qutb was attacked and slain by the Mughuls near Kālpī.

On his return to Āgra, Humāyūn endeavoured his utmost to unite his brothers to fight against the mighty Afghān foe, but Kāmrān did not render any assistance. Despite diverse difficulties, the emperor gathered together a large army and a park of artillery and marched towards Kanauj where the enemies had been active.

At the Bhojpur ferry, thirty-one miles north-west of Kanauj, Sher foiled the attempt of the Mughuls to cross the Gaṅgā (Ganges) by means of a bridge of boats. Humāyūn then changed his plan and, proceeding towards Kanauj by marching along the western bank of the river, he encamped at the vicinity of Kanauj. For about a month the two hostile parties remained encamped on the two sides of the Gaṅgā, (Ganges) confronting each other—the Mughuls on the western bank and the Afghāns on the eastern bank. As there was a large number of desertions from the Mughul camp, Humāyūn considered it better to face the enemies in an open fight before his fighting strength dwindled abnormally low. He therefore crossed the river and encamped on a low-lying ground which was unluckily flooded by unusually early rains, necessitating the removal of the camp to an elevated ground in front. When on May 17, 1540, the Mughul army moved according to plan, Sher advanced to attack them. According to Mīrzā Haidar, who commanded one division of the Mughul army in this encounter, known as the battle of Bilgrām or the battle of the Gaṅgā,[32] the Mughul force numbered about 40,000 and the Afghān army was less than 15,000.[33]

The Afghān assault was started by Jalāl Khān from the right wing but he was worsted by Hindāl Mīrzā and some other Mughul commanders. Sher sent sufficient reinforcements there immediately, and this wing, thus strengthened, made a vehement attack on the enemies who were forced to fall back on their centre. Barmazīd Gaur and others commanding the left wing of the Afghān force pushed the Mughul right wing into the rear, driving the innumerable camp-followers into the centre which was still firm behind the artillery-carriages. But the pressure of the huge number of camp-followers from the right, left and rear was too much for the centre to bear and in the midst of disorder and confusion, the artillery became inoperative. By a rear assault, the Afghāns made the position of the Mughul army more untenable and compelled them to take to flight; many were slain on the way by the pursuing Afghān army and many were drowned in the Gaṅgā (Ganges). Sir Jadunath Sarkar has justly observed: "It was not a battle at all but a helpless panic flight, which covered the Mughals with unspeakable disgrace."[34]

They had left behind in the battlefield immense war-materials including artillery which fell into the hands of the victors.

After leaving the battlefield, Humāyūn crossed the river on an elephant with difficulty and fled in panic to Āgra. Then he went to Lahore, pursued by the Afghāns. Even at such a critical moment, his earnest attempt to unite his brothers did not bear fruit and Kāmrān did not cease from his unbrotherly actions. Humāyūn next proceeded to Sind. Thus continued his life of wanderings from place to place, and being disappointed everywhere, he, at last, left India and took shelter with Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia.

Sher had despatched Barmazīd Gaur in pursuit of Humāyūn, and on completion of necessary works at Kanauj, he himself marched towards Āgra. Barmazīd Gaur had taken possession of the latter city before his chief's arrival there and slew a number of non-combatant Mughuls. On reaching there, Sher reprimanded his general for his cruelty, and sent him and Khavāss Khān to continue the pursuit of Humāyūn. A detachment under Shujā'at Khān was also sent to besiege Gwālior. Next he went to Delhi which had been occupied by Nasīr Khān, another commander, and during his stay there, he commenced the work of its resuscitation by embellishing it with new structures.

From Delhi he marched to Lahore in quest of Humāyūn. He had already received information of the inability of the ex-emperor to unite his brothers and their retreat in different directions, viz, Humāyūn towards Sind, Hindāl towards Multān by a different route, and Kāmrān towards Kābul. He did not stay at Lahore long but moved westward quickly, driving away the Mughuls. From the bank of the Chenāb he sent a detachment to pursue Hindāl, then he went to Bhera and thence to Khushāb where he halted. Khavāss Khān went against Humāyūn but he was advised not to engage him in battle, but only to drive him out of his dominion. Qutb Khān, another general, was sent against Kāmrān with similar instructions. Khavāss Khān pursued Humāyūn as far as Mithankot, situated on the confluence of the Sutlej with four other rivers of the Punjab, and then returned to rejoin Sher Shāh at Khushāb. Here the Baluch chiefs Fath Khān, Isma'īl Khān and Ghāzī Khān offered their submission to the Afghān sovereign.

Sher Shāh next launched a campaign against the Gakkhars, inhabiting a mountainous region between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Indus. They were inimical to the Afghāns and their country occupied a strategic position through which an invader from the north-west might suddenly enter the Punjab which was then in Sher's possession. So, for security and safety of his dominion, an offensive had to be undertaken, and the Gakkhar country was invaded and ravaged. A proper site was then found out for the construction of a fortress with a view to guarding the northern frontier and keeping the Gakkhars under control. A gigantic and impregnable fort was built ten miles north-west of the town of Jhelum and named Rohtās, after his famous strong fortress in Bihār. It was completed by his son Islām Shāh.

On receipt of information of the rebellious attitude of Khizr Khān, governor of Bengal, and his marriage with a daughter of the deceased Sultān Mahmūd, Sher started at once for Gaur. Khizr Khān was completely surprised, put in chains and imprisoned (A.D. 1541). A man of keen insight as Sher was, he remodelled the administration there in such a way that rebellion might not recur in future.

The province was divided into several *sarkārs* and over each of them, he appointed a Chief *Shiqdār* (*Shiqdār-i-Shiqdārān*), a Chief *Munsif* (*Munsif-i-Munsifān*), and a *Qāzī.* The Chief *Shiqdār* was primarily in charge of law and order within his jurisdiction, except the big towns where Kotwāls performed these duties. The former also tried criminal cases and had under him an army to be utilized, if necessary, for enforcement of law and order. The duty of the Chief *Munsif* was to try civil cases specially with regard to revenue matters. He also supervised the work of the *parganā-āmīns.* Each *Sarkār* was subdivided into several *parganās,* over each of which there were one *Shiqdār*, one *Āmīn*, one treasurer and two clerks for maintaining accounts. Over the whole province Sher appointed Qāzī Fazīlat as *Āmīn-i-Bāngalā* "who was not a *Sipah-Sālār* but a *Qāzī* writ large....to maintain the unity and smooth working of the provincial administration as an arbitrator",[35] for settlement of disputes among the Chief *Shiqdārs*. His "hold on the administration of Bengal was further clinched by the establishment of *thānās* or military outposts of imperial troops changed yearly by him."

Haibat Khān Niyāzī, governor of the Punjab, suppressed the rebel leader Fath Khān Jāt who had been in possession of the strong fort of Kot-Kabula in the Lakshmi Jungle (modern Montgomery district) and had been carrying on depredations on the roads between Delhi and Lahore. Fath Khān was defeated, imprisoned and put to death. Haibat Khān also conquered Multān with its dependencies and expelled the Baluchis. His achievements so pleased his master that he was conferred the title of A'zam Humāyūn, with a command of 30,000 horse. Upper Sind with its strong fortresses of Bhakkar and Sehwān also fell into the hands of Sher's victorious army (A.D. 1543).

In 1542 Sher Shāh had invaded Mālwa whose possession he coveted. The cause of this invasion is not far to seek. It was his expansionist policy that was mainly responsible for this attack on the neighbour, whose independence had always been looked upon askance by all the rulers of Delhi and, as it controlled the road from the south to the north, its possession was all the more necessary for them. Sher therefore marched towards Mālwa by way of Gwālior, the fort of which had been besieged by his army a year ago. Its Mughul commandant now surrendered after long resistance for want of provisions. Sher then proceeded to Sārangpur where Qādir Shāh, the king of Mālwa, offered his submission to him. Thence he proceeded to Ujjain in company with Qādir, took possession of this city and offered him the governorship of Lakhnāwatī.[36] But the ex-king of Mālwa, being apprehensive of Sher's intention, fled to Mahmūd III of Gujarāt. From Ujjain, Sher proceeded to Māndū and Dhār which he occupied easily. The subsequent attempt of Qādir for the recovery of his dominion ended in fiasco.

On his way back to Āgra by way of Ranthambhor, Sher took possession of this well-known fortress from its commandant by peaceful means.[37]

The brunt of his next attack fell on Purana Malla of Rāisen, a mighty fortress, twenty-seven miles east of the modern town of Bhopāl. This fertile principality had grown into importance by the acquisition of Chanderī. There is no doubt that it fell within the ambit of Sher's policy of aggrandizement and hence political factors were mainly responsible for his invasion. There was also an alleged accusation against Purana Malla of enslaving Muslim women and keeping them in his harem.

The campaign was started by the siege of Chanderī in January, 1543. Despite gallant resistance of the Rājputs, Chanderī was captured by Jalāl Khān, who, overcoming the stiff opposition, also occupied the territory between Chanderī and Bhilsa. Sher himself proceeded to Rāisen and laid siege to the fortress. Though subjected to heavy bombardment, the garrison defended it with all their might, and the siege was protracted. At last, on an assurance from him that Purana Malla and his followers with their property would be allowed to move away in safety on their surrendering the fort, they came out of it but were treacherously attacked by the Afghāns, and for this act of perfidy, Sher Shāh must share the responsibility. In order to save the honour of their women, the Rājputs had recourse to the ghastly step of killing them by their own hands and then they gave up their lives, fighting gallantly against the enemies (June, 1543).

On the fall of Rāisen, Sher made up his mind to invade Mārwār, then the most powerful kingdom in Rājasthān, whose boundary at Jhajhar was only about thirty miles from Delhi. Its king, Māldev Rāthor, a capable general and an energetic ruler, extended his kingdom by the annexation of various places like Mertā, Jaitaran, Siwāna, Jālor, Tonk, Nāgaur and Ajmer, the last two of which had formerly belonged to the Delhi empire. The existence of such a powerful kingdom on the border of the Delhi empire was considered as a serious menace to its safety. Moreover, some of the disaffected Rājput chiefs, who had suffered defeat and loss of their territories at the hands of Māldev, incited the Afghān ruler to invade Mārwār. The latter was not also well-disposed towards the ruler of Mārwār, as he had not acted up to his desire by capturing Humāyūn and handing him over to the Sultān.

Fully aware of the strength of his opponent, Sher made military preparations on an extensive scale, and, in the autumn of 1543, set out against Mārwār with a huge force of 80,000 horse, unprecedented in any of his campaigns. Māldev went forth to oppose his enemy with an army of 50,000 horse, and, according as the exigencies of the moment demanded, he concentrated them in the *parganā* of Jaitaran, about fifty-six miles east of Jodhpur, the capital of Mārwār. So, instead of marching to the enemy's capital, as had been his previous plan, Sher halted in the village of Samel, in the above-mentioned *parganā*, facing the army of Māldev. For a month the two parties lay opposite to each other, and, in the meantime, the position of Sher became critical owing to difficulties of food supplies for his huge army. The ruler of Mārwār was in an advantageous position and the initiative of action lay with him. To get rid of this uncomfortable situation, Sher took recourse to a stratagem. He caused letters to be addressed to himself, as if written by Māldev's generals, promising him their assistance, and had them dropped near the camp of the Rāthor King in a silken bag. Becoming aware of the contents of the letters, suspicion about the fidelity of the generals upset the king, who, with the greater part of his troops, fell back towards Jodhpur. But, realizing the deceit played upon them by the enemy, the gallant Rājput generals like Jaita and Kupa resolved to fight with their valiant followers against Sher and die an honourable death. In the sanguinary battle which ensued, the laurels of victory rested with the Afghān Sultān, but at a great cost, with a heavy toll of lives. Jaita and Kupa with their brave warriors fell fighting desperately; the Rāthor King realized the artifice of his adversary only too late.

After this victory, Khavāss Khān took possession of Jodhpur and Māldev was pursued from place to place, but he succeeded in evading capture. The Afghān army occupied the territory of Mārwār from Ajmer to Mount Ābu. Leaving Khavāss Khān in supreme command of his forces in Mārwār and making necessary arrangements for the administration of the newly conquered territories, Sher marched towards Mewār (1544). He occupied, without any resistance, the fort of Chitor, the keys of which were delivered to him by the commandant on behalf of *Mahārānā* Uday Singh. For the sake of proper administration, Chitor and its dependencies were formed into a separate *Sarkār*.

Sher's next military expedition was directed against Kālinjar in Bundelkhand. The motive behind this expedition has been differently stated by the medieval historians. Firishta says that the *Rājā* of Kālinjar, who had witnessed the treachery of Sher against Purana Malla, did not submit and assumed a hostile attitude.[38] 'Abbās says that as Kirat Siṁha, the *Rājā* of Kālinjar, did not come out to meet him, "he ordered the fort to be invested."[39] According to Ahmad Yādgār, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghina*, the reason for Sher's attack on Kālinjar was the refusal of its *Rājā* to give up Bīr Siṁha Deva Bundelā who had taken shelter with him.[40] But the fugitive referred to was probably Rājā Bīr Bhān of Arāil[41] who had been friendly to Humāyūn; and with this correction, the reason adduced by Ahmad Yādgār appears to be quite satisfactory.

Sher marched on Kālinjar and invested the fort in November, 1544. Despite great efforts, it could not be captured, and the siege lasted for months together. On the day of the final assault the besiegers were engaged in throwing hand-grenades inside the fort. One of the grenades, after striking the fort wall, exploded, and, rebounding, fell into a heap of ammunition near the place where Sher was standing. There was an explosion and Sher was most severely burnt and carried to his camp. Even when he was thus hovering between life and death, he did not forget to give instruction to his officers to continue the assault and capture the fort. It fell about the same evening and he was highly elated to hear this news. But the icy hand of death snatched him away the same night in the midst of his career of triumphant marches (May 22, 1545).

His body was temporarily interred near Kālinjar and afterwards carried to Sasarām to be laid in the permanent resting place, already constructed by the emperor himself.

At the time of his death, he left an empire comprising almost the whole of northern India, save Kāshmir, Gujarāt and Assam. It was roughly bounded by the Indus on the west, the Gakkhar country on the north-west, the Himālayas on the north, Assam on the east and the Vindhyas on the south.

Not only did he thus establish an empire by dint of his great military skill, wonderful courage, ability and resourcefulness, but, with his usual skill and promptitude, he made necessary arrangements for its smooth and efficient administration. At the helm of affairs was the Sultān himself, and although, like his predecessors, he was a despot and centralized all power in his own hands, he was a benevolent despot whose primary aim was to do good to his subjects, irrespective of caste or religion. As it is not humanly possible to conduct all affairs of the empire single-handed, he appointed several ministers to assist him in his multifarious duties. In fact, these ministers occupied the position of secretaries rather than ministers, as they had no power of initiative or final determination of any policy or transacting matters of importance without Sultān's orders. Among the ministers, mention may be made of *Dīwān-i-Wizārat, Dīwān-i-Risālat, Dīwān-i-'Arz* and *Dīwān-i-Inshā*. The *Dīwān-i-Wizārat* was in charge of the *Wazīr* and primarily dealt with finance. The *Dīwān-i-Risālat* "dealt with religious matters, pious foundations, stipends to deserving scholars and men of piety. This office was presided over by the *Sadr-us-Sudūr,* who generally was also the

Qāzī-i-mumālik; in the latter capacity he controlled the department of justice."[42] The *Dīwān-i-'Arz* was under the *'Āriz-i-mumālik* who was in charge of recruitment and organization of the army as well as their payment. The *Dīwān-i-Inshā*, dealing with government correspondence, was in charge of *Dabīr-i-Khās*. Mention may also be made of the *Barīd-i-mumālik* who was the head of the intelligence department.

In spite of the paucity of materials regarding the highest administrative unit in the empire of Sher Shāh, we find that there were military governorships in cases of Ajmer, Mālwa and the Punjab. Bengal was at first administered likewise, but the lesson of a bitter experience in this distant province taught him to adopt a more prudent measure and he abolished the post of the military governor, as stated before, dividing the whole province into several *Sarkārs* with *Āmīn-i-Bāngalā* (civilian Viceroy) at the top for smooth running of the administration. The provinces were divided into *Sarkārs*, each of which was sub-divided into *parganās*. Over each *Sarkār* there were one Chief *Shiqdār*, one Chief *Munsif*, and a *Qāzī*. The Chief *Shiqdār* (*Shiqdār-i-Shiqdārạn*) was in charge of law and order in the *Sarkār* and had a body of troops to assist him in his work, when necessary. He also tried criminal cases regarding infringement of law and order and supervised the work of the *Shiqdārs* in his jurisdiction. The Chief *Munsif* (*Munsif-i-Munsifān*) tried civil cases, specially arising out of revenue matters and supervised the work of the *parganā-āmīns*.

Over each *parganā*, there were one *Shiqdār*, one *āmīn*, one *fotadār* (treasurer) and two clerks. The *Shiqdār* was entrusted with the duty of maintaining law and order in the *parganā* and assisting the *āmīn* with his army, if necessary, to enforce collection of revenue. The duty of the *āmīn* was to conduct survey of lands, their assessment and collection of revenue. He was to discharge his function as "an impartial umpire between the State demanding revenue and the individual *ryots* paying it".[43] Of the two *Kārkuns* or clerks, one was to write accounts in Hindi and the other in Persian.

The Sultān introduced the system of transferring the officers of the *Sarkārs* and *parganās* every two or three years.

The land revenue system of Sher Shāh has earned an undying fame for him and it became the basis of future agrarian systems in India. He had acquired sufficient experience in survey, assessment and settlement of land revenue in his father's *jāgīr* at Sasarām, and when he occupied the throne as an emperor, he came with his system successfully tested. In some regions steps were taken for survey of lands, and revenue was settled according to the fertility of the soil, based on the experience of the past average yield and the expected produce of the land. In many parts of the kingdom there was no survey, and revenue was fixed at a definite share of the produce. Although there are differences of opinion among the modern historians about the government's share of land revenue, it appears from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and the *Makhzan*[44] that it was less than one-third and probably one-fourth[44a] of the average yield of the land, payable either in cash or in kind, preference being given to the former method. The Sultān's instructions to his revenue officers were to show leniency at the time of assessment but to be strict at the time of realization of rent. Due consideration was, however, given in cases of damage to crops caused by movement of troops and to paucity of yield, nature's vagaries like drought, etc. A *Kabuliyat* (deed of agreement) containing the tenant's right in the land and his liabilities was taken from him, and the government issued a *pāṭṭā* (title-deed) to him stating similar terms and conditions. Sher tried to do away with the authority of the middlemen and establish a direct relation with the tenants who were encouraged to pay their dues direct to the government treasury. But there were also *Jāgīrs* and *Zamīndāri* systems. As he considered agriculture to be the main source of prosperity of his empire, he took special interest in the welfare of the cultivators and took steps against any oppression or harassment to them. His salutary reforms benefited the peasants, enhanced cultivation, and increased the revenue of the empire. Other sources of revenue included customs duties, *Jizya, Zakāt*, cesses on a variety of articles and *khums*.

Sher Shāh's currency and tariff reforms contributed a great deal towards the improvement of the economic condition of the country. The currency was then in a deplorable condition due to the paucity of current coins, the debasement in regard to their metal, and absence of any fixed ratio between the coins of gold and those of other metals. He took steps to remodel the currency. Coins of gold and mixed metal were abolished, and separate coins of gold, silver and copper of fixed standard were issued. He executed gold coins of 168.5 grains, 167 grains and 166.4 grains and his silver rupee, which weighed 180 grains, contained 175 grains of pure silver. He also issued a large number of new copper coins, subsequently known as *dām*. The silver rupee and the copper *dām* had their sub-divisions of halves, quarters, eighths, and sixteenths. The ratios between the silver coins and various gold coins were fixed; the rate of exchange between the copper *dām* and the silver rupee was 64 to 1. These currency reforms removed the long-felt inconvenience and difficulties of the general public and the business community. "The reformed system of currency of Sher lasted throughout the Mughul period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835, and is the basis of the. . . .British currency" (up to 1947).[45]

Sher Shāh also facilitated trade and commerce by abolishing many vexatious imposts on merchandise and by realizing duties on them twice only, viz., once at the frontier when a commodity was imported, and again at the place of its sale.

The Sultān acquired great reputation as a lover of even-handed justice. Even if any of his relatives or grandees committed any offence, he did not hesitate to punish him in the same manner as he punished an offender belonging to the ordinary strata of the society. He heard cases in original as well as of appeals. Next to him was the Chief *Qāzī* of the empire, who heard primarily cases of appeals, but cases at the initial stage were also not outside the purview of his court. Besides, as head of the judicial department, he had to conduct the administration of his department. The headquarters of the *Sarkārs* and probably other important cities had *Qāzīs* who tried criminal cases. As has been stated before, criminal cases regarding infringement of law and order were tried by the Chief *Shiqdārs* in the *Sarkārs* where the Chief *Munsif* heard civil cases, specially of revenue disputes, and similar cases were disposed of by the *āmīns* in the *parganās*.

The police system of Sher Shāh was simple, and, according to the Persian historians, worked well, achieving the objective aimed at. The *Shiqdār-ī-Shiqdārān* and the *Shiqdār* had to maintain peace and order within their jurisdictions. In the villages, the system of local responsibility was followed and the village headmen had to bear the responsibility for crimes committed within their jurisdictions. If they could find out the culprits or produce them within the stipulated time, the latter were duly punished, but if the headmen were unable to do so, they themselves would have to face the punishment for such crimes. 'Abbās says that the headmen "used to protect the limits of their own villages, lest any thief or robber, or enemy of their enemies might injure a traveller, and so be the means of their destruction and death".[46] About the effect of the system, Firishta says, "such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, depositing their property on the roadside, lay down to sleep without apprehension of robbery".[47]

One of the greatest contributions of Sher Shāh was his construction of roads connecting important parts of his empire with his capital. They were necessary for a variety of causes, viz., the imperial defence, quick and regular despatch of news to the emperor, improvement of trade and commerce, and convenience of the travelling public. The longest road built by him (fifteen hundred *kos*) ran from Sonārgāon (near Dacca), via Āgra and Delhi to the Indus; the second road ran from Āgra to Jodhpur and the fort of Chitor, the third from Āgra to Burhānpur, and the fourth from Lahore to Multān. For the convenience of the travellers, shade-giving trees were planted on both sides of these roads. *Sarā'īs* were established along them at intervals of four miles and separate arrangements provided for both the Hindus and the Muslims. These *Sarā'īs* not only served as rest-houses for travellers but also as stations of *dāk chaukī*. Sher Shāh had a well-organized espionage system and his spies used to send him through the *dāk chaukī* prompt information of every important matter even from the remotest part of his empire. Such a system of conveyance of information by means of *dāk chaukī* was not new to our country but he revived and improved it to a considerable extent. This department was under *Dārogā-i-Dāk-Chaukī* and under him there were innumerable news-writers and news-carriers. The efficiency of this department contributed much to the successful administration of this monarch.

Fully aware of the defects of the feudal levy, the Sultān realized the necessity of a strong and well-equipped standing army under his direct control. The system of feudal levy was not discontinued but the well-organized imperial army added to his strength and power. His army consisted of different nationalities including the Hindus, but the Afghāns formed the most predominant element. He took personal interest in the recruitment of soldiers and revived 'Alā-ud-dīn's systems of branding the horses and recording the descriptive roll of every soldier in order to guard against proxies. His earnest effort was to maintain as much direct touch with the soldiers as possible, hearing their grievances and removing them, when necessary. All payments were made to them individually by the government. In order to minimize the risk of any military rising, his reforms further aimed at establishing an official relation, in lieu of any personal attachment, between an ordinary soldier and his officers.

Sher Shāh's military strength under his direct control consisted of 1,50,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry, and a park of artillery, besides 5,000 war-elephants. Contingents of imperial troops were maintained at the strategic places of his empire; each of these divisions known as *fauj* was under the command of a *faujdār.*

The Sultān was a stern disciplinarian and maintained strict discipline in his army.

In spite of the stormy days that he had to pass through, he was fond of architecture, and the buildings which he constructed exhibit his grandeur of design and fine artistic taste. His own mausoleum at Sasarām is one of the most beautiful structures built in India during the medieval period. "The style may be described as intermediate between the austerity of the Tughluq buildings and feminine grace of Shāh Jahān's masterpiece."[48] The magnificent mosque in the Purānā-Qil'ā in Delhi also bears testimony to Sher's superb ideas and taste for fine workmanship. In the field of constructing fortresses, he has left a deep impress of his military engineering by his gigantic and magnificent fort named Rohtās in the district of Jhelum.

It is admitted by all that Sher Shāh worked very hard, attending to minute details, promoted efficiency in the machinery of the State and was one of the greatest and most capable administrators of medieval India. But on a careful scrutiny of his elaborate regulations we do not find anything entirely new or original in them except in certain features of his land revenue system. He was thus more a reformer than an innovator. He did not create any new ministry; his administrative divisions and sub-divisions were taken from the past. He did not also introduce anything new either in the administration of justice or in judicial organization. His systems of espionage and *dāk chaukī* were borrowed from his predecessors. Under 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī the system of espionage was carried to frightful perfection, and the institution of *dāk chaukī* is also attributed to him. In regard to the army, Sher Shāh revived the system of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī with improvements, where considered necessary. In addition to reviving 'Alā-ud-dīn's system of branding of horses, he instituted the practice of recording the descriptive roll of every soldier to put a stop to the practice of sending proxies. Among the Sultāns of Delhi it was 'Alā-ud-dīn who first devised the scheme of measurement of lands and tried to improve the system of assessment prevalent in the country, but it was neither so comprehensive nor so well-intentioned as that of Sher Shāh. The system introduced by the latter had many salient features, new and original, and primarily aimed at the welfare of the peasants and increase of cultivation.

Although Sher Shāh was mainly a reformer, he infused a new spirit into the old institutions, improved them, wherever necessary, and supervised the actual workings with plodding industry in order to turn the whole machinery of State into an instrument of popular weal.

Judged by his wonderful activities and outstanding achievements he undoubtedly occupies a high place among the crowned heads of medieval India. From the son of an ordinary *jāgīrdār* harassed by serious obstacles and active oppositions even of his own men, he advanced step by step by sheer merit till he acquired the throne of Hindusthān and revived the Afghān rule by expelling Humāyūn from India.

As a soldier, he possessed indomitable courage, extraordinary patience and untiring energy, and, as a general, he had that rare quality of a leader's personal magnetism which endeared him to his followers whom he led from victory to victory and, with whom he toiled and mixed together, sharing their hardships and privations, when necessary. His rapidity of movements and the tact and foresight that he displayed in his campaigns were beyond the imagination of his adversaries who had to face discomfiture. As far as possible, he tried to avoid open engagements and made sudden sallies on the enemies to take them by surprise. He did not also hesitate to outwit them by cunning and craftiness. Despite the ignoble means which he followed at times, his successes dazzled the eyes of his contemporaries and raised him to the pinnacle of glory.

But his achievements as a ruler outweigh those as a general, and his place in history rests more on his constructive genius displayed in his administrative policy than for victories in the battlefields. He had a thorough grasp of all the departments of administration and they showed the salutary effect of his reforming hands. He reorganized the district administration and, in the case of Bengal, provincial administration, too; he reformed the land revenue and currency systems, police, intelligence, and army departments, and duties on merchandise were made conducive to trade and commerce. He kept in check the individualistic spirit of the Afghāns—a hard task, indeed, beset with almost insuperable difficulties—and utilized their services to an extent which no ruler in medieval India prior to him could do.

A benevolent ruler as he was, he aimed at the welfare of his subjects. W. Crooke says, "Sher Shāh was the first who attempted to found an Indian Empire broadly based upon the people's will. ....He had the genius to see that the Government must be popularized, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration.....'No Government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathān' as Keene says."[49]

Though he was an orthodox Sunnī in his private life, his general policy towards the Hindus, who formed the majority of his subjects, was one of toleration and good will, as he had enough of prudence and foresight of a true statesman to realize that, unless he could win over their sympathy and co-operation, the stability of his empire would be at stake. He allowed the Hindus to follow their religious tenets without any interference of the government, and many of them were employed both in his civil and military departments. A large part of his infantry consisted of the Hindus and one of his best and trusted generals was Barmazīd Gaur whom he sent to pursue Humāyūn after the battles of Chausa and Bilgrām.

Considering from different aspects his love and sympathy for his subjects, care for the peasantry, liberal outlook, sense of even-handed justice, indefatigable industry, devotion to duty even at the cost of personal rest and comfort, and, above all, his constructive statesmanship, he must be accorded a position much ahead of his predecessors in medieval India and next only to that of Akbar.

II. ISLĀM SHĀH (1545-1554)

Of the three sons of Sher Shāh, Qutb Khān, the youngest, had pre-deceased his father, and 'Ādil Khān, the eldest, and Jalāl Khān, the second, were at Ranthambhor and Rewa,[50] respectively, at the time of their father's death. Jalāl Khān, who had given sufficient proof of his courage, industry and military abilities, and who was available nearer, was chosen by the nobles as the successor of his father in preference to 'Ādil Khān, who, in spite of his physical strength, was indolent and ease-loving, and not so easily available.

Jalāl Khān arrived at Kālinjar on May 26, 1545. He was crowned on the same day, and assumed the title of Islām Shāh. Then he went to Āgra, the imperial capital, and in order to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the soldiers, he gave them two months' pay.

'Ādil Khān refused to give up the fort of Ranthambhor and was reluctant to go to the capital to settle the differences with his brother amicably. But on receiving assurance of safe return from eminent nobles like Qutb Khān Nāib, Khavāss Khān, 'Isā Khān Niyāzī, and Jalāl Khān bin Jalu, he proceeded to meet his brother. In the meantime, Islām Shāh had made a plan to murder him, but it did not succeed. Thereafter, Bayāna, situated about fifty-three miles south-west of Āgra, was assigned to him, but the Sultān again changed his mind and there was therefore no real reconciliation between the brothers. Islām Shāh secretly arranged to bring his brother a prisoner, but the four nobles, mentioned above, took up his cause and made a plot to dethrone the sovereign. 'Ādil Khān's luck did not turn in his favour in the ensuing battle near Āgra, and, having suffered a reverse there, he fled towards Bundelkhand, never to be heard of again, while Khavāss Khān and 'Īsā Khān Niyāzī retreated towards Mewāt. At Fīrūzpur, in Mewāt, they were able to defeat the Sultān's army sent in pursuit of them, but the royal army having been soon reinforced, they were compelled to retreat to the Kumāon hills.

The conspiracy to raise 'Ādil Khān to the throne made the Sultān suspicious about most of his nobles. Jalāl Khān bin Jalu and his brother were put to death; Qutb Khān, another supporter of 'Ādil Khān, having been delivered over by Haibat Khān, the governor of Lahore, with whom he had taken shelter, was sent along with many other suspected nobles to Gwālior. Most of them were subsequently murdered. Such punishments on the nobility alarmed the rest and aroused the old tribal jealousies which Sher Shāh had kept in check. The powerful Niyāzīs under the leadership of Haibat Khān Niyāzī arrayed a strong party of opposition against the Sultān and proceeded to Ambāla; Khavāss Khān also joined them. But finding that Haibat Khān was ambitious to seize the throne in the event of success against Islām Shāh, Khavāss Khān, who was in favour of 'Ādil Khān, withdrew his forces on the day of the battle, the natural consequence of which was that Haibat was defeated in the battle fought near Ambāla. He was pursued from place to place and eventually took shelter in Kāshmir, but his mother and daughters who had fallen into the hands of the royal force, were ill-treated and ultimately put to death.

Khavāss Khān had gone back to the Kumāon hills and taken refuge with its *Rājā*, but, on his subsequent surrender to the Sultān, he was killed in an ignoble manner.

The Sultān was too severe on the nobles of his father's time whom, by his tact and foresight, he might have turned into his supporters and utilized, like his great father, in the service of the empire; but he considered them to have grown too much, almost overshadowing the Crown. His severity and unwonted harshness broke the spirit of the Afghāns on whom he was loth to place confidence. He appointed men of his own choice, many from the Sūr clan, in the various key positions of the empire. Ahmad Khān Sūr was appointed governor of Lahore; ‘Isā Khān Sūr was posted in Mālwa in place of Shujā‘at Khān; Qāzī Fazīlat was removed from Bengal and replaced by Muhammad Khān Sūr; Ghāzī Khān Sūr was placed in charge of Bayāna; while his son Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr received charge of Āgra. A very high rank in the army—that of a command of 20,000, with the charge of *Sarkār* Sambhal—was bestowed on the Sultān's cousin and brother-in-law Mubāriz Khān, who, later on, proved to be a great sore in the body-politic, endangering its peace and tranquillity.

The Sultān was careful enough to watch the movements of the Mughuls, and when he learnt that Humāyūn had crossed the Indus, he, in spite of his illness, prepared to face the enemy, but the latter returned to Kābul. Islām Shāh then went back to Gwālior which was his favourite place. Here a conspiracy was made by his disaffected nobles to assassinate him, but it was foiled, and the ring leaders were put to death. He had also escaped another attempt on his life in the early part of his reign.

After a reign of nine years and six months he died on 22 November, 1554.

Like his father, Islām Shāh was a strong administrator and strict disciplinarian. He could not brook the idea of disobedience or any action against him, and insisted on implicit obedience from everyone, to whatever rank he might belong. His punishments to those who were implicated or suspected to be implicated in any action against him were severe. His authority was well-established in the empire and the efficiency of his espionage system and *dāk chaukī* contributed to this success to a large extent.

He was very particular in maintaining the prestige and dignity of the King's position. As the use of scarlet tents was the privilege of the Sultān alone, he forbade their use by the nobility or anybody else.

He not only followed the administrative policy of Sher Shāh but improved it, where deemed necessary. Detailed regulations were issued regarding every department of the government like general administration, revenue, and religion, whether these were agreeable to the *Shar'iyat* or not, for the guidance of the officers and their subordinates. Darbārs were held in all districts on Fridays when the military officers, *āmīns* and other officials used to make their obeisance with reverence to the shoes and the quiver of the Sultān.[51]

For better organization and efficiency, he introduced the graded system in the army and there were different units, ranging from those of fifty to twenty thousand. Above fifty and below twenty thousand, there were units of two hundred, two hundred and fifty, five hundred, five thousand, and ten thousand.[52]

His keen knowledge of the military strategy may be realized from his construction of Mānkot[53] in the Siwālik Hills, about one hundred and one miles north-east of Lahore, for the defence of the Punjab and keeping the Gakkhars in check.

He added to the number of *sarā'īs* by constructing one *sarā'ī* between every two *sarā'īs* of his father, and a rest-house, a mosque, and water-carriers were provided in them. Arrangements were also made for supplying uncooked and cooked food to the Hindus and the Muslims respectively. Orders were at the same time issued for the proper upkeep and maintenance of the *sarā'īs* and gardens constructed by Sher Shāh.

Besides his capabilities as a general, he was a steadfast administrator who worked with utmost devotion and industry in the interest of the empire. His reign may be said to be a continuation of that of his father, and in spite of the stormy days that he had to pass through, peace and prosperity prevailed in his empire. He encouraged cultivation and looked to the welfare of the peasantry as his father.

Although he was an orthodox Sunnī in his private life, his work as a ruler was never obsessed by his religious views, and he kept politics apart from religion.

But in spite of his abilities as a ruler, it must be admitted that he was at times a poor judge of men and was swayed by feelings of unwonted cruelty and vindictiveness as he showed in his treatment towards the experienced and veteran nobles of his father's time. His appointment of Mubāriz Khān, who proved to be unworthy of his confidence, was a glaring instance of a mistaken choice, pointing to his poor knowledge and experience of human character, for which his son and successor had to pay dearly, and which was, to a great extent, responsible for the serious troubles that set in after him.

III. FĪRŪZ SHĀH (1554)

Islām Shāh was succeeded by his minor son Fīrūz, but Mubāriz Khān, son of Sher Shāh's younger brother Nizām and brother of the minor king's mother, Bibi Bāī, murdered him and ascended the throne with the title of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.

Such a tragic death might have been averted had Islām Shāh acted on his own initiative without waiting for his wife's consent for the removal of his brother-in-law whose evil intentions he could gauge beforehand.

IV. MUHAMMAD 'ĀDIL SHĀH (1554-1556)

'Ādil Shāh (also called 'Adlī Shāh) tried to conciliate the nobles and the army by a profuse distribution of wealth and titles, where necessary. But his murder of the rightful sovereign had its repercussions, and it sounded the death-knell of the Sūr dynasty. He was weak and incompetent to wield the sceptre and hold in check the disintegrating forces. But he appointed as *Wazīr* a very capable person called Hīmū, a Hindu, who, hailing from Rewārī, belonged to the Dhūsar caste, and from a humble start in life, had occupied, during the reign of Islām Shāh, the posts of *Shahna* or Superintendent of the Delhi market, the head of the Departments of Intelligence and Posts (*Dārogā-i-Dāk-Chaukī*), and afterwards high military command. But the weakness of the Sultān and his worthlessness let loose the centrifugal forces, and in different parts of the empire there were military upheavals which rocked it to its foundation.

Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, son of Ghāzī Khān, and brother-in-law of the Sultān, who was in charge of Āgra, revolted. He defeated the army which 'Ādil Shāh had despatched against him and moved with his victorious forces to Delhi which was captured. Thereafter he assumed the regal title and it was not possible for 'Ādil to displace him. Ahmad Khān Sūr, another brother-in-law of the Sultān and governor of Lahore, took the title of Sikandar Shāh and declared his independence. Muhammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bengal, also revolted and assumed the title of Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh Ghāzī. The empire, which had been built by Sher Shāh and maintained with care by Islām Shāh, thus fell to pieces, and it was parcelled out into four main divisions—Delhi and Āgra under Ibrāhīm Shāh; the Punjab under Sikandar Shāh; Bengal under Shams-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh; and the territories from the vicinity of Āgra to Bihār under Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.

Not satisfied with the Punjab alone, Sikandar marched against Ibrāhīm for the possession of Delhi and Āgra and defeated him at Farah, about twenty miles from Āgra, despite the overwhelming numerical superiority of the forces of his opponent. Sikandar then took possession of both Delhi and Āgra (A.D. 1555).

The rivalry and hostility among the Afghāns not only jeopardized the peace and security of northern India but also afforded Humāyūn a good opportunity for the recovery of his lost possessions there. From Kābul, he started on his Indian expedition in November, 1554. On hearing of his advance, Tātār Khān Kāshī evacuated the fort of Rohtās without any attempt to defend it. In February, 1555, Humāyūn occupied Lahore, too, without any opposition while another detachment of his forces defeated the Afghāns at Dīpālpur. The Mughuls also occupied Jullundur and their advance guard proceeded towards Sirhind. This rapid progress of the Mughul army was due to Sikandar Shāh's preoccupation in his struggle against Ibrāhīm. The alarming situation in the Punjab roused the former to action, and he despatched a force of 30,000 horse against the enemies with whom an open encounter took place at Māchīwārā, in Ludhiana district. But the Afghāns were defeated and the Mughuls captured Sirhind. Sikandar then marched in person at the head of 80,000 cavalry and met the Mughul army at Sirhind. Despite the vast superiority of his forces in number, he was defeated before the superior generalship and military tactics of his enemies (June 22, 1555) and was compelled to retreat to the Siwālik hills. The Mughuls marched triumphantly to Delhi and occupied it.

Taking advantage of misgovernment by the Mughul governor in the Punjab, Sikandar came out of his retreat to recover his territories, but, being unable to achieve anything tangible, he took shelter in the fort of Mānkot.

In spite of the Mughul menace there was no cessation of hostility among the Afghāns, and Ibrāhīm renewed his strife with 'Ādil Shāh. Hīmū, the Wazīr of 'Ādil, defeated him twice—once near Kālpī and, again, near Khānuā—and compelled him to seek refuge in the fort of Bayāna which was besieged; but, as Muhammad Shāh of Bengal had created an alarming situation and was marching towards Kālpī, 'Ādil Shāh recalled his minister who, thereafter, joined his master at Kālpī. Muhammad Shāh was defeated at Chhapparghāttā, about twenty miles from Kālpī, and forced to take to his heels. 'Ādil Shāh occupied Bengal, and, after retaining Shāhbāz Khān as governor there, he came back to Chunār which he had made his residential capital.

Taking advantage of the death of Humāyūn (January, 1556) and the accession of young Akbar, Hīmū proceeded from Gwālior to Āgra with a huge force and occupied it easily, as its governor Iskandar Khān Uzbeg fled to Delhi out of fear, without offering any resistance. Next, he marched on Delhi and took possession of it after defeating its governor Tardī Beg Khān.

Emboldened by his successes and being in possession of Delhi, Hīmū assumed independence, with the title of Rājā Vikramāditya, and in order to gain the support of his Afghān officers and soldiers he made a lavish distribution of wealth among them. Next he took necessary steps to withstand the Mughuls who had been proceeding against him. But his advance guard was defeated by that of Akbar under the command of 'Alī Qulī Khān and his artillery fell into the hands of the enemies. This discomfiture did not in any way dispirit him and he marched on with a huge force consisting of infantry, cavalry, artillery and war-elephants to the memorable battlefield of Pānīpat, where he met his adversaries on 5 November, 1556. The numerical strength of Hīmū's army was decidedly much above that of his opponents.

The battle began with a bold charge by Hīmū on the Mughuls whose right and left wings were thrown into confusion. Then, with the help of his 1500 war elephants he dashed against the enemies' centre and, although the fight appeared to be in his favour, it continued unabated, when an arrow pierced his eye, making him unconscious. This decided the fate of the day, as his army, considering him dead, fled pell-mell in all directions. While he was being carried to a safe place by his elephant-driver, he was captured by Shāh Qulī Mahram, a Mughul officer, and taken to Akbar who, at the request of his guardian and protector, Bairam Khān, first struck him with his sword and, then, the protector followed him, severing his head from the body.[54]

The victory of the Mughuls was thus complete, and it not only decided the fate of Hīmū but also of the Afghāns. Delhi and Āgra soon fell into the hands of the victors.

Meanwhile Sikandar had been active in the Punjab, defeating Khizr Khvāja Khān at Chamiarī, about thirty-five miles from Lahore, and driving him to the latter place. Not content with sending relief, Akbar and Bairam Khān proceeded against Sikandar who, therefore, took refuge at Mānkot which was also besieged. He held on for about six months, depending on the strength of the fort as well as in expectation of a diversion to be possibly created by 'Ādil Shāh who was still in possession of Chunār. His expectation came to naught at 'Ādil's defeat and death in a battle against Khizr Khān Sūr of Bengal (1557), and this disquieting news disheartened him so much that he surrendered, receiving an assignment in Bihār, whence he was expelled within a short time by Akbar and died about two years later in Bengal. Ibrāhīm Sūr took refuge in Orissa where he met his doom about ten years later (1567-1568).

Thus disappeared the different Sūr rivals from the political arena of northern India which, by their selfish designs, had been converted into an unhappy land of turmoil and confusion, and their exit made room for the re-establishment of the Mughul rule under the strong but benevolent regime of Akbar.

APPENDIX

(BY THE EDITOR)

HĪMŪ—A FORGOTTEN HINDU HERO

Neither fate nor historians have been kind to Hīmū to whom reference has been made above (pp. 94-96). Historians, medieval and modern, have done scant justice to, and failed to show due appreciation of, the unique personality and greatness of a Hindu who, during the heyday of Muslim rule in India, worked his way from a grocer's shop to the throne of Delhi, and, but for an accident in a battle which turned victory into defeat, might have founded a Hindu ruling dynasty, instead of the Mughuls, in Delhi. Although his career is known to us almost exclusively from the writings of historians who looked down upon him as an upstart Hindu and an arch-enemy of their patrons, the Mughul rulers, yet enough has been preserved in their chronicles[55] to show that bare historical justice demands that the career of this great Hindu should be impartially reviewed as a whole, separately, as an important episode in the history of medieval India. For, there is no doubt that he furnishes the only shining example of a Hindu, born and brought up as such in a Muslim State, who once dominated the political stage of North India by sheer merit and personality without any advantage of birth or fortune. As no such attempt seems to have been made in any general history of India so far, no apology is needed for the short sketch of the life and activities of the great Hindu Commoner, Hemchandra, called by his Afghān followers after his accession to the throne of Delhi, Hīmū Shāh.

Hīmū was born in a poor family of Dhansār section of the Bāniyā caste, living in a town in the southern part of Alwar. Badāūnī calls him "the greengrocer, of the township of Rewāri in Mewāt, whom Islām Shāh had gradually elevated from the position of Police Superintendent of the bazars and confirmer of punishment, and had by degrees made into a trusted confidant". In other words, Hīmū, originally a grocer (or hawker) by profession in a small township in Alwar, somehow came to the notice of Islām

Shāh who, satisfied with his ability, successively promoted him to the posts of Superintendent of the Delhi market (*Shahna*), and head of the Departments of Intelligence and Posts (*Dārogā-i-Dāk-Chaukī*). Islām Shāh also trusted him with important and confidential business, involving military commands.

The death of Islām Shāh, as stated above (p. 94), was followed by a period of troubles. His minor son, who succeeded him, was murdered by Mubāriz Khān who ascended the throne with the title of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. But this regicide was hopelessly incompetent, and rebellions broke out in all quarters. Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, governor of Āgra, Sikandar Sūr, governor of Lahore, and Muhammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bengal, revolted and assumed royal titles. Other chiefs also broke into revolt from time to time.

Emperor 'Ādil Shāh had already recognised the great abilities of Hīmū and appointed him his Prime Minister, leaving the heavy burden of administration on his shoulders.

Mughul historians like Abu-'l-Fazl and Badāūnī paint the character of Hīmū in the blackest colour and represent him as having won the confidence of the king by ignoble means. But this is only natural for those who rightly looked upon Hīmū as the greatest enemy of the Mughuls. But in view of the abilities displayed by Hīmū, we should not put any faith in these slanders. In any case, in this great crisis of the empire 'Ādil practically left the full control of political and military affairs in his hands. It reflects great credit upon Hīmū that the Afghān ruler relied upon a Hindu officer in preference to the great chiefs of his own tribe, and that Hīmū proved equal to the task imposed upon him. He had to fight constantly in order to put down the rebel chiefs, and always won victories, sometimes against heavy odds.

The account of the battles fought and victories won by Hīmū is given by Abu-'l-Fazl and Badāūnī. As both of them hated Hīmū as an upstart and painted him in the blackest colour, as noted above, their unrestrained praise is all the more valuable as a testimony to the valour and military skill of Hīmū. Abu-'l-Fazl writes: "Battles took place between Hemū and Ibrāhīm, who was a claimant for the Sultanate, and the former was always victorious. Sultān Muhammad, who had assumed the kingly title in Bengal, was also defeated, and was made to tread the land of annihilation. Hemū also engaged in conflicts with Tāj Kararānī and Rukn Khān Nūhānī and defeated them. He fought two and twenty battles with the opponents of Mubāriz Khān, and was victorious in all of them."[56]

Badāūnī gives more details. Thus when Tāj Khān, aided by two other chiefs, openly broke into revolt, Hīmū, we are told, fought a desperate battle with them, gaining victory (p. 541).

Regarding the more formidable rival Ibrāhīm Sūr, Badāūnī says: "Hīmūn, regarding Ibrāhīm as his own especial prey, considered it essential to overthrow him; Ibrāhīm came out to oppose him ready for battle, and taking up a strong position showed a resolute determination to withstand him, such as perhaps Rustum, if anyone, displayed before. But for all this, by the decree of the Almighty he was not successful....Ibrāhīm Khān after this defeat, leaving Kālpī, made straight for Baiāna with all speed, and Hīmū pursuing him arrived at Baiāna....Ibrāhīm Khān, taking a body of the Nuhāni and Afghān cultivators and landholders of Baiāna, again went out to meet Hīmūn and, making a night attack upon him, the following morning fought a fierce battle with him near to the township of Khānwah, ten *krohs* distant from Baiāna, but could not prevail against his destiny."[57]

Ibrāhīm Khān then shut himself in the fortress of Bayāna "a fort of exceeding loftiness and strength". Hīmū kept up the siege for three months and made inroads on the districts of Bayāna on all sides, pillaging and destroying. While thus engaged, news reached Hīmū that "Muhammad Khān Sūr, governor of Bangāla, had assumed the title of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and was marching with an army like the ants and locusts for multitude from Bangāla, and having reduced Jaunpūr was making for Kālpī and Āgra. Just at this juncture an urgent summons arrived from 'Adlī to Hīmūn in these words: 'At all costs come to me at once as I am confronted by a powerful enemy.' Hīmūn thereupon abandoned the siege". But before he could proceed very far, Ibrāhīm attacked him but was defeated. Then, after some time, Ibrāhīm, after obtaining reinforcements again advanced against Hīmū, was again defeated, and finally abandoned the struggle.[58]

Hīmū then advanced quickly to join his master 'Ādil Shāh's forces sent against the other rebel, Muhammad Khān of Bengal. Badāūnī thus describes the situation: Muhammad Khān, "confidently relying upon his superior force to overcome the forces of 'Adli, had drawn up his cavalry and infantry and elephants to a number surpassing all computation, and was every moment expecting victory, when suddenly the scale turned against him, and Hīmūn swept down upon him like a comet, and no sooner did he reach the ranks of the picked elephants after crossing the river Jamna, than he swooped down upon the army" of Muhammad Khān, taking them unawares and practically annihilated the army. 'The greater part of his *Amirs* were slain; while the rest took to flight.' Muhammad Khān vanished for ever.[59]

Hardly had these revolts been suppressed when Humāyūn returned to India to recover his lost throne. 'Ādil sent Hīmū northwards to oppose him, while he himself retired to Chunār. Humāyūn, as stated above, succeeded in re-establishing himself for a few months. When he met with his fatal accident, in January, 1556, Hīmū remained in the field on behalf of 'Ādil Shāh to prevent Akbar from taking effective possession of his father's kingdom. When Akbar was formally proclaimed at Kalānaur as Pādshāh, Tardī Beg was appointed governor of Delhi. Hīmū advanced by way of Gwālior and Āgra to Old Delhi, and "inflicted a severe defeat on the Mogul forces, capturing 160 elephants, 1,000 Arab horses, and an immense quantity of valuable booty. He thus gained possession of both Delhi and Agra."[60]

It was at this stage that Hīmū's ambitions soared high and he wistfully looked towards the sovereignty of Hindusthān. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Hīmū's "victories impressed him with evil ideas" and his capture of Delhi "increased his arrogance so that his intoxication became madness".[61] Other Muslim chroniclers of old expressed the same view, and many modern historians of India seem to hold the same opinion. V. A. Smith, who takes a more liberal view, observes: "Hēmū, who had won Delhi and Agra in the name of his master Adalī, now began to reflect that his sovereignty was a long way off, that he himself was in possession of the army and elephants, and that it might be better to gain a kingdom for his own benefit rather than for that of his absent employer."[62] No one today can reasonably claim to know the thoughts in Hīmū's mind. But a little reflection will show that there was nothing unreasonable or immoral in the aspiration of Hīmū. No doubt personal ambition played a great part, but it may not be altogether wrong to think that he was also inspired by the idea of founding a Hindu *rāj*. This is supported by his assumption of the title Vikramāditya.

The opportunities, as V. A. Smith points out, were really very good, and the recent examples of Bābur, Sher Shāh and Humāyūn (after his return from exile in Persia) within living memory, demonstrated the feasibility of a bold military adventurer seizing the throne of Delhi. Hīmū's chances of success cannot be reasonably regarded as much less than that of any one of these. This view is strongly supported by the details of the second battle of Pānīpat which decided the fate of Hīmū, to which reference has been made above (p. 96).

Whatever might have been his motive or justification, Hīmū decided upon his course of action and made preparations accordingly. He won over the Afghāns, who accompanied him, by distributing the spoils of war among them. He occupied Delhi with their concurrence, declared his independent status in a practical manner by ascending the throne, with the imperial canopy raised over his head, issued coins in his name, and assumed the historic name Vikramāditya or Rājā Bikramjit.

Bairam Khān, the guardian of minor Mughul ruler Akbar, was advised by his counsellors to retire from India, but, disregarding their advice, he decided to advance against Hīmū, whose army greatly outnumbered that of the Mughuls. The battle between them was fought at Pānīpat, on 5 November, 1556. V. A. Smith gives the following account of the battle: "Each army was drawn up in three divisions. On November 5 Hēmū succeeded in throwing both the right and the left wings of his opponents into confusion, and sought to make his victory decisive by bringing all his mountain-like elephants to bear on the centre of the enemy, commanded by Khān Zamān. Probably he would have won but for the accident that he was struck in the eye by an arrow which pierced his brain and rendered him unconscious. An Indian army never could survive the loss of its leader, on whose life its pay depended.

Hēmū's soldiers at once scattered in various directions and made no further attempt at resistance."[63]

V. A. Smith rightly uses the word 'accident'—and it is undoubtedly a mere accident that deprived Hīmū of victory, throne and life. While Smith thinks that Hīmū had every chance of winning the battle, Sir Wolseley Haig asserts that the Mughul forces "would certainly have been overpowered had not Hīmū's eye been pierced by an arrow."[64] More or less the same view has been held in this volume also (above, p. 96). It may, therefore, be reasonably held, that Hīmū's failure was, in a great measure, due to that unknown and unknowable factor, called fate or destiny, which plays no inconsiderable part in the affairs of men. Hīmū was captured in an unconscious state and met with a tragic end, as described above (p. 96).

V. A. Smith writes:

"Bairām Khān desired Akbar to earn the title of Ghāzī, or Slayer of the Infidel, by flashing his sword on the captive. The boy naturally obeyed his guardian and smote Hēmū on the neck with his scimitar. The bystanders also plunged their swords into the bleeding corpse. Hēmū's head was sent to Kābul to be exposed, and his trunk was gibbeted at one of the gates of Delhi."[65]

But the tragedy did not end here. The forces of Akbar conquered the *Sarkār* of Alwar wherein was situated the home of Hīmū. The Mughul officer, who conquered it, proceeded to the township where Hīmū's family lived.

Abu-'l-Fazl, the trusted friend of Akbar and chronicler of his reign, describes what happened in the following words: "The place was strong and there was much fighting, and the father of Hēmū was captured and brought alive before the Nāsir-al-mulk. The latter called upon him to change his religion. The old man answered, 'for eighty years I have worshipped my God, according to this religion. Why should I change it at this time, and why should I, merely from fear of my life, and without understanding it come into your way of worship?' Pir Muhammad treated his words as if he heard them not, and answered him with the tongue of the sword."[66]

Such was the noble end of the family of Hīmū, a great Hindu who was born in humble life, but made his way to the throne of Delhi by dint of sheer ability and military skill—a unique episode in the history of India during Muslim rule. Unfortunately, Hīmū's history has been written almost wholly by his enemies who dreaded him most, and, far from doing justice to his greatness, they have tarnished his name with unmerited odium. It is time to resuscitate the memory and give a true account of the life of Hemchandra, really a great hero, whose dreams and achievements have been forgotten by his countrymen.

1. *Akbar-nāma,* I, 326 (English translation).
2. P. Saran, *Studies in Medieval Indian History,* pp. 40-46; *Journal of Bihār and Orissa Research Society* (1934), pp. 108-122.
3. 'Abbās Sarwānī, MS., p. 12, Elliot, IV, p. 308.
4. K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shāh and His Times,* Vol. I, pp. 9, 24-25, Ishwari Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humāyūn,* pp. 94-95.
5. P. Saran, op. cit., p. 38, Ishwari Prasad, op. cit. p. 94 (1956 Edition). K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 9-10, 25-28.
6. *Makhzan-i-Afghānī,* MS., F 204b.
7. Abu-'l-Fazl, *Akbar-nāma,* Vol. I, p. 327 (English translation).
8. K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 39-40.
9. Briggs, *Firishta,* Vol. II, p. 100.
10. 'Abbās, MS., pp. 28-29 as quoted in Qanungo's *Sher Shāh and His Times,* Vol. I, p. 52.
11. Briggs, *Firishta,* Vol. II, p. 101.
12. The *parganā* of Chaund comprised a portion of modern Shāhābād district and the greater portion of modern Mīrzāpur district.
13. Briggs, *Firishta,* Vol. II, p. 103, 'Abbās, MS., p. 62.
14. *The Makhzan,* MS., p. 19.
15. For the name of the place and the date of the battle, cf. Ch. III, f.n. 2, 2a.
16. K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 108-109.
17. *History of Bengal,* Vol. II, (Dacca University), Edited by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 160.
18. K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 142.
19. J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal,* p. 40.
20. The fort was not besieged by Humāyūn before the second week of January, 1538. For its siege and capture, vide Jauhar's *Tazkirat-ul-Wāqi'āt,* MS., pp. 21-24, Elliot IV, 339, V, 139-140; Elphinstone, *History of India,* 6th edition; pp. 446-447; K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 175-178.
21. Briggs, *Firishta,* pp. 114-117.
22. *Islāmic Culture,* 1936, pp. 127-130, Introduction, *Catalogue of Coins collected by Sayyid A.S.M. Taifur,* Dacca Museum, Dacca, 1936; E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi,* p. 393; H. N. Wright, *The Sultāns of Delhi and their metrology,* pp. 269, 270, 323.

22a. Cf. Chapter III, f.n. 9a and 11.

23. 'Abbās, Elliot, IV, p. 368.
24. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India,* p. 63.
25. Ibid.
26. Jauhar, *Tazkirat-ul-Wāqi'āt,* pp. 36-37.
27. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India,* p. 64.
28. K. R. Qanungo, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 205.
29. *Akbar-nāma,* English translation I, 345, *Riyāz-us-Salātīn,* text, 147.
30. *History of Bengal,* Vol. II, edited by J. N. Sarkar, and published by the Dacca University, p. 174.
31. *The Makhzan,* MS., p. 35; *Firishta,* text, p. 226; *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* text, p. 230.
32. The battle was fought near Bilgrām, three miles away from the Gaṅgā (Ganges) and opposite Kanauj.
33. Haidar's description of the battle may be seen in *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī,* Elias's trans., pp. 475-77.
34. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India,* p. 64.
35. K. R. Qanungo, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 314.

35a. Ibid.

36. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* pp. 271, 592.
37. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī,* p. 231; Briggs, *Firishta,* II, pp. 117-118.
38. *Firishta,* text. 228.
39. 'Abbās, MS, p. 237; Elliot, IV, p. 407.
40. Elliot, IV, p. 407, footnote.
41. Arāil is situated on the right bank of the Yamunā and opposite to Allahabad fort.
42. *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan), Vol. VI, p. 449.
43. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughul Administration,* p. 116.
44. *Āīn-i-Akbarī,* II, pp. 63, 66; Elliot IV, p. 399, footnote.
44a. According to P. Saran, "Sher Shāh used to charge one-third of the produce as revenue" (*Studies in Medieval Indian History,* p. 85). Reference, however, should be made to an important innovation of Sher Shāh, namely, schedules (*ray'*) of the assessment rates for the different kinds of crops (*Rabi* crop, *Kharif* crop, etc.). In other words, land was divided into several classes according to the nature of the crops cultivated therein, and the rate of assessment was fixed for every one of them. For details, cf. ibid (Editor).
45. *Imperial Gazetteer of India,* II, pp. 145-146; vide, also E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi,* pp. 408-409; H. N. Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum,* Calcutta, II, pp. 11-12, 84-109.
46. 'Abbās, Elliot, IV, p. 421.
47. Briggs, *Firishta,* Vol. II, p. 125.
48. *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon,* p. 406.
49. *Memoirs of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India,* II, 97.
50. About 85 miles south-east of Kālinjar.
51. Badāūnī, text, Vol. I, pp. 384-385.
52. Ibid, p. 385.
53. Mānkot was built in about two years, and it had four forts and four townships.
54. Briggs, *Firishta,* II, p. 189; *Dacca University Studies,* November, 1935; pp. 67-101. See Appendix.
55. For example, Abu-'l-Fazl's *Akbar-nāma* (Reference below is to the English translation by H. Beveridge, Vol. II; Calcutta, 1912) and 'Abdul-Qādir Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* (Reference below is to the English translation by G. S. A. Ranking, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1898).
56. Beveridge, op. cit., p. 45.
57. Ranking, op.cit., pp. 548-9.
58. Ibid, pp. 552-3.
59. Ibid, p. 555.
60. V. A. Smith, *Akbar The Great Mogul* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 34-5.
61. Beveridge, op.cit., pp. 45, 50.
62. V. A. Smith, op.cit., pp. 36-7.
63. Ibid, pp. 38-9.
64. *CHI,* IV, p. 72.
65. V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 39.
66. Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 71-2.

CHAPTER V

AKBAR (1556-1605)

I. PERIOD OF TUTELAGE

The news of Humāyūn's death was concealed by Bairam Khān[1] in order to prepare for the unopposed succession of Akbar. A man resembling Humāyūn and dressed up like him made public appearance while the Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī Ra'īs, who happened to be at Delhi, left for Lahore[1a] and assured the people of Humāyūn's recovery. On 14 February, 1556, Akbar ascended the throne at the age of thirteen years and a few months.[1b] The task before the young emperor and his veteran guardian was very difficult and complicated. His hold on the kingdom, only recently recovered, was very uncertain. The small army under Bairam Khān had but a precarious hold on certain districts in the Punjab; and both the army and the nobility were heterogeneous bodies of uncertain loyalty. Three Afghān princes of the Sūr family still contested the sovereignty of Hindusthān. Hīmū, the Hindu general, who nominally acted on behalf of his Afghān master but aspired to sovereign power, further complicated the situation. The fairest parts of Hindusthān were devastated by a frightful famine and an epidemic plague.

Immediately after Akbar's accession, Bairam Khān, who held the reins of government, had to arrest Shāh Abu-'l-Ma'ālī, a favourite noble of Humāyūn, who at first refused to attend the emperor's court and misbehaved when he did attend it.[2] Bairam wanted to execute him but, at the young sovereign's intercession, the culprit was sent to Lahore in confinement. Bairam Khān then resumed his activity against Sikandar Sūr and from Kalānaur proceeded with Akbar up to Dahmīrī (modern Nūrpur in Kāngra district) where they remained for about three months in order to keep watch over the Sūr 'pretender'. But the arch-enemy was neither Sikandar, who had become a spent force after Māchīwārā and Sirhind, nor Ibrāhīm Sūr, whose ambition had been frustrated by Sikandar at Farah, nor even the musician king 'Ādil Shāh who was at Chunār, but his powerful lieutenant Hīmū.

Hīmū must be regarded as a very remarkable personality among the Hindus in medieval India. By his uncommon ability and commanding talent Hīmū had raised himself from an humble shop-keeper at Rewārī to the cabinet of 'Ādil Shāh who made him his first minister and chief commander. It is said that he fought 'two and twenty' battles with his master's opponents and was victorious in all of them. Nominally acting on behalf of 'Ādil Shāh, Hīmū really aspired to carving out a Hindu kingdom on the ruins of Muslim power. The accession of young Akbar offered him the opportunity for striking at Delhi. With a huge body of cavalry and elephants, he marched from Gwālior to Āgra whose governor Iskandar Khān, the Uzbeg, failed to defend it against the superior force of the invader and fled to Delhi. Hīmū took Āgra and then advanced on Delhi. Tārdī Beg Khān, the governor of Delhi, gave battle. The Mughuls began by routing Hīmū's vanguard and right wing but Hīmū suddenly made such a violent charge on the Mughul centre that Tārdī Beg who commanded it failed to resist and fled from the field of battle. This broke the morale of his army, the flight became general and Delhi fell into Hīmū's hands.

When the report of the fall of Delhi reached Akbar at Jullundur, the majority of his nobles advised an immediate retreat to Kābul as the enemy's force was far stronger. But the hero of Māchīwārā and Sirhind was not to abandon so easily the throne of Hindusthān; Bairam, rejecting all defeatist counsel, decided to give battle. Leaving Khizr Khvāja Khān at Jullundur to subdue Sikandar Sūr, Akbar and Bairam marched towards Delhi. At Sirhind, they were joined by the fugitive governors, Iskandar Khān, Tārdī Beg Khān and 'Alī Qulī Khān, who had been forced to leave Sambhal. Here Bairam Khān took the drastic step of executing Tārdī Beg Khān for his failure at Delhi while Akbar was away on hunting. Some modern historians follow Firishta in justifying it on the ground of State necessity and there can be no doubt that Bairam Khān's bold step calmed all disaffection among the nobles and restored unity and discipline to the army which were so essential for the infant Mughul State at that critical juncture. A dispassionate study of the contemporary chronicles, however, reveals that the Shiah Bairam wanted to remove a powerful Sunnī rival, and Tārdī Beg Khān's failure at Delhi, due to cowardice or negligence or indiscretion, offered him the opportunity when State necessity coincided with self-interest; and afterwards Bairam exacted from the emperor a reluctant approval of his action.[3]

From Sirhind, Akbar and Bairam advanced towards Delhi to meet the enemy who was now master of Delhi and Āgra. Hīmū at the height of his power gave up the mask, took the title of Rājā Vikramāditya and made his Afghān soldiers call him Hīmū Shāh. The defeat of his advance guard and the capture of his artillery by ‘Alī Qulī Khān did not dishearten Hīmū who marched on with a huge cavalry of 50,000 Afghāns and Rājputs and 1,500 elephants. On 5 November, 1556, the two armies met face to face on the historic battlefield of Pānīpat. The Mughul army, which was positively inferior in number, did not possess more than 25,000 horse. Hīmū began the battle with a vehement charge on the Mughul ranks which threw the wings into confusion. He then directed his attack with all his elephants against the centre commanded by ‘Alī Qulī Khān. In spite of their valiant efforts, the Mughuls under ‘Alī Qulī Khān could not stand the onset of Hīmū. He was on the point of gaining victory when an arrow struck him in the eye and pierced his brain and he fell unconscious in the saddle. This turned the tide of the battle. Hīmū's army lost its morale and dispersed. Two thousand were killed during retreat and all of Hīmū's elephants fell into the hands of the Mughuls who obtained a complete and decisive victory. The battle sealed the fate of the Afghāns and completed the work of Māchīwārā and Sirhind. The story of the Mughul empire now begins.

Hīmū was captured by Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram who brought him to the presence of Akbar at a short distance from the field of action. Bairam Khān begged him to slay Hīmū with his own hand in order to gain the reward of *jihād* (crusade against infidels) and the title of *ghāzī* (hero combating infidels). Akbar accordingly struck Hīmū with his sword and Bairam Khān followed him. The story of Akbar's magnanimity and refusal to kill a fallen foe seems to be a later courtly invention.[4] The humane and liberal emperor of Hindusthān who preached *sulh-i-kull* (universal toleration) was not born but made.

After the victory of Pānīpat Akbar made his triumphant entry into Delhi. Bairam Khān appointed his servant Pīr Muhammad Sherwānī to suppress Hājī Khān, an officer of Sher Shāh, who was acting independently in Alwār and to capture the family and property of Hīmū which were there. Hājī Khān fled before the arrival of the Mughul army and Hīmū's wife also escaped, but Pīr Muhammad captured his vast wealth and his octogenarian father whom he put to death on his refusal to accept Islām.

Meanwhile Sikandar Sūr had defeated Khizr Khvāja Khān at Chamiārī (in Amritsar district), driven him back to Lahore and begun to collect taxes with Kalānaur as his headquarters. Bairam Khān promptly sent Iskandar Khān, the Uzbeg, now styled Khān ‘Ālam, to assist Khizr Khvāja Khān and on 7 December, 1556, he and Akbar left Delhi to deal with the enemy. They proceeded on to Dahmīrī, but Sikandar retreated to the hill country of the Siwāliks and took refuge in the strong fortress of Mānkot[5] which Islām Shāh had built at enormous cost as a bulwark against Gakkhar aggression. Bairam Khān besieged the fort but its natural advantages and store of provisions enabled Sikandar to resist the Mughuls for about six months. But Sikandar relied more on the Afghāns in other parts of the country who, he expected, would create diversion. The defeat and death of 'Ādil in the battle near Chunār with Khizr Khān Sūr of Bengal and the suppression of Rukn Khān Lohānī and Jalāl Khān Sūr by 'Alī Qulī Khān, Khān Zamān, unnerved Sikandar who surrendered the fort on 25 July, 1557, and left for Bihār and then for Bengal where he died two years later.

Akbar marched to Lahore where he remained for four months. Bahādur Khān put down the Balūch disturbances in Multān and Bairam executed Takht Mal, rājā of Mau (Pathānkot), for his alliance with Sikandar. In December Akbar left for Delhi and on the way at Jullundur, Bairam Khān, then aged more than fifty, married his nineteen year old cousin Salīma Begam.[6] After crossing the Sutlej, Akbar learnt of the growing power of Hājī Khān who had fled from Alwār to Ajmer, established his authority there and was marching on Hissār. Bairam Khān accordingly sent to Hissār reinforcement under Pīr Muhammad Khān, whereupon Hājī Khān escaped to Gujarāt and the Mughuls took possession of Ajmer. Akbar returned to Delhi on 14 April, 1558.

Early in 1557 Qiyā Khān Gung had been sent to capture the famous fort of Gwālior, 'the pearl in the necklace of the castles of Hind', which was held by Bahbal Khān, an officer of 'Ādil Shāh. Qiyā Khān laid siege to the fort but the garrison did not surrender even after a continued siege for months. In November, 1558, Bairam Khān sent from Āgra reinforcement under Habīb 'Alī Khān which alarmed Bahbal Khān who surrendered the fort in January next year. The same year Khān Zamān annexed Jaunpur after an easy victory over Ibrāhīm Sūr. After an effort of one year Habīb 'Alī Khān besieged the fort of Ranthambhor which Islām Shāh's officer Jajhār Khān had just sold to Rāi Surjan, a servant of Rānā Uday Singh of Chitor, but the siege had to be raised on account of the downfall of Bairam Khān. Similarly a grand expedition under Bahādur Khān, which Bairam sent for the conquest of Mālwa and proceeded up to Siprī in Gwālior State, was recalled early in 1560.

For four years (1556-1559) Bairam Khān had bravely piloted the ship of the Mughul State against enormous odds. But the reverse of the medal offers a less pleasing record. The scandalous conduct and misdeeds of ‘Alī Qulī Khān, who had enticed a page of Humāyūn and disregarded the order of Akbar, required drastic punishment. But Bairam Khān passed over his guilt while he put to death Musāhib Beg for lesser fault and approved of the execution of Khvāja Jalāl-ud-dīn Bujūq by Mun‘im Khān for personal and trifling cause.

Pīr Muhammad Khān had gradually raised himself by loyal services to the position of Bairam Khān’s right-hand man. He was also appointed tutor to the prince and won royal favour and confidence, so much so that he became almost as powerful as Bairam Khān himself. Bairam would brook no rival and availed of the earliest opportunity for dismissing the upstart. One day he even insulted his patron by refusing admission when he made a courtesy visit to his house during his illness. Pīr Muhammad Khān was at first sent in confinement to Bayāna and then allowed to go on pilgrimage to Mecca by way of Gujarāt. Though Bairam Khān was amply justified in discharging this ungrateful servant, Akbar was displeased.

After Pīr Muhammad’s dismissal Bairam Khān appointed Shaikh Gadāī, a Shiah of no eminence to the important position of *Sadr-us-Sudūr*. This appointment raised a storm of indignation among the orthodox Muslims who, to quote Badāūnī, ‘flew into a rage at the advancement, honour and unseasonable exaltation of Shaikh Gadāī.’ The unbecoming treatment which Bairam Khān, under Shaikh Gadāī’s influence, meted to Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus when he visited Āgra in April, 1559, highly displeased Akbar who revered the Shaikh (Muhammad Ghaus) and afterwards became his disciple.[7]

The chronicles deal at great length with the circumstances that led to Bairam Khān’s downfall. In spite of their differences in minor details they reveal one fact: the root cause of the regent’s fall was the desire of the prince to be the king in fact as in name. As Akbar advanced in years to manhood he found that he was a mere puppet in the hands of his guardian who did not consult him in the gravest matters of public importance and did not allow him the least power in financial affairs, so much so that his personal expenses were sanctioned by Bairam with stringency. Akbar wanted to set himself free and this could be done only by the dismissal of his all-powerful guardian, for Bairam would not have tolerated subordination to one whose obedience he had so long enjoyed. This desire of the young emperor to drop the pilot was further strengthened by a series of incidents which highly displeased him and completely alienated him from his valued guardian.

From the very beginning the precocious ward had begun to differ with his powerful guardian. As early as May, 1557, Bairam Khān suspected that Akbar had begun to dislike him; he misinterpreted the accidental running of two royal elephants near his tent as an attempt on his life and held Atga Khān responsible for the displeasure with which he was occasionally treated by his young sovereign. The execution of Tārdī Beg Khān and Musāhib Beg, the dismissal of Pīr Muhammad Khān, the cold treatment of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and the two elephant incidents (1559-60) when Bairam put to death two drivers of the royal elephants—on the first occasion, because a drunken royal elephant had wounded one of Bairam's elephants, and, on the second, another royal elephant had rushed towards the boat of the minister on the Yamunā where he had been airing—all these added to the displeasure and vexation of the growing ward and made him all the more conscious of his real position.

Bairam Khān was harsh in temper, overbearing in manner, arbitrary, dictatorial in method, highly ambitious and jealous of power, and would brook no rival. His administration, though efficient, was marked by high-handedness and nepotism. A Shiah, who had raised the Shiah Shaikh Gadāī to the highest position in the State, he was disliked by the majority of the Muslims in Hindusthān who were Sunnīs, while he had incurred the jealous hostility of not a few among the nobles by his exalted position, though he obtained it by his superior merit.

The leaders of the opposition against the regent, however, formed a small faction whose personnel was drawn from the members of the harem and their relations or more properly Akbar's foster-relations known as *Atga-Khail*: Māham Anaga, the chief nurse of the emperor who had risked her life when the prince was thrown open to the gun shots of Mīrzā Kāmrān at Kābul,[7a] her son Adham Khān, her relations Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān, governor of Delhi, and Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain, and Jījī Anaga who had suckled the prince, her husband Shams-ud-dīn Atga Khān with his brothers and sons as well as Hamīda Begam, the queen-mother. They were mainly inspired by jealousy and self-interest and availed of the growing discontent against the regent and hoped to monopolize power should they be able to overthrow him.

The dismissal of so powerful a man like Bairam Khān by the young emperor was not an easy task. A secret plot was made by

Akbar and the opposition party so that Bairam Khān might be taken by surprise and would have no time to prepare for opposition. The chronicles differ as to the comparative share of Akbar and the Māham Anaga junto in the plot for the dismissal of the great minister. It seems that the decision for dismissal was mainly Akbar's own and he himself took the initiative and in this action, which required great firmness and much address, he had to take the help of, and was absolutely helped by, the harem party which was hostile to the minister. The dismissal of Bairam Khān was achieved by a *coup,* decided on and to a great extent planned by Akbar, prepared by the harem cabal and worked by all who were hostile to the Khān Khānān.

On 19 March, 1560, Akbar and the collaborators left Āgra on the pretext of hunting, taking with them Abu-'l-Qāsim, son of Mīrzā Kāmrān, whom Bairam might use as a pretender. As his mother was lying sick at Delhi, Akbar made this his motive to proceed to that city. At Delhi the enemies of Bairam did their utmost to hasten his dismissal. Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān made arrangements for the defence of the city, and officers from all directions were called to join the emperor. Atga Khān was the earliest to arrive and others followed.

On receiving Akbar's message from Delhi,[7b] Bairam Khān was surprised and immediately sent envoys to the emperor begging his pardon and assuring him of loyal service in future. But Akbar imprisoned his envoys and then refused him permission to interview. The die was now cast. The followers of Bairam advised him to march on Delhi and seize the emperor's person but the great minister refused to disgrace his old age by rebellion after passing a lifetime in loyal service.[8] Early in April he left Āgra announcing that he was going on pilgrimage to Mecca. The harem party, however, got alarmed and induced Akbar to march against Bairam and send Mīr 'Abdul-Latīf with a message that, as he had taken the reins of government in his own hands, Bairam should proceed to Mecca and that due provision would be made for his expenses there. On the way Pīr Muhammad Khān joined the emperor from Gujarāt and he was sent with a large force towards Nāgaur 'to pack Bairam as quickly as possible to Mecca.' From Nāgaur which he had reached by way of Alwār, Bairam went to Bikāner to avoid Rājā Māldev of Mārwār who was hostile to him; but the studied insult which his enemies had meted to him by appointing his dismissed servant gave him provocation. Against the explicit warning of Akbar he turned his direction towards the Punjab and 'crossed the Rubicon'.[9]

Bairam placed his family at Tabarhinda (modern Bhatinda), and proceeded towards Jullundur via Dīpālpur and Tihāra, 27 miles west of Ludhiana. Akbar now recalled Pīr Muhammad Khān and appointed Atga Khān with a large force to deal with the rebel minister. Atga Khān defeated Bairam in a battle at Gunāchaur in Jullundur district (August, 1560) and forced him to flee to the fortress of Tilwāra in the Siwalik hills. Meanwhile Akbar in person had marched to Sirhind. Here Mun'im Khān joined him from Kābul and was appointed to the office of *vakīl* with the title of Khān Khānān which Bairam had so long held. The royal troops besieged the fortress of Tilwāra, but after a short resistance Bairam offered to surrender on condition that he would be assured of safe conduct to the emperor. In October, 1560, at Hājīpur (in Hoshiarpur district) he presented himself before Akbar who received him kindly and offered him the alternatives of service as his personal companion or as a *jāgīrdār* of Kālpī and Chanderī and pilgrimage. Declining to serve where he had ruled, the great minister chose the second and left for Gujarāt where at Pātan he was assassinated on 31 January, 1561, by some Afghāns led by one Mubārak Khān whose father had been killed at the battle of Māchīwārā in which Bairam was in command. There is no positive evidence in support of the suggestion of Count Von Noer that the enemies of Bairam who had worked for his downfall might have had a hand in it. Bairam's family became stranded and it was not before September, some eight months after the tragic incident, that they reached the court. Bairam's infant son Mīrzā 'Abdur-Rahīm grew up in royal favour and gradually rose high in position till he became the Khān Khānān in 1584.

The services of Bairam to the Mughul dynasty were great; his gifts and ability, undisputed. He was the real author of the Mughul restoration and without him Akbar could hardly have retained his throne. His exit from the stage of Mughul history marks the end of an epoch, the age of military conquest, the age of Bābur. A new era with a new orientation commences in Indo-Islāmic history, the age of Akbar.

Some modern historians regard the dismissal of Bairam Khān as premature and state that for the next four years Akbar remained under a 'petticoat government of the worst kind.' They exaggerate the influence of Māham Anaga both in bringing about Bairam's downfall as well as during the period immediately following. True, the harem party and Māham Anaga in particular secured important positions as the natural reward of the great services they had recently rendered, but it is inaccurate to say that Akbar became a victim of the harem cabal. It would be more accurate to say that the period immediately following the downfall of Bairam Khān was marked by an attempt made by the harem party to dominate Akbar who, however, revealed his own personality and was able to assert himself without any serious difficulty and within a short time. Akbar used Māham Anaga for his own purpose and he overthrew her when she proved hostile to his policy and interests.[10] The buffet which struck down the audacious Adham Khān did not make Akbar a man, as Count Von Noer states; it was the man who struck the buffet.

Akbar now undertook the conquest of Mālwa which had been interrupted by the events leading to Bairam Khān's downfall. The choice of commanders was unfortunate and proves the unmistakable influence of Māham Anaga and the harem party. The Mughul army led by Adham Khān, his foster-mother's son, and Pīr Muhammad Khān invaded Mālwa and marched unopposed to Sārangpur where at last the musician-king Bāz Bahādur, a voluptuary *par excellence,* gave battle but, deserted by his Afghān officers who were discontented, was easily defeated by the superior army of Akbar and put to flight (29 March, 1561). All his treasures, elephants and his harem fell into the hands of the victors but his beloved, the famous Rūpamatī, the romantic theme of artists and poets, took poison to evade the clutches of 'her conqueror rude.' The two commanders, who, according to Badāūnī, considered human beings as 'leeks, cucumbers and radishes', perpetrated acts of barbaric cruelty, massacring the prisoners and putting to death even their wives and children—not even sparing Sayyids and holy men with copies of the Qur'ān in their hands, as Badāūnī expresses with righteous indignation. Adham Khān, puffed up with pride at his easy success, behaved as if he were independent. He sent to the emperor a report of his victory and only a few elephants, himself appropriating the rest of the spoils. Akbar resented this insolence and personally marched to Sārangpur to punish the delinquent who, being taken by surprise, surrendered to the emperor. Adham Khān was excused through the intercession of Māham Anaga who did not hesitate to kill two innocent girls of Bahādur's harem as they were witnesses to her son's scandalous conduct. Though not immediately, Adham Khān was recalled from Mālwa and Akbar made over the command to Pīr Muhammad who reduced Bijāgarh with general massacre and then invaded Khāndesh where Bāz Bahādur had taken refuge. He captured the fort of Asīrgarh and proceeded as far as Burhānpur, massacring or enslaving the people and destroying towns and villages on the way, but was defeated by a coalition of three powers: Mubārak Khān of Khāndesh, Bāz Bahādur and Tufāl Khān, the *de facto* ruler of Berār. As he was retreating towards Mālwa he was drowned while crossing the Narmadā, the just retribution for the sighs of the orphans, the weak and the captives, as Badāūnī affirms. The confederate army pursued the Mughuls and drove them out of Mālwa, and Bahādur recovered his kingdom. In 1562 a second army sent by Akbar under 'Abdullah Khān, the Uzbeg, invaded Mālwa and compelled Bāz Bahādur to flee to Chitor. 'Abdullah Khān took Māndū and restored Mughul authority in Mālwa. Bāz Bahādur remained a fugitive at various courts until November, 1570, when he surrendered to Akbar at Nāgaur and joined his service.

Early in 1561 Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur Khān suppressed a formidable uprising of the Afghāns under Sher Khān, son of 'Ādil Shāh, who marched from Chunār with a big army but suffered total defeat near Jaunpur. Khān Zamān behaved like Adham Khān and appropriated the spoils. Akbar would not tolerate such a gross infringement of his prerogative and marched from Āgra towards Jaunpur (July, 1561). Alarmed at this the brothers paid homage to Akbar at Karā and returned him all the spoils including the elephants. Akbar pardoned them and re-instated them in their position. The emperor then sent Āsaf Khān to the important fortress of Chunār which the Afghāns surrendered without any resistance.

In November, 1561, Atga Khān was appointed *vakīl* or the prime minister. This appointment displeased Māham Anaga and Mun'im Khān who had been holding the position since the discharge of Bairam Khān. The harem party was now broken into two groups: the Māham Anaga group and the party of Atga Khān.

In the middle of January, 1562, Akbar made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the famous saint of Ajmer, Khvāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī. On the way Rājā Bihārī Mal of Amber paid homage to the emperor and offered him the hand of his daughter. Akbar agreed and during his return journey the marriage was celebrated at Sāmbhar. Mān Singh, the nephew and adopted son of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, the heir of Rājā Bihārī Mal was taken into the royal service. The princess afterwards became the mother of Emperor Jahāngīr. This pilgrimage to Ajmer, which henceforward Akbar made annually until 1579, is a landmark not only in Akbar's but also in Indo-Muslim history. The Rājput alliance was not merely the stroke of a diplomat to win the support of militant Hinduism; it was the beginning of a new orientation of State-policy, the first expression of that doctrine of *sulh-i-kull* (universal toleration) which his great Persian tutor Mīr ‘Abdul-Latīf Qazvīnī had infused into Akbar. He was not to be the head of a community but all people. No Muslim ruler before, not even Sher Shāh, with all his benevolence, held this exalted conception of State and kingship so definitely and vividly.

On his way from Ajmer, Akbar sent Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain to take the fort of Merta, then held by Jai Mal for Rānā Uday Singh of Mewār. The fort surrendered to the Mughuls after a siege of several months and a stubborn fight offered by Jai Mal's commander Dev Dās.

The appointment of Atga Khān as *vakīl* had provoked the displeasure of the Māham Anaga group and the malcontents found in the unscrupulous Adham Khān, freshly embittered by his recall from Mālwa, a pliable instrument for the fulfilment of their desires. On 16 May, 1562, the hot-headed youth, accompanied by a few ruffians, burst in upon Shams-ud-dīn as he sat in the hall of audience and murdered him. Adham Khān then rushed to the inner apartment where he was caught by Akbar, just roused from sleep by the tumult, who only replied to the murderer's explanation to palliate his crime by striking him down with a heavy blow of his fist. Adham was twice thrown from the terrace by royal order and put to death. Akbar himself broke this news to Māham Anaga who made the simple but dignified reply that he did well, and forty days later followed her son to the grave. In grateful remembrance of his foster-mother who had once risked her life for his sake on the battlement of Kābul and sheltered him from the cradle to the throne, Akbar raised a noble mausoleum at Delhi where mother and son lie interred.

Akbar meted out magnanimous treatment to the conspirators. They were pardoned and both Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad and Mun‘im Khān, the ringleaders, were reinstated in their position. The *Atga-Khail* or the Atga group who thirsted for vengeance were removed from court by employment in an expedition against the Gakkhars. As a result of this expedition Akbar's protege Kamāl Khān was given back the Gakkhar country lying between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Indus which had been seized by his uncle Sultān Ādam.

The Adham Khān affair is not the beginning of Akbar's assertion of his own individuality; it is the logical end of a policy which he had been following since 1557 when the great Bairam had begun to feel the weight of his personality. In 1560 he overthrew his all-powerful guardian who had maintained his throne; in 1562 he overthrew the Māham Anaga group who had assisted him to drop his pilot but abused the power he had bestowed on them. Two years later he revealed the same strength of character when he did not hesitate to order death sentence on his maternal uncle Khvāja Mu'azzam for having murdered his wife. The Rājput alliance and Akbar's prohibition in 1562 of the practice of enslaving prisoners of war were expressions of that marked individuality of the young emperor. In 1563 Akbar abolished the tax on Hindu pilgrims to holy places and early next year he took the revolutionary step of abolishing the *jizya* or poll-tax on non-Muslims. 'It was an assertion of Akbar's will and conscience against a tradition of all the Muslim conquerors of India, sanctioned by centuries of custom, against all his advisers' (Binyon).

Already Akbar had begun to inquire about the view of his subjects by nocturnal visits among them in disguise and on one occasion in 1561 he was recognized. Next year he appointed a capable officer of Islām Shāh Sūr, on whom was now conferred the title of I'timād Khān, to remove the abuses that had crept into the administration of the reserved (*khālisa*) lands, and this was followed in 1564 by the appointment of Muzaffar 'Alī Turbatī, who had served under Bairam Khān and gained experience in the local revenue administration of a *parganā*, as the *Dīwān* or the finance minister of the empire. He had also curtailed the authority of the *Sadr-us-Sudūr* when he appointed Muhammad Sālih of Herat to that position (1562). He was replaced in 1565 by Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabī who, however, disappointed Akbar's hope for reformation in the administration by lavish abuse of his power. He was dismissed in 1578 when the office was shorn of its 'ancient dignity' as Akbar substantially curtailed the powers of the *Sadr*. Ultimately in 1582 he effected further curtailment of the power and authority of the *Sadr-us-Sudūr* by appointing six provincial *Sadrs*.

II. EARLY CONQUESTS

Akbar now seriously undertook the work of conquest. He was a self-confessed annexationist; in his 'Happy Sayings' his ideology is clearly expressed: 'A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his enemies rise in arms against him'. Without scruple and even without provocation he invaded kingdom after kingdom and annexed them to his expanding empire. The people whom he conquered were reconciled to his rule because they enjoyed the blessings of peace which Akbar extended to them. The policy of expansion had been initiated by his valued guardian under whom Ajmer, Gwālior and Jaunpur had been annexed and it was followed by Akbar when he sent the expedition for the conquest of Mālwa

(1562). But from 1564 onwards when he began his attack on Gondwāna, Akbar systematically pursued a policy of expansion which did not end until the fall of Asīrgarh in 1601. In fairness to Akbar it has to be conceded that, though most of his wars were motivated by earth-hunger, yet all of them cannot be dismissed as purely annexationist in nature. Some of them were what Mommsen calls defensive-offensive: as for example, his conquest of Bengal and his wars in the North-West Frontier; and at least one of his conquests can be justified: the conquest of Gujarāt which he undertook in response to an invitation from that quarter.

Āsaf Khān, the governor of Karā, was entrusted with the task of subduing the kingdom of Gondwāna or Garha-Katanga now included in Madhya Pradesh, bounded, according to Abu-'l-Fazl, on the east by Ratanpur, a dependency of Jhārkhand or Chota Nāgpur, and on the west by Mālwa, while Pannā (the Bhath kingdom) lay north of it, and the Deccan, south. It was then ruled by Rānī Durgāvatī, a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Mahobā, as regent for her son Bīr Nārāyan. She was a capable and benevolent ruler, a good shot and a courageous leader; she possessed an army of 20,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants and had defeated in battle Bāz Bahādur and the Miyāna Afghāns. The advance of the Mughul army alarmed Durgāvatī's soldiers, many of whom deserted. The rānī, however, made a gallant stand at Narhī to the east of Garha[11] against the Mughuls in spite of their overwhelming superiority in number. She was easily overpowered, received two wounds from arrows and stabbed herself to death to avoid disgrace. Two months later, Āsaf Khān marched on the capital Chaurāgarh[12] and defeated Bīr Nārāyan who, though wounded in the battle of Narhī, offered battle and was slain. Two women who escaped death at *jauhar*—one of them being Rānī Durgāvatī's sister, Kamalāvatī—were sent to Akbar's harem. Āsaf Khān obtained rich spoils in gold, coined and uncoined, and in figures of men and animals, jewels, pearls as well as 1,000 elephants and he followed the evil example of Adham Khān in appropriating the major portion.

Towards the end of 1564, Akbar laid the foundation of a town which he named Nagarchain (the city of repose) on the site of the village of Kakrālī, seven miles to the south of Āgra.[13] It became his favourite resort where he received even ambassadors from abroad, but was deserted some years later when Fathpur Sīkrī became the capital of the empire. About this time Akbar began also the restoration of Āgra by building a new fort of stone to replace the old crumbling brick fort. We are told by Abu-'l-Fazl that Akbar erected at Āgra 'more than five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujarāt, which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models'. Most of them were demolished by his grandson when he reconstructed the fort.

Akbar's work of conquest was now seriously interrupted by a formidable rebellion of the Uzbegs. The Uzbegs in Akbar's service formed a party; in a sense they were the hereditary enemies of the Tīmūrids as it was they who had driven Bābur from Transoxiana.[14] They had joined the Indian expeditions of the Tīmūrids and entered their service but their loyalty to the dynasty was lukewarm and uncertain. Khān Zamān and his relations were proud of their lineage from the royal line of Shaibān.[15] They resented Akbar's preference to Persians who were appointed to high positions at court while they were placed far away in the eastern provinces requiring constant exertion. As bigoted Sunnīs they were hostile to the Persians who were mostly Shiahs but it would not be quite proper to describe the Uzbeg rebellion as a protest of Sunnī orthodoxy against Akbar's liberal policy towards the Shiahs and the Hindus, as a modern author has suggested.[16] It was the protest of a lawless aristocracy, accustomed to the laxity of Humāyūn's days, against centralised government which Akbar was building, leavened by the racial factor and to a certain extent by personal ambition. The Uzbeg officers comported themselves like veritable satraps aspiring to independence. At one stage the rebels were in communication with Akbar's half-brother Mīrzā Hakīm, but there is no evidence of their complicity with 'Abdullah Khān, the famous Uzbeg chief of Bukhārā. The prominent Uzbeg officers were 'Alī Qulī Khān, Khān Zamān who was governor of Jaunpur and their leader, his brother Bahādur Khān, their uncle Ibrāhīm Khān who held Surhurpur, north of Jaunpur, Iskandar Khān whose fief was Awadh and 'Abdullah Khān who had succeeded Pīr Muhammad Khān in the government of Mālwa.

Already in 1561 Khān Zamān had shown the complexion of his allegiance and again in 1564 after his surprising victory over the Afghāns in full force under Fath Khān, who had invaded and occupied Bihār, he dismissed Akbar's messengers who demanded assurance of his allegiance with an evasive reply. In Mālwa 'Abdullah Khān showed symptoms of revolt. In July, 1564, Akbar marched through Narwar to Māndū, overtook the fleeing rebels near the city and drove him into Gujarāt. He sent an envoy to Chingīz Khān, ruler of Southern Gujarāt, requesting extradition of his fugitive officer or at least his expulsion. Chingīz Khān sent a polite reply asking pardon for the refugee and promising his expulsion if he were not forgiven. At Māndū Akbar received in marriage the daughter of Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Khāndesh. He appointed Qarā Bahādur Khān, a cousin of Haidar Mīrzā, the historian, to the government of Mālwa and returned to Āgra on 9 October.

The evasive reply of Khān Zamān and the misconduct of 'Abdullah Khān bred suspicion in Akbar's mind about the Uzbegs in general. Early in 1565 Akbar sent Ashraf Khān to bring Iskandar Khān to court but Iskandar proceeded to Jaunpur, taking with him Ibrāhīm Khān from Surhurpur, and there under the leadership of Khān Zamān the Uzbegs decided on a systematic campaign against the emperor. Iskandar and Ibrāhīm marched on Kanauj and defeated the Mughul troops at Nīmkhār in Sitāpur district. Khān Zamān and Bahādur besieged Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl at Mānikpur who, though reinforced by Āsaf Khān from Chaurāgarh, was unable to maintain himself against the enemy. Akbar immediately sent Mun'im Khān to his aid and on 24 May himself set out from Āgra with a large force. He joined Mun'im Khān at Kanauj and made a rapid march on Lakhnau and forced Iskandar to evacuate it. Alarmed at this, Khān Zamān raised the siege of Mānikpur and fled eastwards. Ultimately the Uzbegs took their stand near Hājīpur whence they negotiated with the Afghāns of Rohtās and Sulaimān Kararānī, sultān of Bengal, for help. Akbar marched to Jaunpur and replied by sending an emissary to Mukunda Dev, rājā of Orissa, asking him to attack Sulaimān if the sultān would help the rebels, to which he agreed. But Akbar's situation became complicated by the sudden defection of Āsaf Khān on 16 September as he was called to account for the spoils of Gondwāna. Khān Zamān now sent Iskandar and Bahādur into the territory north of the Gogra to divide the royal troops. Akbar despatched Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk to Khairābād in Sitāpur district to arrest their aggression, while he himself proceeded to Allāhabād. Finding Akbar equal to the situation, Khān Zamān sent a messenger to Mun'im Khān asking pardon and a reconciliation was patched up on condition that Khān Zamān should send his mother and uncle to court and he should not cross the Gogra as long as the imperial army would remain in that neighbourhood. Meanwhile in spite of these negotiations Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and Rājā Todar Mal who had joined him, forced on Bahādur and Iskandar a battle in Khairābād and suffered an ignominious defeat. Akbar, however, extended general amnesty to the Uzbegs and recalled as well as reproved his officers.

On 24 January, 1566, Akbar left Jaunpur for Banāras, inspecting on the way the important stronghold of Chunār. No sooner had Akbar set out than 'Alī Qulī Khān violated the conditions of peace, crossed the Gogra, marched to Muhammadābād and sent a force to take Ghāzīpur and Jaunpur. Akbar turned back to chastise the faithless Uzbeg who, however, fled to the hills. But Bahādur had advanced on Jaunpur, captured Ashraf Khān and released his mother and then, plundering Banāras, retreated across the Gaṅgā (Ganges). Akbar hastened to Jaunpur and declared it his headquarters, determined to quell the rebellion root and branch. Khān Zamān was alarmed and again opened negotiation for submission and pardon. Akbar, weary of the long campaign, forgave the rebels and reinstated them in their positions. On 3 March, 1566, he left for Āgra.

The storm apparently subsided but it broke again early next year when the Uzbegs, who were in secret communication with the ruler of Kābul, encouraged him to invade India and Khān Zamān read the *khutba* in his name at Jaunpur. In a family conclave held at Surhurpur the Uzbeg leaders decided on a renewed campaign. Khān Zamān, taking advantage of Akbar's absence in the Punjab where he had marched in November, 1566, to ward off Mīrzā Hākim's invasion, invaded Kanauj and besieged the fort of Shergarh, near Kanauj, where the Mughul officer Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān had taken refuge. Bahādur Khān attacked Āsaf Khān and Majnūn Khān at Mānikpur while Iskandar and Ibrāhīm marched on Awadh. On 23 March, 1567, Akbar left Lahore for Āgra and on 6 May marched from Āgra on Shergarh. Khān Zamān escaped to Mānīkpur. Akbar despatched a force under Rājā Todar Mal and Muzaffar Khān against Iskandar Khān in Awadh, while he himself marched towards Mānikpur to deal with the main body of rebels. At Rāe Barelī he learnt that Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān had crossed the Gaṅgā (Ganges) with a view to proceeding to Kālpī.[17] On 7 June he marched on from that town, disregarding the murmuring reluctance of his troops weary of incessant campaigns, and on arrival at Mānikpur ferry he despatched the main body of his troops under Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Khvāja Jahān to Karā while he, with some 1500 men, displayed extraordinary courage in crossing the swollen river. Meanwhile the Uzbegs had crossed the Gaṅgā (Ganges) and on their way to Karā encamped in the neighbourhood. On 9 June at dawn Akbar surprised the Uzbegs who could not suspect his arrival and had spent the whole night in a dissolute carousal. They marched off without offering battle, but Majnūn Khān and Āsaf Khān were despatched in advance to intercept them. In the battle that followed, the Uzbegs resisted for some time but were ultimately defeated.[18] Khān Zamān was slain and Bahādur Khān was taken captive. Bahādur was executed and some ringleaders were trampled to death and a reward of one gold *mohur* was paid for every Uzbeg's head. Akbar then marched to Allāhabād and on to Banāras which was sacked because it closed its gates against him. From Banāras he marched to Jaunpur and conferred the assignments of Khān Zamān and other Uzbeg chiefs on Mun'im Khān. Meanwhile Todar Mal and Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās had besieged Iskandar in Awadh and driven him to the Afghāns at Gorakhpur.[19] The great Uzbeg rebellion, the gravest menace in the early years of Akbar's reign, came to an end. On 18 July, 1567, Akbar returned to Āgra.

Hardly had the Uzbeg menace been surmounted when Akbar had to face another rebellion, though less formidable, organized by the Mīrzās. They were Tīmūrid princes, descended from 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, the second son of Tīmūr while Akbar was descended from the third son Mīrān Shāh. The doyen of these Mīrzās, Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā who was a grandson (daughter's son) of Sultān Husain Mīrzā, the grand monarch of Khurāsān, joined Bābur's service. In the reign of Humāyūn he with his sons Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā gave the emperor not a little trouble.[20] Both these sons died before Akbar's accession, so that the family now consisted of Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and his other sons, Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā, Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, Mas'ūd Husain Mīrzā and 'Āqil Husain Mīrzā as well as two grandsons Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, sons of the deceased Ulugh Mīrzā. Rebellion against the Mughul emperor was their political creed; in Akbar's reign they shifted the theatres of their activities from Sambhal and the neighbourhood to Mālwa and then to Gujarāt. They were given assignments in the districts of Sambhal and A'zampur. During the invasion of Mīrzā Hakīm, when Akbar, already exhausted with the task of suppressing the Uzbeg revolt, was away in the Punjab, the Mīrzās, true to their tradition, raised the standard of revolt, and marched plundering through the country at the head of a hastily collected swarm of disaffected persons and partisans and even threatened Delhi whose gates were closed by Tātār Khān. Mun'im Khān marched from Āgra, captured Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā whom he imprisoned at Bayāna and compelled the other Mīrzās to retire to Mālwa. There their designs were favoured by independent Rājput chiefs and they were able to take some important towns and districts including Ujjain. After the final suppression of the Uzbeg revolt, Akbar left Āgra on 31 August, 1567, for Dholpur and Gwālior and on reaching Gāgraun on the Mālwa frontier sent Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān to deal with the troublesome Mīrzās. Shihāb-ud-dīn marched on Ujjain and the Mīrzās fled to Māndū and from there they took refuge with Chingīz Khān who was then supreme in Gujarāt.

In September, 1567, Akbar undertook one of the most famous military operations of his life, the siege and capture of Chitor. To the ruler of Northern India the importance of Rājasthān was great: through it lay the route to Gujarāt, the Narmadā valley and the Deccan and without the possession of its strong fortresses he could not feel himself secure. The key to Rājasthān was Mewār whose capital Chitor was the ' sanctuary of Rājput freedom'. Akbar had come into contact with the Rājputs as allies; he was now to meet the Rājputs in arms. The solemn vow of the rānās of Mewār, that they would not sully their blood by matrimonial alliance with any Muslim ruler nor diminish the honour of the house of Bāppā Rāwal by acknowledging his sovereignty, wounded the imperial pride of Akbar who found in the hospitality the rānā had extended to Bāz Bahādur and the assistance he had rendered to the rebellious Mīrzās in Mālwa his *casus belli.* The Rājput annals refer to an unsuccessful attempt before that of 1567 when Chitor was saved by 'the masculine courage' of its queen, but Muslim chronicles are absolutely silent on it.

Legend and history are equally eloquent in praising the grandeur and strength of the historic fortress of Chitor, the handiwork of both art and nature, which stands on a long narrow hill, lying almost exactly north and south and about 500 feet above the surrounding plain. Its length is about three miles and a quarter and its greatest breadth, half a mile.[20a] In the time of Akbar the city was on the hill within the fort. On 23 October, 1567, Akbar pitched his camp before Chitor.[21] On the approach of the Mughul army rānā Uday Singh, the unworthy son of a worthy father who had fought gloriously against the emperor's grandfather, abandoned the capital and took refuge in the defiles of the Arāvallī hills. But this did not facilitate the capture of the fortress in which there was a strong garrison commanded by Jai Mal of Bednor who had bravely resisted Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain in Merta. A month elapsed before the fort was completely invested and the three batteries constructed. Akbar made many unsuccessful attempts to take it by direct assault which caused heavy loss of 200 men a day and he decided to proceed by means of mines and *sābāts* (covered ways) which were completed at enormous cost, more than a hundred men being killed daily. On 17 December two mines were fired and, as one exploded, the Mughuls rushed into the breach when suddenly the second exploded and killed 200 of them, half of them being officers, while the garrison, which lost only 40, easily repaired the breach. Akbar realized that success required greater caution, planning and perseverance and the siege was protracted. On the night of 22-23 February, 1568, a general attack was made on the fort from all sides and several breaches were made. In the early hours of 23 February, Akbar observed at the breach a man of commanding presence, armed in mail, directing the restoration and defence of the works. He immediately fired at him with his favourite gun *sangrām* and the Rājput fell shot through the forehead. Not until the next morning did Akbar come to know that he had brought down the 'lion of Chitor'. The Rājputs immediately withdrew from the ramparts and the fire that broke out in several places within the fort during the night was rightly explained by Rājā Bhagwān Dās as the *jauhar,* 'the last awful sacrifice which Rājput despair offers to honour and the gods.'

The mantle of Jai Mal now fell on the young and gallant Patta of Kailwa, but with his fall Chitor also fell. Early in the morning Akbar entered the fortress in triumph and ordered a general massacre 'which ceased only for lack of victims' in the afternoon, for each bazaar, each street and each house was a fortress and centre of resistance. Thirty thousand were slain; among them was the gallant Patta who fell after he had displayed 'prodigies of valour.' One thousand musketeers from Kālpī managed to escape, to the utter indignation of Akbar, by a stratagem, passing themselves off as Akbar's troops. To expiate 'the sin of the slaughter of Chitor' Akbar honoured the memory of his vanquished adversaries by erecting the statues of Jai Mal and Patta mounted on elephants which he placed at the gate of Āgra fort.

Akbar made over the government of Mewār to Āsaf Khān, left Chitor on 28 February and after a pilgrimage to Ajmer returned to Āgra on 13 April. An expedition sent to besiege the fortress of Ranthambhor was recalled in order to deal with the Mīrzās who, forced to leave Gujarāt on account of disagreement with Chingīz Khān, invaded Mālwa and besieged Ujjain. The advance of the Mughul troops under Ashraf Khān forced the Mīrzās to retreat to Māndū and they were pursued across the Narmadā. They then escaped again to Gujarāt where the assassination of Chingīz Khān and the consequent confusion in the country opened to them fresh prospects for their ambitions.

Akbar now took important steps to improve the administration (September, 1568). The *Atga-Khail* ('foster-father cohort') held extensive fiefs in the Punjab and their leader Khān Kalān was governor of the province. Akbar broke up the confederacy by dispersing them. The government of the Punjab was made over to Husain Qulī Khān who was transferred from Nāgaur. Khān Kalān was sent to Sambhal, his younger brother Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān to Mālwa, and Kanauj was assigned to another brother Sharīf Khān. Mīrzā 'Azīz Kūka, the son of Khān Kalān, was allowed to retain his assignment of Dīpālpur in the Punjab. These measures he adopted with a view to preventing the gathering of relations and prolonged service of officers at the same place. Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān was called from Mālwa and placed in charge of the reserved lands as Muzaffar Khān, the revenue minister, was overworked. Shihāb-ud-dīn abolished the annual assessment of land revenue, which was expensive and led to corruption, and established group-assessment (*Nasaq*) of a village or a *parganā* as a whole.[22]

Towards the end of the year, Akbar was able to send an expedition for the conquest of Ranthambhor, the great stronghold in Rājasthān, which had been invested as early as 1558 but the siege had to be raised on account of the imbroglio with Bairam Khān. On 8 February, 1569, Akbar pitched his tent before the fort which was held by Rāi Surjan Hāra, chief of Būndī, as a vassal of the rānā of Chitor. The fortress, which was remarkable for its height and strength, was also well-provisioned. Akbar opened the siege with *sābāts* (covered ways) and fifteen huge mortars were dragged to the hill Ran which commands the fortress. There is a discrepancy between the version given in the Muslim chronicles and that in the Rājput annals. According to the former, Akbar's mortars caused breaches in the walls of the fort and destruction of the houses within it. Rāi Surjan took a lesson from the fate of Chitor, sent his two sons to Akbar asking his pardon and surrendered the fort on 21 March, 1569. Abu-'l-Fazl boasts that Akbar conquered the fort in a month whereas 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī had taken one year. According to the Rājput version, as the garrison did not show any sign of surrender Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Mān Singh seduced Surjan to transfer his allegiance to the Mughul emperor and Mān Singh, accompanied by Akbar in the guise of a mace-bearer, secured access to the fortress to discuss the matter. Akbar was, however, recognized and terms were negotiated in his presence and Surjan agreed to surrender the fort on conditions which were favourable to him: Surjan was to join Akbar's service and be placed in charge of fifty-two districts; the chiefs of Būndī were to be exempted from the duty of sending a bride to the royal harem and payment of the *jizya;* they should have the privilege of entering the hall of audience fully armed and were to be exempted from prostration (*sijda*); their temples should be respected; their horses should not be branded; they should not be required to cross the Indus and should be placed under the command of a Hindu leader; and Būndī should remain their permanent capital. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible either to reject or to accept the Rājput version definitely. It does not, however, appear improbable as it was not unlike Akbar, who had no scruple to employ diplomacy where his sword was not enough. Rāi Surjan was at first given a command in Gondwāna and then appointed governor of Banāras, including Chunār, with the rank of a commander of 2,000. Akbar made over the fort of Ranthambhor to Mihtar Khān and returned to Āgra on 10 May, 1569, after making his annual pilgrimage to Ajmer.

During his march on Ranthambhor, Akbar had ordered Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl to capture the fortress of Kālinjar, the stronghold which had cost the life of Sher Shāh and was then held by Rājā Rām Chand Bāghela of Rewah who had already been reduced to obedience by Āsaf Khān, the conqueror of Gondwāna and had demonstrated it by surrendering his minstrel Tānsen to the emperor. The fort was invested but the rājā, taking lessons from the devastated battlements of Chitor and the fall of Ranthambhor, surrendered it without offering any serious resistance (August, 1569). Akbar granted him a *jāgīr* near Allāhabād and placed Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl in charge of the government of Kālinjar.

After the fall of the strong Rājput fortresses, Jodhpur and Bikāner judged it expedient to make submission. In November, 1570, while the emperor was encamped at Nāgaur, Chandra Sen, son of Rājā Māl Dev of Jodhpur and Kalyān Mal, rājā of Bikāner, with his son Rāi Singh paid homage to the emperor who received in marriage the niece of the rājā of Jodhpur. Rāwal Har Rāi of Jaisalmer also entered into matrimonial alliance with the Mughul emperor by offering him the hand of his daughter. Partly by his sword, partly by the threat of his mailed fist as well as magnanimous diplomacy, Akbar was able to establish his supremacy over the Rājputs who gradually reconciled themselves to Mughul rule and found in their conqueror a beneficent protector under whose banner they fought the battles of the empire from the glaciers of the Hindu Kush to the marshes of Bengal. The ruthless victor of Chitor succeeded in healing the wounds which his soaring ambition had inflicted. Rājasthān was indeed Akbar's testing ground for exhibition of his mastery in arms, diplomacy and statesmanship.

In spite of these brilliant successes, Akbar had no peace of mind as he was still denied the blessing of a son, several children born to him having died in their infancy. He prayed fervently at the shrines of Ajmer and Delhi for an heir to his throne. He now approached the venerable Shaikh Salīm Chishtī who lived at Sīkrī, 23 miles to the west of Āgra, and was assured by him of the early fulfilment of his prayers. Early in 1569 the daughter of Rājā Bihārī Mal was found to be with child and she was sent to the Shaikh's hermitage at Sīkrī where, on 30 August, she gave birth to a son who was named Salīm in honour of the saint. In the course of a few years the royal nursery was enriched by new arrivals in succession: in November, a daughter was born to him and on 7 June, 1570, Prince Murād saw the light. Two years after, on 10 September, 1572, was born a third son at Ajmer in the house of Shaikh Dāniyāl whom he named after the saint. Two daughters also were born after Dāniyāl. These three sons of Akbar all attained mature age.

In pursuance of a vow, Akbar set out on foot on pilgrimage to Ajmer to offer thanks for the birth of Salīm (20 January, 1570). From Ajmer he returned to Delhi where he inspected the splendid mausoleum of his father which had been recently built, thanks to the affectionate fidelity of a wife, Hājī Begam. In September he set out again on pilgrimage to Ajmer where he repaired and enlarged the fortifications and began construction of buildings for himself and his nobles. On 3 November he left for Nāgaur[22a] where he stayed a few months and received the homage of the Rājput States of Jodhpur, Bikāner and Jaisalmer as well as that discrowned fugitive Bāz Bahādur of Mālwa. From Nāgaur he arrived at Pāk Pattan in the Punjab to visit the shrine of Shaikh Farīd Shakarganj (March, 1571). From there he returned to Ajmer by way of Hissar and on 9 August, 1571, arrived at Sīkrī which he now decided to make his capital as the auspicious place where his two sons Salīm and Murād had been born. The resources of his expanding empire and the artistic genius of India and Persia were employed to convert the petty, quiet hamlet into the crowded proud metropolis which even in its lost glory was regarded by Fitch in 1585 as much greater than Elizabethan London. From the time when it was built until 1585 when it was abandoned, Sīkrī, which was named Fathpur after the conquest of Gujarāt, remained the capital of Akbar's empire.

Akbar had become supreme in Northern India and he could now turn to extending his dominion to the sea in the west as well as in the east. The conquest of Mālwa and the supremacy over Rājasthān opened the road to Gujarāt whose anarchical condition invited foreign invasion. Muzaffar Shāh III, the nominal king, was a mere puppet in the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous nobles who partitioned the kingdom among themselves and were often at war with one another. One of these, I'timād Khān, who had already sought Akbar's help and intervention in 1567 against his rival Chingīz Khān, invited him in 1572, hard-pressed by Sher Khān Fulādī whom Muzaffar Shāh joined at Ahmadābād, to put an end to the anarchy in Gujarāt by annexing it to the Mughul empire. But Akbar had more than one reason for his invasion of the kingdom. Gujarāt had been in temporary Mughul occupation under Humāyūn and its recovery would be quite legitimate for his successor. The rebellious Mīrzās, who had returned to Gujarāt after the assassination of Chingīz Khān, entered upon his inheritance by defeating his son and made themselves masters of the southern portion of the kingdom. It was high time for Akbar to suppress these incorrigible rebels and strike at their power before they should usurp the whole kingdom. Besides, Gujarāt lay on the road to Mecca and Medina, and in the interest of the pilgrim traffic its security was essential. It intervened between the Portuguese territory and the Mughul empire and its weakness might as well offer an opportune soil for the aggression of the Portuguese who were already masters of the western coast of India and the Arabian Sea. With its fertile soil, flourishing ports and extensive foreign trade, the rich kingdom of Gujarāt could not but attract the ambitious sovereign, who could secure through its ports a window for his land-locked empire.

On 2 July, 1572, Akbar set out from Fathpur Sīkrī for Ajmer from where he sent Khān Kalān with 10,000 horse as an advance guard and himself followed by leisurely marches. Through Nāgaur and Merta he marched to Sirohī where he made a charge on the Rājputs as one of them had made a murderous attack on Khān Kalān, and in the fight that ensued 150 of them were slain. He then left for Pātan, after sending Rājā Mān Singh towards Īdar in pursuit of the sons of Sher Khān Fulādī. On 7 November Akbar reached Pātan where he received the homage of the people. He then marched on towards Ahmadābād and on the way at Jotāna, two stages from Pātan, he received the fugitive Muzaffar Shāh who had left Sher Khān Fulādī as the latter had, on the approach of Akbar, raised the siege of Ahmadābād and fled to Saurāshtra. Shortly after, I'timād Khān and other noblemen came to pay him homage. On 20 November, Akbar reached the capital of Gujarāt and he made over the government of the country to the north-west of the river Māhī to Khān A'zam and of the southern portion, where the turbulent Mīrzās had established themselves, to I'timād Khān.

On 8 December Akbar left Ahmadābād for the wealthy port of Cambay where he had the first sight of the sea and came into contact with the merchants of Portugal, Turkey, Syria, Persia and

Transoxiana. Akbar then turned his direction towards the Mīrzās: Ibrāhīm Husain who held Barodā; Muhammad Husain, Surat; and Shāh Mīrzā, Chāmpāner. On reaching Barodā Akbar despatched an army under Shāhbāz Khān towards Chāmpāner and a large force under Sayyid Mahmūd Khān Bārha towards Surat. He rapidly marched towards the Māhī to intercept Ibrāhīm Husain who was moving towards the north and contacted the enemy who was at Sarnal on the opposite bank. At heavy risk and with a following of 200 men only, he crossed the river at night and as he entered the town Ibrāhīm Husain, who had 1,000 troopers, left it by another gate. Akbar made an intrepid pursuit of the enemy and the battle that ensued was fought 'man to man, hand to hand' and 'more resembled a tourney than a battle.' At one stage Akbar's life was in imminent danger when he was directly attacked by two of the enemy's troopers. Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā was ultimately defeated and escaped under cover of darkness.

Akbar next undertook the investment of Surat. Ibrāhīm Husain's wife, with her young son Muzaffar Husain, escaped to the Deccan and the commandant of the fort surrendered it after a resistance of one month and a half on 26 February, 1573. Akbar again came into contact with the Portuguese, who had come in response to an invitation of the Mīrzās but, finding them a spent force, paid a friendly visit to the emperor.

Meanwhile Muhammad Husain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, in combination with Sher Khān Fulādī, laid siege to Pātan. Khān A'zam, joined by the fief-holders of Mālwa and Chanderī, marched to the relief of Sayyid Ahmad Bārha, the Mughul commandant, and forced the rebels to raise the siege and inflicted on them a major defeat on 22 January, 1573. Sher Khān fled to Junāgarh and the Mīrzās, to the Deccan.

On 2 April Akbar returned to Ahmadābād. He made over the government of the whole of Gujarāt to Khān A'zam and that of Mālwa to Muzaffar Khān Turbatī and proceeded towards his capital. On the way at Sirohī he received the report of the death of that arch-rebel Ibrāhīm Husain, who after leaving Gujarāt had been creating trouble in the Punjab and was defeated by the Mughul governor Husain Qulī Khān. Husain Qulī was then engaged in the siege of Nagarkot but he had hastened to oppose Ibrāhīm after making a favourable peace with its rājā, Bidai Chand, on condition of acknowledgement of Akbar's sovereignty. On 3 June Akbar returned to Fathpur Sīkrī and found the head of Ibrāhīm Husain.[22b] His brother Mas'ūd, with his eyes sown up, was brought as a captive to the emperor who however pardoned him.

Hardly three months had elapsed before Gujarāt was again aflame and Mughul authority was challenged by a confederacy of rebels. Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, who had returned from the Deccan soon after Akbar's departure, invaded Surat and captured Broach and Cambay. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fulādī, in conjunction with the rājā of Īdar, took Ahmadnagar. The rebels jointly advanced on Ahmadābād and besieged Khān A'zam. On receipt of this disconcerting news Akbar left Fathpur Sīkrī on 23 August with an army of 3,000 and, marching by way of Ajmer and Merta with lightning speed, reached the vicinity of Ahmadābād on 2 September, thus covering a distance of about 500 miles in eleven days which caravans took two months to complete. The enemy was taken by absolute surprise and Muhammad Husain was reluctant to believe the report of the arrival of Akbar whom his scouts had left at Fathpur Sīkrī just two weeks back. The amazed Mīrzā sent Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk with a force of 5,000 horse to prevent Khān A'zam from sallying out of Ahmadābād and himself drew out his forces for battle. The battle remained long undecided but ultimately Akbar gained a complete victory over the enemy who had 15,000 men. Muhammad Husain was wounded and captured and shortly after put to death. The Mughuls, who were resting after the victory and expecting Khān A'zam, were surprised by the sudden arrival of a new foe, Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk, who hastened to the Mīrzā's aid. Akbar, in spite of great consternation in his army, attacked the enemy, routed his vanguard and forced him to retreat. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk lost battle as well as life. A minaret was made of 1,000 heads of the slain. In the evening the Mughuls had a second surprise when a fresh army was observed proceeding towards them: it however proved to be the force of Khān A'zam who now joined the emperor. Akbar then made his triumphant entry into Gujarāt's capital and turned his direction to the final settlement of Gujarāt affairs. An army was sent to Broach and Chāmpāner in pursuit of Shāh Mīrzā who now disappears from history. Rājā Todar Mal was appointed to restore order in the financial administration of the province by revising the revenue settlement. Akbar returned to Fathpur Sīkrī on 5 October, 1573, after an absence of only 43 days. The second campaign of Gujarāt is the most amazing military achievement of Akbar's life.

With the expansion of his kingdom Akbar realized the necessity for its consolidation. The year 1573 saw the inauguration of far-reaching reforms in the administration of the empire by the introduction of the branding system (*dāgh*), the conversion of the assignments (*jāgīrs*) into reserved lands (*khālisa*)[23] and fixing the rank (*manṣab*) and gradation of pay of the officers of the State. First introduced by ‘Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī and revised by Sher Shāh, the branding of horses in every officer’s due contingent was aimed at stopping the fraud of false musters when baggage ponies hired or borrowed would be produced, an evil from which the Mughul army suffered even in its most palmy days; and the system continued till the breakdown of the Mughul government in the middle of the eighteenth century. The institution of the *manṣab* system led to the establishment of a well-regulated bureaucracy which with certain modifications remained the basis of Mughul administration. All officers were placed in ranks ranging from the commander of 10 up to 5,000 horsemen with the exception of princes and a few nobles who were given commands of 7,000. The other measure of Akbar, the conversion of the assignments into reserved lands, was of a revolutionary nature. Akbar wanted to bring the whole of his kingdom under his direct administration and pay all his officers in cash with a view to removing the evils arising from the assignment system. In the absence of a correct valuation of the empire, the assignment system proved defective in its working: the two valuations made early in his reign were ‘corruptly falsified’; over-valuation of the assignments led to discontent in State service. The whole empire was divided into circles, each estimated to yield a crore of *dām* (Rs. 250,000). The experiment lasted for five years and in 1579/80 a new and precise valuation of the empire was made and the assignment system was revived. Akbar’s policy of absolute centralization received a check.

The Sūrs, who held Bengal at Akbar’s accession, maintained friendly relations with him, but in 1564 Tāj Khān Kararānī, an officer of Sher Shāh, overthrew them. Under his brother Sulaimān (1565-72) there was a revival of the Bengal sultānate and his authority extended from Cooch Behār to Purī and from the Son to the Brahmaputra. Sulaimān was shrewd enough to acknowledge Akbar’s sovereignty by reading the *khutba* in his name. After Sulaimān’s death in 1572 his elder son Bāyazīd succeeded him but after a few months he was put to death by the Afghān nobles who raised Sulaimān’s younger son Dāūd to the throne.

Inheriting his father’s vast treasures and grand army, Dāūd defied Akbar’s authority by reading the *khutba* in his own name, invading Mughul territory and destroying the fort of Zamāniyā in Ghāzīpur district. On instruction from Akbar, then in Gujarāt, Mun‘im Khān marched on Patna, but Dāūd’s Minister Lūdī Khān bought him off with gifts and delusive assurances of loyalty. Akbar disapproved Mun‘im’s conduct and sent further reinforcement.

Mun'im Khān now besieged Patna where Dāūd, after murdering Lūdī Khān, had shut himself up. As the aged Khān Khānān experienced difficulties, Akbar set out on 20 June, 1574, from Āgra by boat while the army marched by land and on 4 August arrived at Patna with a large flotilla carrying elephants and guns.

Akbar quickly perceived that the strength of Patna lay on Hājīpur on the north bank of the Gaṅgā (Ganges) from where it drew its supplies. On 7 August he took it after a few hours' assault. In the fall of Hājīpur, Patna read its doom. That very night Dāūd fled and Patna also fell into the hands of the Mughuls. Akbar pursued the fugitive Afghāns upto Daryāpur[23a] and then returned with much booty in treasures and 265 elephants. He proceeded towards Delhi and sent Mun'im Khān with 20,000 men to conduct the campaign. Sūrajgarh, Monghyr, Bhāgalpur and Colgong (Kahalgām) fell in quick succession and Mun'im Khān marched triumphantly through the fortified pass of Teliyāgarhī into Dāūd's capital Tāndā (25 September).

Dāūd fled to Orissa and Mughul authority was easily established in Ghorāghāt (Dinājpur-Bogrā), Sātgāon (Hooghly) and Burdwan. The Mughul soldiers, weary of incessant campaigns, were reluctant to proceed further but Todar Mal persuaded them to march on and their reluctant commandant in Tāndā, now in senile decay, to join them and make a decisive end of the war. Dāūd, encouraged by the dissensions and apathy in the Mughul camp, was also proceeding to meet the invaders. They met at Tukaroi, nine miles south-east of Dāntan, in Midnapur district. Dāūd began the battle (3 March, 1575) with a vigorous offensive: a furious elephantry charge. The Mughul van was dispersed, Khān 'Ālam was killed, the centre was broken and Mun'im Khān was wounded. Todar Mal, who alone held the Mughul left wing, rallied the shaken divisions and made a successful charge on the Afghān vanguard. He then dispersed the Afghān right wing and the left wing also was ultimately defeated. Dāūd could not maintain his position and fled to Cuttack. The Afghāns suffered a complete rout. On 12 April Dāūd made his submission to Mun'im Khān at Cuttack and delivered his nephew as a hostage at the Mughul court, and he was given a considerable portion of Orissa in fief. The victory of Tukaroi, however, led to the *de jure* annexation of Bengal to the Mughul empire, though the effective establishment of Mughul authority was still far off.

Mun'im Khān hurried to the north to recover Ghorāghāt which had been occupied by the Afghāns during his absence. He transferred his capital from marshy Tāndā to pestilential Gaur where the

Mughuls died in hundreds until Mun'im Khān returned to Tāndā just to die (23 October, 1575). In utter indiscipline, born of terror, the Mughul officers and troops evacuated Bengal and retreated to Bhāgalpur. Dāūd issued from his retreat, took Bhadrakh and Jaleswar and recovered the whole of Bengal. Akbar sent Khān Jahān, governor of the Punjab, with Todar Mal as his lieutenant, to deal with the situation. The Bengal officers were, with great tact, persuaded by Todar Mal to rally under the Shiah governor. Junaid Kararānī, Dāūd's cousin, had raised his head in South-East Bihār, and 'Īsā Khān was supreme in Bengal. It was with difficulty that Muzaffar Khān, governor of Bihār, held Hājīpur. Khān Jahān, however, advanced and captured Teliyāgarhī from Dāūd's commandant. Dāūd was forced to retire into the fortress of Rājmahal. Here Khān Jahān, reinforced by the army of Bihār, gave battle on 12 July, 1576. After a stubborn and long-wavering fight, the Afghāns were completely routed and their leaders slain. Dāūd's veteran general Kālā Pāhār fled wounded and Dāūd himself was taken prisoner and executed. His head was received by Akbar one stage from Fathpur Sīkrī as he was proceeding to Bengal to deal with the situation personally. The battle of Rājmahal overthrew Dāūd and the Kararānī dynasty but it did not result in the effective Mughul conquest of Bengal. Mughul authority was established in towns but the country at large remained at the mercy of the dispossessed Afghāns and local Hindu chiefs. Bengal remained under Akbar rather as a territory under military occupation than an integral part of the empire with settled administration.

Before the fall of Dāūd at Rājmahal, Akbar had to face his indomitable foe in Rājasthān. Chandra Sen, son of Rājā Māl Dev of Jodhpur, had taken up arms in March, 1574 and not until 1576, two years later, could the Mughuls bring about the capitulation of Siwāna, the fulcrum of his resistance. But it was Rānā Pratāp Singh of Mewār, the chivalrous grandson of Rānā Sangrām Singh, who voiced the discontent of sullen Rājasthān. 'Race feeling taught him to hate the foreigners, ancestral pride to despise them and high martial spirit, his grandsire's legacy, to resist them.' Succeeding his father in 1572, he disciplined his troops in the art of guerilla warfare and was master of Udaipur, his new Chitor, Kumbhalgarh (Kumalgarh) and Gogunda. Akbar needed no *casus belli*: to the emperor liberty is license, as Bryce has well expressed. In April, 1576, he sent from Ajmer Rājā Mān Singh and Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Alī, known as Āsaf Khān, against the Rānā. They marched through Mandalgarh towards Gogunda, but were opposed by Rānā Pratāp at Haldīghāt. Here, near the pass, the memorable battle was fought on 21 June.

We have a graphic account of the battle from the historian Badāūnī who was present in the field.

Pratāp Singh advanced with a force of three thousand horse which he arranged in two divisions. One of these, under Hakīm Khān Sūr, charged the Mughul vanguard and dispersed it and put the Rājputs in the Mughul left wing under Rāi Lon Karan to flight. Badāūnī who could not distinguish the friendly from the enemy Rājputs shot arrows indiscriminately for, as Āsaf Khān remarked, 'on whichever side they may be killed, it will be a gain to Islām.' The second Rājput division, led by the Rānā himself, charged Qāzī Khān at the entrance of the pass and threw his force into confusion. The battle raged from early morning till midday, but the desperate valour of the Rājputs was ultimately unavailing against a superior force 'with a numerous field artillery and a dromedary corps mounting swivels.'[23b] Pratāp lost the battle with a considerable loss. Gogunda fell into the Mughul hands.

Akbar regretted the escape of the Rānā and even suspected loyal Mān Singh of connivance. He was, however, able to establish effective Mughul authority in the southern part of Rājasthān. Sirohī was occupied, the principality of Īdar was reduced to obedience and Akbar received the submission of several minor chiefs: the rulers of Bānswārā and Dūngarpur, the latter offering the emperor the hand of his daughter. In 1577 the chief of Būndī was subdued and next year Madhukar, the Bundelā chief of Orchha, who had been defying the imperial authority, surrendered and acknowledged Akbar's sovereignty.

Akbar was determined to overthrow the Rānā of Mewār. In October, 1578, a considerable force under Shāhbāz Khān was despatched against Pratāp Singh. The Mughuls seized Kelwāra, defeated the Rājput garrison at Kumbhalgarh and captured Gogunda and Udaipur. The Rānā retired to the remote fastness of Chavand and from that base began to recover his territories. Kumbhalgarh was recovered and the chiefs of Bānswārā and Dūngarpur acknowledged the Rānā's sovereignty. Shāhbāz Khān made a renewed attempt at suppressing the Rānā who retired to the hills, but the Mughuls returned unsuccessful. Six years later another expedition was sent by Akbar under Zafar Beg and Jagannātha, the Kāchhwāhāh, which met with the same fate. Akbar's preoccupation in the Punjab, the troubles in the north-west frontier and the bogey of Uzbeg invasion prevented the emperor from undertaking active campaign against an enemy who harassed and exhausted the invaders by guerilla tactics. Before his death in 1597 the Rānā had recovered all his territory except Ajmer, Chitor and Mandalgarh. In 1600 Akbar made another attempt against Mewār when the expedition led by Prince Salīm and Rājā Mān Singh defeated Pratāp's successor, Amar Singh, and devastated the country; but the expedition came to an abrupt end due to the recall of Mān Singh whose services were urgently required in Bengal.

In 1577 Gujarāt became the scene of a revolt led by Mihr 'Alī, an ambitious servant of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā, who set up his youthful son Mīrzā Muzaffar Husain as the puppet king of the country. The rebels took Barodā and the governor Vazīr Khān was unable to resist them. Todar Mal drove the rebels to Cambay and defeated them at Dholka and the Mīrzā retired to Junāgarh. But as soon as the Rājā left, Muzaffar Husain returned, defeated Wazīr Khān at Sarnāl and besieged him at Ahmadābād. But Mihr 'Ali was killed by a stray bullet and so the Mīrzā raised the siege and withdrew. He fell into the hands of Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khāndesh who ultimately surrendered him to Akbar's envoy. Akbar replaced the weak and inefficient Vazīr Khān by Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān in the government of Gujarāt.

The same year Akbar undertook an important reform: the reorganization of the mints. The various provincial mints were placed under the management of high officials and the famous artist and calligrapher 'Abdus-Samad was appointed Master of the Mint to exercise general supervision over the department.

III. RELIGIOUS POLICY

By the year 1578 Akbar's religious belief had ceased to be a mere personal affair. No aspect of Akbar's character and history has been the subject of so much interest and controversy as his faith and religious policy. The influence of heredity upon the development of Akbar's religious ideas should not be unduly exaggerated: there was wide difference between the indifferentism of his early Central Asian ancestors, the unorthodoxy of his grandfather, the superstitious mysticism of his father and the rational eclecticism and dreamy mysticism of the great Akbar. A mystic as well as a rationalist, Akbar was sincerely religious and an earnest seeker after truth. From early youth he was fond of the society of *faqīrs* and *yogīs*. From 1562 for long eighteen years he made annual pilgrimage to the shrine of Shaikh Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī at Ajmer. He had early come into contact with Sūfī literature and thoughts: Hāfiz and Rūmī were read to him and he maintained this contact in advanced years.

Behind the conqueror and the diplomat there lay a melancholy soul, suffering from 'internal bitterness' and 'lack of spiritual provision', yearning for truth. The Jesuit Fathers found him melancholic. In his 'Happy Sayings' Akbar tells us how one night his heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly between sleeping and waking a strange vision appeared to him and his spirit was somewhat comforted. Such visions came to him from time to time. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, as early as 1557, when Akbar was barely fifteen, during the siege of Mānkot he had experienced religious ecstasy when suddenly he broke away from the camp into a distance where he spent many hours in solitary meditation.[23c] Seventeen years later as he would often listen to Mīr Sharīf reading books on spiritual lore, tears would roll down his eyes. Badāūnī tells us that he passed whole nights in praise of God and 'would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone in a lonely spot'. In his eager search for truth, Akbar imbibed a passionate love for philosophical discussions and only the pressure of duties forced him to abstain from them and 'return from the errancy into the infinite'. In the liberal Shaikh Mubārak and his two sons, particularly Abu-'l-Fazl, 'the king's Jonathan', as the Jesuits call him, Akbar found his true spiritual companions. Abu-'l-Fazl, who according to Badāūnī 'set the world in flames', was a true eclectic whose heart was equally drawn towards the sages of Cathay, the ascetics of Mount Lebanon, the Lamas of Tibet, the *padres* of Portugal, the *mūbids* (Zoroastrian theologians) of Persia and the secrets of the Zend Avesta.

All these led to the foundation in 1575 of the *'Ibādat-Khāna* (House of Worship) at Fathpur Sīkrī where religious discussions were held every Friday evening. It was confined to Muslims and was divided into four sections, occupied by four classes of members: the nobles of the court, Shaikhs or ascetics, Sayyids or descendants of the Prophet, and the *'Ulamā* or jurists. The violent intolerance of the orthodox party led by Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabī and Makhdūm-ul-Mulk and bitter differences between the Sunnīs and Shiahs disgusted the emperor and alienated him from orthodox Islām. Of course he showed his interest in pilgrimage by arranging Gulbadan Begam's journey to Mecca (1575) and next year he himself intended to proceed on pilgrimage. But Akbar was passing through a mental crisis, and 'the internal bitterness', which is referred to in one of his 'Happy Sayings' as having been experienced in his twentieth year, he was in all probability experiencing in the twentieth year of his reign. In January, 1578, he expressed his abhorrence of meat diet[23d] and in April at Bhera, on the bank of the Jhelum, occurred the famous hunting incident: when after ten days' preparation birds and beasts within a circumference of fifty miles had been encircled for 'monstrous slaughter', Akbar all on a sudden broke the hunt and set free all animals: 'not the feather of a finch was to be touched.' 'A strong frenzy' seized him and he distributed alms and gold to *faqīrs*. A garden was laid and a structure raised to commemorate the hallowed spot where, sitting under a tree, he had experienced the call.

In October, 1578, discussions in the *'Ibādat-Khāna* were revived with renewed vigour and the House of Worship had become a Parliament of religions where the Sūfī, the philosopher, the orator, the jurist, the Sunnī and the Shiah, the Brāhman and the atheist (*Chārvāka*), the Jain and the Buddhist, the Christian and the Jew, the Sabaean and the Zoroastrian and others met and debated under the presidency of the Mughul Caesar. The bitter differences among the *'Ulamā* in these debates, which revealed their shallow pride as well as the narrowness of orthodox Islām, further weakened his faith in it and he decided to take all religious matters in Islām into his own hands. The series of brilliant military successes had given him mastery over a considerable portion of Northern India and he had already adopted measures for its consolidation by the establishment of a centralized government. The time had arrived when the king as the secular head of the State should be the head in spiritual matters as well. The exalted conception of sovereignty that he held necessitated it, and the Tīmūrid tradition pointed to it. On Friday, 26 June, 1579, emulating the Caliphs and his illustrious ancestor Tīmūr, Akbar mounted the pulpit of the mosque at Fathpur Sīkrī and recited the *khutba* composed by Faizī in verse which ended with the words: *Allahu Akbar.* Some modern authors believe with Badāūnī that Akbar made ambiguous use of these words to mean both God is great as well as Akbar is God. But Akbar was no Mansūr-al-Hallāj for whom he had little respect. Like several Muslim rulers before him, Akbar claimed that he was the agent of God, Khalīfatu'l-lāh; he never laid claim to divinity.[23e]

On 2 September, 1579, Akbar took the final step when he became the *Imām* and the *Mujtahid* of the age by the famous *Mahzar* (Declaration) which he obtained from the *'Ulamā*. It determined the rank of just king as higher than that of *mujtahid* (highest authority on law) and declared that Akbar as the just ruler (*sultān-i-'ādil*) could decide between *mujtahids*, if they differed in opinion on any religious question, by accepting any of the conflicting views and that his decision was final and binding. Also it empowered him to issue new orders which the people must obey, provided they were in conformity with the Qur'ān and were for the benefit of the people. This document was drafted by Shaikh Mubārak and signed reluctantly, according to Badāūnī, by five others, the principal '*Ulamā* and prominent theologians of Hindusthān. It made Akbar, who was the temporal head of the State, the Supreme Head of the Church or more properly the Islāmic faith in India as well. The *mahzar* was really 'the funeral oration of the '*Ulamā*' as it overthrew the nimbus of their legal and spiritual power. It was the natural corollary to Akbar's ideal of royal absolutism. It led to the virtual assumption by Akbar of the title of the Caliph and is closely connected with the 'pulpit incident.' Some of his coins also bear the title of exalted Caliph and we are told by 'Ārif Qandahārī that in all the mosques of the Mughul empire the *khutba* mentioned him as *Amīr-ul-muminīn*. The decree had its significance in the outer Islāmic world as well. It was a vindication of Akbar's sovereign authority and a challenge to the Sultān-Caliph of Turkey, the juridical head of Islām in whose name the *khutba* was recited at Mecca and Medina. It was a reply to the Safavī Shāhs of Persia as well, who posed as the perpetual patrons of the Mughul dynasty because both Akbar's father and grandfather had sought and obtained Persian help on condition of accepting the Shiah faith. Akbar's authority was now superior to that of the *mujtahids*, the highest ecclesiastical and juridical authorities of the Shiahs.[24] The decree, however, did not at all involve Akbar's repudiation of Islām: it was as a Muslim king that Akbar could decide between the conflicting views of the *mujtahids*. Neither was Akbar invested with infallibility. The scope of the decree was limited: the king should accept one of the conflicting views and any new order he might issue must be in conformity with the Qur'ān and for the benefit of the people.

There can be no doubt that the declaration displeased the '*Ulamā* and orthodox Muslims. Soon after, Akbar made his last pilgrimage to Ajmer and he showed extraordinary reverence to a stone brought from Mecca, carrying an impression of the Prophet's foot. Akbar, however, had definitely become estranged from orthodox Islām. The creed of his birth could no longer satisfy his enquiring spirit; and contact as well as acquaintance with diverse creeds made him a confirmed eclectic. The influence of the Hindu wives of his household had been strengthened by the Brāhmans, particularly Debī and Purushottam, who participated in the debates of the '*Ibādat-Khāna* and instructed the emperor in the secrets of Hinduism. Akbar was converted to belief in transmigration. He gave private interviews to several Hindu *yogīs* from whom he made enquiries about the secrets and spiritual questions regarding Hinduism.

Zoroastrianism found its able exponent at the *'Ibādat-Khāna* in its theologian Dastūr Māhyārjī Rānā whom Akbar had met in Gujarāt in 1573 and who arrived at the court in 1578. His influence was so great that it was believed Akbar had become a convert. A sacred fire was established in the palace. In 1580 Akbar began to prostrate himself publicly before the fire and the sun. In this the emperor was influenced also by Bīrbal, who gave emphasis to sun-worship, and by the Hindu ladies of his harem who performed *homa*. Persian festivals were revived and the solar *Ilāhī* era, with Persian names for months and days, was adopted in 1584.

In response to Akbar's invitation the first Jesuit mission from Goa arrived on 28 February, 1580, at Fathpur Sīkrī,[25] and was received with gracious respect. It consisted of Father Rudolf Aquaviva, an Italian, Antony Monserrate, a Spaniard, and Francis Henriquez, a Persian convert who acted as the interpreter. Akbar showed profound reverence for a copy of the Bible which the Fathers presented and made respectful salutation to a picture of the Madonna. He appointed Abu-'l-Fazl to translate the Gospel and Monserrate to give Murād 'a few lessons in Christianity.' The emperor built for them a chapel in the palace and held prolonged discussions with them on Christianity. The Fathers took part in the discussions at the *'Ibādat-Khāna* where they used very strong words about Islām and its Prophet, so much so that Akbar had to give them mild warning. Akbar was highly impressed by Christianity, though he was not convinced of the doctrines of the Trinity, of the Virgin birth of the Son and the Incarnation. The Fathers hoped that they had discovered the Second Constantine in the Mughul Caesar, for in their zeal and bigotry they could not properly understand him and failed to notice the varied appeals to which he equally responded.

Akbar invited and in 1582 received a Jain delegation as well which consisted of Hīravijaya Sūri, Bhānuchandra Upādhyāya and Vijayasena Sūri. Jainism, with its doctrine of non-violence, made a profound impression on him and influenced his personal life. He curtailed his food and drink and ultimately abstained from flesh diet altogether for nine months in the year. He renounced hunting which was his favourite pastime, restricted the practice of fishing and released prisoners and caged birds. Slaughter of animals was prohibited on certain days and ultimately in 1587 for about half the days in the year.

Already Akbar had become acquainted with Sikhism and came into contact with its *Gurus*, Amar Dās (died 1574) and Rām Dās (died 1581). He found in the *Granth* only love and devotion to God.[26]

These studies and discussions on religions of various hues confirmed the growing eclecticism of the emperor who, as Badāūnī points out, found truth in all religions and realized that it was not the monopoly of Islām.[27] The idea gained ground among the people that 'Akbar was the *Sāhib-i-Zamān* who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islām and the Hindus.' The turbulence of schisms grieved him and he sought the way for its subsidence. He had so long strayed in the maze of jarring creeds and he would now find out the path. The zero hour had arrived in Akbar's spiritual evolution and early in 1582 he promulgated the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī.* It is difficult to define the Divine Faith, for its author did not define it. It was neither inspired by Revelation nor based on any well-defined philosophy or theology. It was deism modified by Hindu and predominant Zoroastrian influence, a religion without priests and books, 'an ethical rationalism leading to the ideal of mystic union of the soul with the divine,' in which respect it was based on the Sūfī idea of absorption of the soul in the Divine Being. It enjoined such ethical and social reforms as recommending alms-giving and sparing of animal life, permitting remarriage of widows, prohibiting child-marriage and marriage among close relations as well as forced *satī*, recommending monogamy, enforcing chastity and controlling gambling and drinking by restricting the sale of drink. The *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* was definitely an attempt at religious syncretism, as much a child of Akbar's spiritual development as a product of the age, following as it does the movement of Kabīr and Nānak. The syncretism was not quite happy because, though Akbar was 'a rare jeweller and seeker after truth,' his knowledge could neither be systematic nor thorough, acquired as it was through ears. He sought for light in the variegated and jarring creeds of man, but could not find it.

Though Akbar asserted what Gibbon calls 'a necessary fiction' that he was God's vicegerent and, if we are to believe Badāūnī, demanded from his followers 'readiness to sacrifice property and life, honour and religion', he was no zealot and regarded religion as a matter of private conscience. As the bigoted chronicler himself affirms: 'His Majesty was convinced that confidence in him as a leader was a matter of time and good counsel, and did not require the sword.' Unlike the 'Abbāsid Caliph Ma'mūn, Akbar did not become intolerant in the name of toleration to push the child of his own fancy; he forced it on none and he did not persecute orthodox belief in a fever of authoritarian rationalism. The charge of persecution of Islām laid at his door by the bigoted annalist of Badāūn and the equally bigoted Jesuit Fathers is quite natural.

The fundamental of Akbar's religion, *sulh-i-kull* (universal toleration), was equally obnoxious to Sunnī orthodoxy and Jesuit Catholicism. The Fathers were anxious to prove that Akbar was about to embrace Christianity by describing him as an enemy and persecutor of Islām. Most of the charges made by Badāūnī do not stand the test of scientific criticism. From the Muslim chronicles as well as Jesuit accounts we find that throughout the reign of Akbar and even after the promulgation of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, Muslims could pray, observe fasts and festivals, give the name of Ahmad and Muhammad to their children and go on pilgrimage to Mecca, though Badāūnī would have us believe to the contrary. In Islām politics and religion fuse, and the question naturally arises how far the destruction of mosques or their conversion into stables in certain places[27a] was a campaign against disintegration or an attack on Islām. The Bengal rebellion of 1580 which began with the slogan of Islām in danger suggests the former. It is certain that Akbar must have received the greatest opposition to his religious beliefs from the orthodox Muslims for 'in religious societies toleration is no virtue, it is the despised offspring of lukewarmness or indifference'. This affected to a certain extent the emperor's feeling towards them. In fact, Akbar, with his principle of universal toleration, was far in advance of his age. As the historian Freeman says: 'In his age he stood alone, not only in Islām, but in the whole world; Catholic and Protestant Christendom might both have gone and sat at his feet'.[27b] No wonder that the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* could obtain hardly twenty-five converts of note and died with its author. The 'ethical rationalism' of Akbar, which was to have united all, pleased none; it was many centuries too soon. It appealed neither to the Hindus nor to the Muslims. Hinduism moved on in the old track while reactionary Islām, championed by Shaikh Ahmad, became triumphant with Shāh Jahān. It would, however, be rash to describe the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* as 'a monument of Akbar's folly', because it was not a 'monument of his wisdom'. It was a failure; none-the-less it was sublime.

Some modern writers[27c] maintain that the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* was not a new faith but a reformation of Islām. The Divine Faith ignored both the Prophet and the Qur'ān. Its ceremonial law and theological doctrines were considerably different from those of Islām. As an eminent authority has remarked: 'The religion of Akbar is not to be looked upon as a reform but a denial of Islām—a break with its traditions more decided than that which manifests itself in the doctrines of Isma'īl'.[28] In one of his 'Happy Sayings' Akbar confesses that he is no longer a Muslim. He ignored revelation and rejected the Islāmic doctrines of Resurrection and Judgment. He believed in the doctrine of transmigration of souls and in the worship of the sun which Islām does not admit. But in his letter to the Sharīfs of Mecca, written not long before 1582, and in his two letters written in 1586 to 'Abdullah Khān, ruler of Bukhārā, Akbar maintains that he is not only a good Muslim but a champion of Islām: he was not prepared to risk his empire for the sake of his personal religion. There was a tradition also that Akbar died a Muslim as Sir Thomas Roe states. The Jesuit writers record the truth when they say: 'Among the people there are various opinions regarding the emperor; some holding him to be a Christian, others a heathen, others a Muhammadan. The more intelligent however consider him to be neither Christian nor heathen nor Muhammadan, and hold this to be the truest'.[28a] Akbar went very far with Hinduism and Jainism as well as with Zoroastrianism and Christianity but everywhere he 'stopped upon the threshold'. In reality Akbar was born a Muslim but died, as he had lived, an eclectic.

IV. CONQUESTS IN NORTH INDIA

As if to doubt the efficacy of the consolidation of his authority, Akbar had to face the alarming force of disintegration from three quarters: Bengal, Kābul and Gujarāt rose almost simultaneously to arms. The Bengal revolt came first and it was the most serious of the three. It was primarily and in reality a struggle between the crown which was asserting its power and the nobility whose authority was curtailed, a challenge of aristocratic force against centralized government. But the Bengal rebellion assumed a cloak in which it appeared as a conflict between orthodox Islām and Akbar's heterodoxy. To Monserrate it was 'a war chiefly undertaken against the religion of Christ', while other Jesuit writers ascribe it to Akbar's devotion to Christianity.[28b] The rebellion obtained support from the Afghān chieftains of Bengal who regarded Mughul occupation as nothing but usurpation. There is truth in the contention of R. D. Banerji that "what Abul Fazl terms 'the rebellion of Bengal officers' was really another Afghan war during the reign of Akbar."[28c] The rebellion did not remain confined to Bengal; it spread like infection to Bihār, Orissa, Ghāzīpur, Banāras, Allāhabād, Awadh and Katehr (Rohilkhand).

Muzaffar Khān Turbatī, the governor of Bengal, with a view to building the administration of the province and guarding the interests of the State, revoked unauthorized alienation of land and enforced the branding of horses to stop the prevalent fraud of false musters. He decreased the pay of the troops in Bengal by 50 per cent and in Bihār by 30 per cent. All these measures were adopted on instruction from the centre and they were well-motivated as well as necessary, but they were carried out by the Mughul governor and his lieutenants without tact and moderation and with undue severity.[28d] The result was a mutiny of the Mughul officers which first began in Bihār and then spread to Bengal. The Bengal officers left Tāndā and on 28 January, 1580, openly raised the standard of revolt. The rebels planned, with a view to giving some legality to their agitation, to raise Mīrzā Hakīm to the throne and considered the pretender of Kābul, a worthless drunkard, the champion of orthodox Islām! Resumption of *suyūrghāl* lands (grants made by way of charity) was regarded as an encroachment on Islām, and the newly-appointed *qāzī* of Jaunpur, Mullā Muhammad Yazdī, issued a decree enjoining on all Muslims to rise in revolt against the crowned infidel of Fathpur Sīkrī who had assumed the title of *Imām*. Thus the rebellion of the malcontent party of Bihār and Bengal assumed the garb of a struggle between Islām in danger and heresy in triumph.

The rebellion was led by the Qāqshāls, one of the proudest of the Turkish tribes. The Bengal mutineers crossed the Gaṅgā at Rājmahal and joined with the Bihār rebel force at Teliyāgarhī where they defeated the imperialist army sent by Muzaffar. The rebels besieged Muzaffar in Tāndā, captured him and put him to death. The *khutba* was recited in the name of Muhammad Hakīm, and Bābā Khān Qāqshāl was appointed viceroy of Bengal. Bengal and Bihār were lost to the empire.

Muhibb ʻAlī Khān of Rohtās relieved Tirhut from the rebel Bahādur Badakhshī. Todar Mal met the rebels at Monghyr. At first they besieged him, but on arrival of fresh reinforcement under Khān Aʻzam raised the siege and took to flight. An imperialist force recovered Bihār from Mʻasūm Khān Kābulī who had to evacuate Gayā as well on the approach of Todar Mal. Order was thus restored in Bihār by the end of 1580, but jealousy between the two imperial commanders, Khān Aʻzam and Shāhbāz Khān, delayed the recovery of Bengal. Qutlū Khān Lohānī, a lieutenant of Dāūd, defeated several Mughul officers and set up an independent principality in Orissa. The rebel leader of Bengal, Bahādur Kheshgī, was soon killed in an engagement and this was followed by other losses: the death of Bābā Khān Qāqshāl from cancer and the poisoning of Sharaf-ud-dīn Husain by his rival Mʻasūm Khān Kābulī. Mʻasūm Khān Farankhudī, who had recently deserted the royal cause and opened a second front for the rebels from Jaunpur as his base, was badly defeated by Shāhbāz Khān in Awadh (January, 1581), while Allāhabād, where the infection had spread, was recovered from the rebels under Niyābat Khān and the rebellion in Katehr was suppressed by 'Āin-ul-Mulk who defeated the leader 'Arab Bahādur.

Their third front was broken when on 10 August the imperialist troops made their triumphant entry into Kābul and drove the pretender to the hills.

In April, 1582, Khān A'zam was sent as the governor of Bengal. Taking advantage of his absence, the Bengal rebels entered Bihār and took Hājīpur. On his return from court Khān A'zam finally expelled them from Bihār, recovered Teliyāgarhī (March, 1583) and pursued them to the Kātī Gāng near Rājmahal. Dissensions, however, broke out among the rebels, particularly between M'asūm Khān Kābulī and the Qāqshāl clan, but operations were delayed by the recall of Khān A'zam, and it was not until several months later, on 26 November, 1583, that his successor Shāhbāz Khān could defeat M'asūm Kābulī and drive him to East Bengal. Shāhbāz Khān even pursued him to 'Īsā Khān's territory of Vikrampur (Dacca district) and demanded of 'Īsā Khān his surrender, but that wily chief simply detained him for several months by delusive promises of expulsion or surrender, defeated him in a battle on 30 September, 1584, and forced him to retreat to Tāndā. In 1585 Akbar sent strong reinforcement with a view to suppressing 'Īsā Khān but mutual jealousies of the imperial commanders hampered the work of pacification. The Afghāns moved out from Orissa and Dastam Qāqshāl besieged Ghorāghāt. With the return of Shāhbāz Khān to Bengal in January, 1586, the tide turned. He won over most of the Afghāns by diplomacy and thus isolated 'Īsā Khān who was obliged to make peace. M'asūm Kābulī sent his son to the emperor's court and proceeded to Mecca, and the last flame of the Bengal revolt was put out (1587). The *de jure* authority of Akbar over all Bengal was acknowledged.

Until the death of Muhammad Hakīm in 1585 Kābul was the plague-spot of Akbar's empire. On Humāyūn's death the territory of Kābul, including Ghaznī, became the appanage of his younger son Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, but the government was really in the hands of his guardian Mun'im Khān. Sulaimān Mīrzā of Badakhshān, on hearing of Humāyūn's death, made an attempt to seize Kābul. Mun'im Khān asked for help and when Sulaimān Mīrzā learnt that Akbar's troops had crossed the Indus, he opened negotiations for peace and retired on condition that his name should be recited in the *khutba* and that the other side of the Bārān should belong to Badakhshān.

For the next four years peace reigned in Kābul but trouble began in 1560 when Mun'im Khān was recalled to Akbar's court on the occasion of Bairam Khān's rebellion. 'Intrigue followed intrigue, and crime succeeded crime.' Mun'im Khān, who was reappointed to the government of Kābul, hastened with an army towards that country but on the way at Jalālābād he was defeated by the prince's mother Māh Chūchak Begam and retreated to court in disgrace. Māh Chūchak Begam then herself assumed the government.

The situation in Kābul became far worse with the arrival of that 'stormy petrel', Shāh Abu-'l-Ma'ālī, who, after his failure to create strife in Hindusthān by setting up Mīrzā Hakīm as a pretender to the Delhi throne, sought shelter with Māh Chūchak Begam and obtained an influential position in the government. But his ambition overleaped itself; he gathered round him the malcontents of Kābul and slew the queen-mother. Muhammad Hakīm secretly asked help of Sulaimān Mīrzā who marched towards Kābul, defeated and seized Abu-'l-Ma'ālī on the bank of the Ghurband river and delivered him to Muhammad Hakīm who had him hanged on 13 May, 1564.

Hakīm now became a puppet in the hands of Sulaimān Mīrzā who assumed all power and fortified his position by giving Hakīm his daughter in marriage. The nepotism and highhandedness of Sulaimān raised a storm of protest and led to the expulsion of all Badakhshānīs. Mīrzā Sulaimān thereupon marched on towards Kābul with a large army. Hakīm escaped to Peshāwar and, pursued there by Sulaimān, came to the Indus and appealed to Akbar for help. Akbar sent the officers of the Punjab under its governor Khān Kalān who marched on to Jalālābād, took it from Sulaimān's officer and forced Sulaimān to beat an inglorious retreat to Badakhshān. Mīrzā Hakīm was restored to power by imperial aid but he compelled Khān Kalān to leave Kābul. Encouraged by the return of the imperial officers, Sulaimān made another attempt on Kābul and besieged the fort. Hakīm escaped to the Indus and, taking advantage of the revolt of the Uzbegs in Hindusthān with whom he was in secret communication, he crossed the river and, passing through Bhera with plunder and rapine, appeared before Lahore. Akbar himself set out from Āgra on 16 November, 1566. Ten days later he reached Delhi and as he advanced he learnt near the Sutlej that the invader had already retreated. Meanwhile Mīrzā Sulaimān had continued the siege of Kābul but Hakīm's officer M'asūm Khān put the Badakhshānīs to great straits. Sulaimān therefore made peace with M'asūm Khān and the prince of Kābul returned to his capital.

Hakīm in reality began to rule Kābul as an independent prince. In 1578 Akbar sent a mission to his half-brother with a view to persuading him to acknowledge his sovereignty, but Hakīm did not respond. On the contrary he opened the western front for the rebels of Bihār and Bengal two years later. The Bengal rebels were in collusion with him and read the *khutba* in his name. Hakīm received invitation to invade India from some officers of Akbar's court as well, who wanted to raise him to the Mughul throne. It was suspected that Shāh Mansūr, the revenue minister, was the leader of this treacherous conspiracy. Akbar accordingly suspended him from office and dispersed his colleagues, but he was afterwards pardoned and reinstated. Two reconnoitring expeditions of Mīrzā Hakīm into the Punjab led by Nūr-ud-dīn and Shādmān failed in December, 1580, and the prince then personally invaded the Punjab. Passing through Rohtās which rejected proposal of surrender, Hakīm appeared before Lahore on 6 February, 1581. The valiant and ever loyal commander Mān Singh strongly defended it against the invader. Hakīm, who had counted on an uprising in his favour, was not joined by anybody and, when he heard of the advance of Akbar, beat a hasty retreat.

Early in February, Akbar had set out from Fathpur Sīkrī with a considerable force against the invader. Shāh Mansūr, who had been pardoned and reinstated, accompanied the emperor. At Sonpat near Delhi he was met by Malik Sānī who had been formerly in the service of Mīrzā Hakīm. This revived Akbar's suspicion against Mansūr; fresh evidence of his complicity and treasonable correspondence with Mīrzā Hakīm was brought. Mansūr was accordingly hanged at Kot Kachhwāha near Shāhābād in Karnāl district. Recent writers on Akbar, relying too much on the version of Father Monserrate, regard Shāh Mansūr guilty of treason, but it is difficult to reject the version of Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāūnī who state that the letters, on the basis of which Mansūr was executed, were forged, while from Abu-'l-Fazl we learn that Akbar regarded as forgeries the previous letters, which were found by Mān Singh in Shādmān's baggage, proving Mansūr's treasonable complicity with Mīrzā Hakīm. According to Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāūnī all the letters were forged by Mansūr's enemies. Shāh Mansūr's policy of economy and rigour made him unpopular and the nobles, who were too glad to see his downfall, must have prejudiced Akbar against him. The emperor afterwards regretted the 'judicial murder' which he had unconsciously committed.[29]

Near Sirhind Akbar learnt of the retreat of Mīrzā Hakīm but he marched on. On reaching the Indus by way of Kalānaur and Rohtās, he began the construction of the fortress of Attock. From here he sent an army under Rājā Mān Singh, though under the nominal command of Prince Murād, towards Kābul. On 12 July he himself crossed the Indus and set out for Peshāwar. Mīrzā Hakīm was severely defeated by Prince Murād in Khurd Kābul near Kābul, and fled to Ghūrband. On 10 August, 1581, Akbar made his triumphant entry into the historic city of Kābul. He left it after a week, after having pardoned and reinstated his rebellious half-brother to the government.[29a] On 1 December, the emperor returned to his capital.

Kābul continued to be a source of anxiety to Akbar particularly because of the Uzbeg supremacy in Central Asia. The menace became imminent when civil war between Mīrzā Sulaimān and Shāh Rukh led to the Uzbeg annexation of Badakhshān in 1584. The death of Mīrzā Hakīm in July 1585 relieved Akbar of a critical situation, and Kābul was formally annexed to the Mughul empire.

A serious revolt in Gujarāt followed the rebellion in Bengal and Mīrzā Hakīm's invasion. In the pages of the Mughul historians it was merely the rising of a pretender; in reality it was the feeble protest of Gujarāt for its loss of independence. On a similar occasion the people of Gujarāt had stood behind Bahādur when he recovered his territory from the Mughuls under Humāyūn. King Muzaffar III, who had been kept in Mughul custody since his capture in 1572, had in 1578 eluded the vigilance of the imperial servants and fled to Saurāshtra. In 1583 when I'timād Khān had just arrived in Gujarāt as its new viceroy, Muzaffar raised a formidable rebellion against the Mughul authority, joined by Gujarāt officers groaning under the burden caused by the enforcement of the branding regulations by the retiring viceroy Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān. I'timād Khān, finding the situation grave, sought the help of his retiring predecessor, but before he could settle terms with the reluctant Shihāb-ud-dīn, Muzaffar had captured Ahmadābād where the people made common cause with him (September, 1583). Muzaffar granted titles and *jāgīrs* to his followers and was joined by Sher Khān Fulādī. Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān, governor of Broach and Barodā, marched against the invader from Broach but was defeated at Barodā by Muzaffar who forced Qutb-ud-dīn to surrender on promise of safe conduct but violated it by putting him to death. Muzaffar then marched to Broach and took it, and the wealth as well as property of Qutb-ud-dīn fell into his hands. People began to gather round him and he was able to raise an army of 30,000 men.

Akbar accordingly sent Mīrzā Khān, son of Bairam Khān, to Gujarāt. In January, 1584, he defeated the 'pretender' seriously at Sarkhej and made his triumphant entry into Ahmadābād. The report of this victory reached Akbar while he was returning to the capital from Allāhabād which he had just founded. He conferred on the young Mīrzā Khān, then twenty-eight years old, the title of Khān Khānān. Mīrzā Khān then pursued Muzaffar to Cambay and drove him first to Barodā and then to Nāndod where he inflicted a severe defeat on him and forced him to take to flight (March, 1584). But, for about ten years the ex-king offered stubborn resistance, hoping to recover his throne. He was hotly pursued until in 1593, 'hounded like a wild beast', he was captured. Khān A'zam, then viceroy of Gujarāt, took Junāgarh where he had taken refuge and Muzaffar fled to Cutch. But Khān A'zam pursued him there and forced the chief of Cutch to reveal Muzaffar's hiding place. Muzaffar was captured but on the way, a day after his capture, he committed suicide to save his honour. Thus ended the last effort of reviving the old kingdom of Gujarāt.

At the end of 1585 Akbar was comparatively free to undertake seriously the conquest of Kāshmir. The Mughul emperors had always an eye on Kāshmir with its cool climate, running streams and charming gardens. Bābur had sent a small unsuccessful expedition against the country and Mīrzā Haidar, who had advised Humāyūn to occupy it as a *point d'appui* for the recovery of Hindusthān, established himself and ruled in Kāshmir for ten years (1541-1551). As early as 1559 Ghāzī Khān who was the *de facto* ruler of Kāshmir, anxious to establish friendly relations with Akbar, sent his envoy Nusrat Chakk who waited upon the emperor and his guardian. But Bairam Khān replied by despatching an expedition next year under Mīrzā Qarā Bahādur which was seriously defeated near Rājāorī by the infantry of Ghāzī Khān.

After the inglorious end of his first attempt Akbar postponed the conquest of Kāshmir for a more opportune moment, but he did not fail to maintain regular contact with her rulers. In 1568 we find Akbar's ambassadors Mīrzā Muqīm and Ya'qūb at the court of Husain Shāh who treated them with all honours and had to tolerate the arrogance of Mīrzā Muqim who, by virtue of his position as the Mughul envoy, interfered in the domestic affairs of the country. Husain Shāh, with a view to pleasing Akbar, sent with the envoys his daughter to the Mughul emperor who however rejected her.

In 1578 Akbar sent Mullā 'Ishqī and Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn to 'Alī Shāh, successor of Husain Shāh, at whose court they remained until they were sent back to the imperial court. The *khutba* was read and coins were struck in Kāshmir in Akbar's name and 'Alī Shāh sent along with the imperial ambassadors his own envoy Muhammad Qāsim with rich presents and the daughter of his nephew for Prince Salīm.

In January, 1580, Yūsuf Shāh, 'Alī Shāh's son, on being overthrown by his cousin Lohar Chakk, sought shelter with Akbar. A few months later Akbar ordered Rājā Mān Singh and Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān to assist Yūsuf in recovering his kingdom. Meanwhile the report of imperial intervention alarmed the Kāshmir nobles who informed Yūsuf that they would restore him to his throne if he would abandon Mughul assistance. Accordingly he left Siālkot for Kāshmir and was joined by his supporters at Baramgalla. At Sopur Yūsuf defeated Lohar Chakk on 8 November, 1580, and recovered his kingdom without Mughul assistance. Akbar was outwitted and deprived of any immediate pretext for intervention in Kāshmir.

At the end of 1581 after his successful Kābul campaign Akbar sent from Jalālābād Mīrzā Tāhir and Sālih 'Āqil as envoys to Kāshmir. Yūsuf Shāh received them with spectacular respect and sent them back with his third son Haidar Khān to wait on Akbar. Haidar remained at court for one year. Three years later Yūsuf Shāh sent on Akbar's demand his eldest son Ya'qūb who arrived at court on 19 February, 1585. Ya'qūb however became suspicious of Akbar's designs and fled to Kāshmir. In October Akbar sent from Kalānaur Hakīm 'Alī and Bahā-ud-dīn to summon Yūsuf to court or at least to send Ya'qūb. In December while Akbar was encamped at Hasan Abdāl, the envoys returned: Yūsuf did neither come nor send his son. Accordingly on 31 December, 1585, an army under Mīrzā Shāh Rukh and Rājā Bhagwān Dās with 5,000 horse was despatched to Kāshmir.

The imperial force immediately marched by the Pākhli route and reached the Buliyan Pass, some fifty miles west of Bāramūla, but they found the road closed by Yūsuf who had already reached there. Severe cold, scarcity of provisions, difficult communications as well as rain and snow exceedingly harassed the Mughuls who decided on peace. Yūsuf also agreed and saw Rājā Bhagwān Dās on 24 February, 1586, and offered his submission to the emperor. But his son Ya'qūb, joined by his nobles, offered resistance. The Kāshmiris were however defeated by Madhu Singh, son of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, at the Kuarmat Pass and were forced to offer the following terms: coins were to be struck and the *khutba* recited in Akbar's name and 'the mint, the saffron, the silk and the game should be imperial.' The report of the Yūsufzāi disaster broke the morale of the Mughul leaders who readily accepted them and Yūsuf Shāh was taken by Rājā Bhagwān Dās to Akbar at Attock on 7 April, 1586. Akbar disapproved of the treaty, imprisoned Yūsuf and made him over to Rājā Todar Mal, though the Kāshmir sultān had been assured of safe conduct by Bhagwān Dās. The treacherous imprisonment of Yūsuf is a dark blot on the character of the chivalrous Akbar.

Ya'qūb continued to challenge the imperial authority and Akbar accordingly sent another expedition under Qāsim Khān on 8 July, 1586. The Mughul army passed by the defile of Bhimbar and then marched through Rājāorī. Neither the nobles nor the people gave solid support to Ya'qūb who retired to Kishtwār. Qāsim Khān easily defeated a Kāshmiri force and entered Srīnagar on 15 October, 1586, and the *khutba* was recited in Akbar's name. Kāshmir was now formally annexed to the Mughul empire. Ya'qūb continued to resist for the next three years. In 1586 he made two unsuccessful attempts on Srīnagar and next year his third attempt was foiled by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, governor of Kāshmir. In 1589 while Akbar was returning from Kāshmir, Ya'qūb surrendered to him at Sopur on 7 August and the last spark of Kāshmir independence was put out.

The death of Mīrzā Hakīm and the annexation of Kābul were immediately followed by troubles in the North-Western frontier. Like his predecessors Akbar had to face the ever-lasting frontier problem. The tribes inhabiting what was until recently known as the North-West Frontier province were absolutely independent. As Kābul ceased to be the centre of disturbances, Akbar turned his attention towards making the frontier secure by suppressing the Raushanāis and the various Afghān tribes of Swāt and Bājaur. The Raushanāis were the followers of Bāyazīd who set aside the authority of Qur'ān and founded a new creed. His doctrine, which was extreme pantheism, shows a curious mixture of lofty ethics and crude barbarity. Bāyazīd obtained many followers among the Afghān tribes of Tirah. After his death in 1585 his youngest son Jalāl-ud-dīn became the leader of the Raushanāis. In 1581 while Akbar was returning from Kābul, he saw the emperor and was kindly received but he escaped and created troubles ('raised the standard of revolt' in the words of Mughul historians) in the country west of the Indus. The Raushanāis infested the routes between Kābul and the Punjab and the Khyber route was so effectually blocked by them that ‘Abdullah Khān, Uzbeg’s envoy to Akbar, could not pass through it. Akbar accordingly appointed Mān Singh to the government of Kābul with directions to suppress the Afghān tribes leavened with a new spirit.

On 22 August, 1585, Akbar himself left Fathpur Sīkrī for the Punjab with a view to keeping watch over the frontier as well as to conducting campaigns for the conquest of Kāshmir. On 31 December Akbar sent from Attock, simultaneously with the Kāshmir expedition, Zain Khān at the head of a considerable force to Swāt and Bājaur. Zain Khān pushed on to Bājaur while another force despatched by the emperor entered and devastated the Sāmah, the country of the Mandārs, lying between Peshāwar and the Swāt river. Zain Khān chastised the Yūsufzāis of Bājaur and advanced to Chak-darah on the Swāt river where he erected a fortress. As his troops were much depressed by continued marching, Zain Khān asked for reinforcements. Akbar directed Rājā Bīrbal, who had already been despatched to Bājaur through the Sāmah, and Hakīm Abu-’l-Fath to join Zain Khān in Swāt. No sooner had the reinforcement arrived than disagreement began between the generals. Zain Khān was in favour of holding and strengthening Chak-darah and making it a base for further operations against the Afghān tribes. But the rājā and the Hakīm contended that their task was not to occupy the country but to harry it and so they should return to the royal camp at Attock. They also opposed Zain Khān’s suggestion to return by the Malakhand Pass, the road they had come by, and decided to withdraw by the difficult route through the Karakar and Malandarāi Passes. The Mughuls were subjected to much opposition and harassment by the Yūsufzāis and Mandārs during their retreat through the Karakar Pass but the opposition became virulent when they reached the Malandarāi Pass further south. The furious attack of the Yūsufzāis broke the morale and discipline of the Mughul force and the retreat became a disastrous rout. Eight thousand men, about half of the army, perished, including Rājā Bīrbal. Zain Khān, after a stubborn rear-guard fight in which he suffered defeat, managed to escape, and with Hakīm Abu-’l-Fath led ‘the shattered remnant of the army’ into the royal camp at Attock (24 February, 1586). Akbar was so overwhelmed with grief at the death of Rājā Bīrbal that he took no food for two days and nights. It should however be noted that Akbar himself was primarily responsible for the disaster in appointing a wit and a physician to such a difficult command.

Akbar however sent Todar Mal with a large army to retrieve the disaster. Todar Mal erected strong forts in the Yūsufzāi territory and devastated it. Rājā Mān Singh had inflicted several defeats on the Raushanāis on his way to Kābul but towards the end of 1586, led by Jalāl-ud-dīn, they formed a confederacy with the Yūsufzāis, the Mohmands, the Khalils and other tribes, invested Peshāwar and completely closed the Khyber route. Mān Singh defeated Jalāl-ud-dīn near 'Alī Masjid in the Khyber Pass and he fled towards Bangash. But throughout the year 1587 the Afghān tribes were active under Jalāl-ud-dīn who was joined by the Afrīdīs and the Orakzāis as well.

The transfer of Mān Singh to Bihār late in 1587 and the appointment of Zain Khān as warden of the Western Marches marked the beginning of a more vigorous policy. Akbar was determined to uproot 'the thornbrake of the Tārīkīs' and despatched several batches of troops from different centres in order to capture Jalāl-ud-dīn. In 1588 Zain Khān led strenuous campaigns into Swāt and Bājaur. He entered Bājaur by an unknown route, surprised Jalāl-ud-dīn who made a narrow escape, erected forts at different places and after desultory fighting for eight months forced the Afghāns to submit. He then entered Swāt by a secret route, surprised the Afghāns as they were celebrating the *Qurbān-i-'Īd* (31 October, 1588) and strengthened his position by erecting forts at Chak-darah, Malakhand and other places. Meanwhile Sādiq Khān, who had been despatched to Tirah, won over the Afrīdīs and the Orakzāis who undertook to preserve peace in the Khyber. Jalāl-ud-dīn fled to Tūrān as he had lost all influence over the Afghāns. Altogether Zain Khān's campaigns of 1588 maintained peace in the frontier for the next three years and in October, 1589, Akbar could make a peaceful journey from Attock to Kābul.

Early in 1592 the frontier trouble revived when Jalāl-ud-dīn returned from Turān, stirred up strife in Tirah and won back the Afrīdīs and the Orakzāis. The failure of Qāsim Khān to chastise them encouraged the Raushanāis and the Yūsufzāis to raise their heads again and they were joined by the hitherto friendly Gagiyāna and Muhammadzāi tribes, who invaded Peshāwar. Zain Khān surprised and dispersed them and drove the Yūsufzāis and the Raushanāis from Bājaur, where they had escaped, to Kāfiristān. Next year he marched into the Kāfir country, inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Afghāns in which 400 were killed and 7,000 taken prisoners, took the fort of Ganshāl and received the submission of their leaders.

The campaigns of 1592-93 ensured peace for just three years. In May, 1596, there was recrudescence of the Raushanāis who made the Khyber route unsafe. Qulīj Khān's failure to suppress them led to the reappointment of Zain Khān to Kābul early next year. The frontier troubles continued even after the death of Jalāl-ud-dīn in 1600. As late as 1602 Takhta Beg had to suppress a 'rebellion' of the Afrīdīs, Pāni, Orakzāi and Sūrī tribes in Tirah under Ahdad who became the leader of the Raushanāis after Jalāl-ud-dīn's death. In reality, the Afghān tribes remained unconquered and the great campaigns of Mān Singh and Zain Khān could not uproot 'the thorn-brake of the Tārīkīs', though they subdued them for a time. The Mughul sword could neither crush the martial instincts of the Afghāns nor solve the problem of their over-population.

Akbar's policy was to build up a scientific frontier for the Mughul empire. This required the maintenance of imperial control over Kābul and Qandahār, the two gateways to Hindusthān as well as over the tribes inhabiting the north-west frontier region. Kābul was annexed to the Mughul empire after Mīrzā Hakīm's death in 1585, but the frontier problem became grave and menacing on account of the ascendancy of 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg of Bukhārā who occupied Badakhshān in 1584 and incited the frontier tribes to rise against Akbar. The series of vigorous campaigns against these tribes, the annexation of Baluchistān and the acquisition of Qandahār in 1595 enabled Akbar to keep the frontier altogether secure against foreign aggression from Persia and particularly from the Uzbegs of Central Asia.

After the conquest of Kāshmir, Akbar naturally turned towards the conquest of Sind in the west and Orissa in the east, the two kingdoms in Hindusthān which still remained independent. The conquest of Sind and Baluchistān was imperative as a base of operations for the recovery of Qandahār which was in Persian hands. As early as 1574 the fortress of Bhakkar had been surrendered to the Mughuls. Towards the end of 1586 Sādiq Khān, governor of Multān, besieged Sehwān but Jānī Beg, ruler of Sind, offered submission by sending tribute to Akbar at Lahore. Jānī Beg however renounced his allegiance and asserted independence. In 1590 Khān Khānān 'Abdur-Rahīm was appointed to the government of Multān with direction to conquer Sind. The Khān Khānān invaded the country and besieged Sehwān. Jānī Beg had meanwhile advanced against the Mughuls with a big army, war-boats and a park of artillery and he fortified the Pass of Nasarpur. The Khān Khānān accordingly raised the siege and marched by land and water to meet the enemy. In October, 1591, he inflicted a severe defeat on Jānī Beg and then returned to complete the siege of Sehwān. As Jānī Beg advanced to help the hard-pressed garrison, he was opposed and defeated by the Khān Khānān on the way. But he continued to resist from a new stronghold some forty miles away. The Khān Khānān attacked him there and forced him to make peace by surrendering Tatta and Sehwān and agreeing to pay homage to Akbar at court. In 1593 he came to the Mughul court at Lahore. He was kindly received and was appointed governor of Multān and afterwards of Sind. He accepted the Divine Faith of the emperor.

In the east the great pro-consul of Bihār, after settling the province, led the campaign in April, 1590, for the conquest of Orissa and reached Jahānābād (modern Arāmbāgh in Hughli district) by way of Bhāgalpur and Burdwan. Qutlū Khān Lohānī, the Afghān ruler of North Orissa, despatched a large force to Rāipur in the Bānkurā district. The Afghāns surprised and badly defeated the Mughul advance-guard under Mān Singh's son, the inexperienced Jagat Singh. But the sudden death of Qutlū Khān shortly after disheartened the Afghāns. His minister Khvāja 'Isā raised his young son Nasīr Khān to the throne and he made peace with the Mughuls on condition that the *khutba* was to be recited and coins were to be struck in Akbar's name and Purī, including the temple of Jagannāth, was to be made reserved lands under the emperor. On 15 August the boy-king paid homage to Mān Singh.

But after the death of the regent the treaty of 1590 was repudiated by the Afghāns who captured the temple of Jagannāth and took Purī. In November, 1591, Mān Singh marched again by land and river and was joined by Sa'īd Khān, governor of Bengal. At Benapur, one day's march from Jaleswar, a severe and contested battle was fought on 18 April, 1592.[30] The Mughuls ultimately gained the victory and Mān Singh made his triumphant entry into Jaleswar where the *khutba* was recited and coins stamped in Akbar's name. The Afghāns retreated southwards and continued to resist. Though Sa'īd Khān left him, Mān Singh marched into Orissa, took Cuttack, secured the surrender of the fort of Aul by Qutlū Khān's officer and received the submission of the Tīla rājā at Kalkalghātī. But Rāmchandra Dev, the rājā of Khurdhā, the greatest of the Orissa chiefs, still held at Sārangarh. Mān Singh raided the Khurdhā territory and compelled Rāmchandra to submit. A Mughul force despatched by him recovered Jaleswar which had meanwhile been captured by the Afghāns. Sārangarh capitulated in June but it was not until January, 1593, and after the despatch of an expedition under Jagat Singh that Rāmchandra Dev personally waited on Mān Singh. The conquest of Orissa was now completed but, as in Bengal, what the Mughuls could establish was military occupation rather than effective rule.

Meanwhile Kāshmir had become the scene of serious disturbances. During his first visit to that province in 1589 Akbar had made necessary arrangements for its administration. The revenue administration of the province was the root of the trouble: the high assessment of Akbar caused grave discontent. The malcontents elected as their leader Yādgār, the cousin of the governor Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, who asserted independent authority and coined money in his own name. In July, 1592, Akbar left Lahore for Kāshmir and halted at Bhimbar where he received the head of Yādgār who had been captured and executed. On 14 October he entered Srīnagar. On the resignation of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān due to difficulties in revenue administration, the entire province was converted into reserved lands (*Khālisa*). About five years later, in 1597, Akbar made his third and last visit to Kāshmir.

In 1595 Akbar's conquest of the northern portion of the Indian sub-continent (excluding Assam) was completed by the annexation of Baluchistān. In December, 1594, Mīr M'asūm, the historian, led the campaign. The *zamīndārs* of Gandava offered their submission and in February, 1595, the Mughuls besieged the fort of Sibī, held by the Parni Afghāns and shortly after forced the garrison to surrender the fort. The country up to the border of Qandahār, Cutch and Makrān came into the possession of the Mughuls. Two months later occurred the bloodless conquest of Qandahār.

V. FOREIGN POLICY

Qandahār was the Alsace of medieval Asia, the bone of contention between India and Īrān in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Safavī monarchs regarded Qandahār as an appanage of Khurāsān and considered Mughul occupation as nothing but usurpation. At Akbar's accession it was governed by Bairam Khān's agent Shāh Muhammad Qilātī. In 1558 a large Persian force led by Sultān Husain Mīrzā invaded Qandahār and took possession of it. For the next thirty-six years it was to remain in Persian hands. On account of his preoccupation in India and the troubles in Kābul and the frontier, Akbar could not make any attempt at the recovery of Qandahār. By the year 1590 he had become the paramount sovereign of Northern India, Kābul had been annexed to his empire and the Raushanāis had been subdued for the time being. The Uzbegs had become supreme in Khurāsān and were threatening the Safavī kingdom. It was the time to strike a blow and recover Qandahār. Akbar apprehended as well the capture of Qandahār by the Uzbegs in which case Kābul and the Punjab would be insecure. Accordingly in 1590 he sent an army under 'Abdur-Rahīm to recover

Qandahār, but the Khān Khānān turned to the conquest of Sind, probably as a prelude to the conquest of Qandahār. This postponed the Qandahār expedition and circumstances made any expedition unnecessary. Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā, who held the government of Qandahār, feared the prospect of an Uzbeg invasion and might also have learnt of Akbar's plan to recover Qandahār. Shāh 'Abbās was then in no position to send him reinforcements. Muzaffar Husain, therefore, refusing the offer of help by 'Abdullah Khān who had sent him an envoy, surrendered the fort on 18 April, 1595, to Akbar's officer Shāh Beg Khān and left for the Mughul court. 'A populous country came into possession without a battle', as Abu-'l-Fazl states. In July Zamīn Dāwar and Garmsīr were also taken by Shāhi Beg Khān, but they were recovered by the Persians in 1603.

In spite of Qandahār, round which the Mughul-Safavī diplomacy centred, there was almost regular diplomatic intercourse between Āgra and Qazvīn or Isfāhān. Under Akbar the Mughul-Safavī relationship, which had been that of client and patron, entered upon a new phase. Akbar's toleration of the Shiahs and the Sunnīs alike toned down the religious animosity of the Safavī monarchs who were zealous champions of Shiahism, while the building up and consolidation of the great Mughul empire under him raised the prestige of the dynasty abroad, and both Shāh 'Abbās and 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg sought his alliance against each other.

Early in the reign Bairam Khān had sent Shāh Ghāzī Sultān as envoy to Shāh Tahmāsp. He saw the necessity of establishing cordial relationship with the Safavī court, especially now when the boy-king was beset with a crop of difficulties in Hindusthān and required the Shāh's moral support. Shāh Tahmāsp received the envoy with honour and in 1562 sent his cousin Sayyid Beg on embassy to Akbar with a letter offering condolences for the death of Humāyūn and congratulations on his accession and emphasizing the necessity of cementing the bond of friendship between the two kingdoms. In 1564 Akbar received another envoy from Shāh Tahmāsp who came with a letter and rarities of Īrān. Early in November, 1572, during his march from Sirohī to Pātan, Akbar received Yār 'Alī Beg, envoy from Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda, Shāh Tahmāsp's eldest son and governor of Khurāsān, who probably sought the support of Akbar in the coming war of succession in Persia. The death of Shāh Tahmāsp in 1576 was the signal for the outbreak of civil war and anarchy, followed by a succession of weak rulers, during which diplomatic intercourse between the Mughul empire and Persia was stopped. But under Shāh 'Abbās (1587-1629) a closer contact was established between Āgra and Isfāhān. Shāh

Tahmāsp would look on Akbar as the son of Humāyūn who had sought shelter at his court and during his lifetime Akbar's supremacy over Hindusthān had not been fully established. Shāh 'Abbās found Akbar the paramount sovereign of almost all Hindusthān and naturally sought his alliance, hard-pressed as he was in the west by the Ottoman Turks and in the east by the Uzbegs under their powerful king 'Abdullah Khān who overran and captured Khurāsān. In 1591 Shāh 'Abbās sent his envoy Yādgār Sultān Rūmlū who arrived at the Mughul court on 16 May with choice presents and a supplicatory letter to Akbar, asking for his military help and at least his moral support. Akbar could not agree to send an auxiliary force for the recovery of Khurāsān from the Uzbegs, as some of his nobles suggested, though he would have thereby cleared his father's as well as grandfather's debt to the Safavī dynasty. For he did not consider it politic to go against the powerful Uzbeg king with whom he was in alliance and whose hostility would mean grave menace to the frontier of the Mughul empire. Yādgār Sultān remained at Akbar's court for three years and a half. On 2 December, 1594, Akbar gave him leave and sent with him Zīyā-ul-mulk Qazvīnī and Abū Nāsir Khvafī as envoys to the Shāh with curiosities of Hindusthān and a letter full of instructions and written in a most patronising spirit which reminds one of the letters that Shāh Tahmāsp had addressed to the Emperor Humāyūn. Akbar's envoys were given a splendid reception at Qazvīn by Shāh 'Abbās. They remained in Persia for a few years until 1597-8 when they obtained leave and the Shāh sent Mīnūchihr Beg with a letter and choice presents to the Mughul court. The capture of Qandahār by the Mughuls in 1595 did not sever diplomatic connection. The envoy arrived at the Mughul court in November, 1598. In his letter the Shāh referred to his activities against the Uzbegs in which he expected Akbar's good wishes and support. Next year Shāh 'Abbās sent from Herāt Mīrzā 'Alī Beg on embassy to Akbar with a letter informing him of his victory in Khurāsān after the death of 'Abdullah Khān. 'Alī Beg arrived at court on 11 March, 1599, and both he and Mīnūchihr Beg remained at court until 4 April, 1601, when they obtained leave. Akbar sent with them his own envoy Ma'sūm Khān Bhakkarī and they arrived in Persia in 1602. Ma'sūm Khān remained at the Safavī court for more than a year and returned in 1604.

As a kingdom contiguous to Kābul, Badakhshān was of importance to the Mughul empire under Akbar as a buffer State between it and the Uzbeg kingdom rapidly increasing under 'Abdullah Khān. Mīrzā Sulaimān of Badakhshān, who had been recognized by Bābur in 1530, gave a lot of trouble to his grandson by his repeated attempts on Kābul, but the growing power of the Uzbegs compelled him and his grandson to seek the alliance of Akbar and take shelter at his court. In 1561 he sent an envoy to Akbar asking for his help against the Uzbegs who had killed his son Mīrzā Ibrāhīm. In 1575 Sulaimān, expelled by his rebellious grandson Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, sought Akbar's protection. Akbar treated him kindly and offered him the government of Bengal which he refused as he expected the emperor would help him recover his kingdom. In disappointment Sulaimān left for Mecca next year. Mīrzā Shāh Rukh sent to Akbar two envoys who arrived at his court on 9 July, 1577, and next year Akbar gave them leave and sent with them his own envoys to Badakhshān. Badakhshān ceased to be a buffer State when, in 1584, it was annexed by the Uzbegs and Mīrzā Shāh Rukh sought refuge at Akbar's court. 'Abdullah Khān objected to Akbar's giving him protection and this caused not a little anxiety to the Uzbeg king. In 1587 Mīrzā Sulaimān, who had gone to Badakhshān a second time, was forced to leave for India and sought shelter at the Mughul court.

No other factor moulded Akbar's trans-Indian policy so much as the growing power of the Uzbegs in Transoxiana. It affected his activities in India as well to a considerable extent. It was the bogey of an Uzbeg invasion which was mainly responsible for Akbar's long stay in the Punjab from 1585. It encouraged the frontier tribes to raise their heads against the authority of Akbar; in fact, they were subsidized by 'Abdullah Khān who twice received at his court Jalāl-ud-dīn, the leader of the Raushanāis. To a certain extent it served as a brake on the progress of Mughul arms in the Deccan inasmuch as it prevented Akbar's leading the campaign personally even when mutual jealousies of commanders brought about a deadlock there. The bitter hostility between Shāh 'Abbās and 'Abdullah Khān strengthened the position of Akbar who was approached by both for help. 'Abdullah Khān always sought to gain the support of Akbar and Akbar was equally anxious to be on friendly terms with 'Abdullah; the two feared each other and therefore the grandson of Bābur and the scion of Shaibānī Khān remained allies.

In 1572 'Abdullah Khān sent his first envoy, Hājī Altamash, with presents and a letter to Akbar. The object was to gain the support of Akbar against other princes of Turān. This first embassy was rather coldly received by the emperor who dismissed the envoy afterwards without sending his own to 'Abdullah. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Akbar disliked the maintenance of diplomatic relations with 'Abdullah as he intended to conquer his ancestral territory in Central Asia. Possibly Akbar, who was then too much engaged in his own affairs in Hindusthān, did not want to incur the suspicion of Shāh Tahmāsp.

Five years later in 1577 arrived the second embassy from Bukhārā. It was the period of civil war, anarchy, and weak succession in Persia after Shāh Tahmāsp's death and 'Abdullah suggested an invasion of that country. Akbar sent his envoy Mīrzā Fūlādi with a reply to 'Abdullah stating that he could not agree with him in regarding 'difference in law and religion' as *casus belli* and go against the Safavīs with whom he was in alliance. Here was a great opportunity for Akbar to recover Qandahār, but Akbar wanted to keep the balance and prevent the Uzbegs from growing too powerful: a feeble Persia would be a menace to the Mughul empire.

In 1585 after the annexation of Balkh and Badakhshān by 'Abdullah and the absorption of Kābul into the Mughul empire, the territories of 'Abdullah and Akbar became contiguous and the situation became more critical. The Uzbeg king, alarmed by Akbar's campaigns in the frontier and his continued stay on the bank of the Indus as well as Mīrzā Shāh Rukh's presence in India, sent Mīr Quraish who arrived at the Mughul court on 11 March, 1586. Akbar's support or at least his neutrality was badly needed by 'Abdullah in his campaign against Khurāsān. On 2 September Akbar gave Mīr Quraish leave and despatched Hakīm Humām with a letter to the Uzbeg court. Ultimately an agreement was reached between the two. It seems Akbar approved 'Abdullah's invasion of Khurāsān and 'Abdullah promised not to support or subsidize the Afghān tribes of the frontier.[30a]

About three years later Hakīm Humām returned in 1589 with a letter from 'Abdullah in which he thanked Akbar for his moral support in his recent conquest of Khurāsān; and he sent his envoy Ahmad 'Alī Atālīq who however died in India. On 4 January, 1591, Maulavī Husain arrived at the Mughul court on embassy from Bukhārā. He too died in India and 'Abdullah Khān became anxious at the unusual delay in the return of his envoys. On 14 June, 1596, Akbar sent his ambassadors Khvāja Ashraf Naqshbandī and Shaikh Husain of Lakhnau with a letter to 'Abdullah in which he regretted the death of 'Abdullah's two envoys and assured him of his friendship and informed him that he did not help Shāh 'Abbās, who had sent his envoy Yādgār Sultān asking for his help, on account of his consideration for 'Abdullah and that for the same reason he did not support the rebellion in Badakhshān and grant Shāh Rukh any fief in Kābul or Kāshmir. 'Abdullah Khān received Akbar's envoys with respect and on 30 July, 1597, sent them back with his own envoy Mīr Quraish. Akbar's envoys returned to court on 29 April, 1598, but Mīr Quraish returned home from the way on learning of the death of his master. With the death of 'Abdullah Khān in February, 1598, Akbar was relieved of the Uzbeg menace, for he had nothing to fear from his son 'Abdul-Mūmin. The nobles advised Akbar to invade 'Abdullah's territory but he did not agree. Akbar had never any serious intention of conquering Badakhshān and Transoxiana, the home of his ancestors. He followed an Indian policy and thoroughly abandoned the Central Asian outlook of his grandfather and even of his father.

Diplomatic intercourse between Turkey and India could not be regular on account of the geographical situation of the two countries. The Turkish admiral Sīdī 'Alī Ra'īs was present at Delhi at the time of Humāyūn's tragic end and Akbar's accession. Sīdī 'Alī was no accredited envoy, but Bairam Khān availed of the opportunity of despatching a letter in the name of Akbar in 1556-57 to Sulaimān the Magnificent through the admiral. In the letter Akbar addresses the sultān as the 'Caliph on earth sent by God' and states that, though there had been no diplomatic connection between the sultān of Turkey and the Mughul emperor, there had always been the desire to maintain such relations and that is why he is despatching this letter to the sultān 'to bind the chains of union and love' through the admiral, though he had no commission from his master, and he hopes that the sultān will also respond to his wishes and maintain communication with the Mughul court. It does not appear that the sultān of Turkey responded, for he had no interest in any alliance with the Mughul emperor. Akbar also, as he established his supremacy over India and as the Turkish power declined after the death of Sulaimān (1566), did not regard Turkish support as of importance. On the contrary, he viewed with jealousy that the *khutba* was recited in Mecca and Medina in the name of the sultān of Turkey and threw a challenge to him when in 1579 he assumed the titles of *Imām* and *Khalīfa*. Akbar expressed his desire to Rudolf Aquaviva to form an alliance with the king of Portugal against the sultān[30b] and he asked 'Abdullah Khān of Bukhārā to enter into a coalition against the Ottoman Turks while he promised Shāh 'Abbās help against them (1586).[30c] In reality Akbar considered the Sultān-Caliph of Turkey as his great rival.[30d]

Of the European powers Akbar had diplomatic relations with the Portuguese who had already established their authority on the western coast of India with Goa as their capital. In 1572 during his visit to Cambay he met some Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects. Next year during his siege of Surat he came into contact with the Portuguese who had come as the ally of the garrison but cleverly posed themselves as friends and sent their envoy Antonio Cabral to Akbar who, however, received them kindly. According to the Portuguese version Akbar had also sent his envoy to the Portuguese viceroy and a treaty, satisfactory to both parties, was concluded. Akbar wanted to be on friendly terms with the Portuguese who controlled the pilgrim traffic to Mecca by their domination of the Arabian Sea which had virtually become the Portuguese lake. In 1578 the Portuguese viceroy of Goa sent the same Antonio Cabral as ambassador to the Mughul emperor and Akbar's discussion with him on religious matters led ultimately to the despatch of the first Jesuit mission to his court in 1580. Akbar sent his envoy Hājī 'Abdullah and the Portuguese Government responded by the despatch of this mission which has already been referred to. The mission terminated in February, 1583, when Father Rudolf left the Mughul court. Seven years later Akbar despatched a letter to the viceroy of Goa through the Greek sub-deacon Leo Grimon, asking for a second mission to his court. It was well received at Lahore in 1591 but the Fathers realized the impossibility of converting Akbar in spite of his professed sympathy for Christianity, and shortly afterwards it came to an abrupt conclusion. In 1594 Akbar invited a third mission from the viceroy of Goa who sent it, in spite of the reluctance of the provincial authority to risk a third attempt, on account of the possibility of good results of a political character. The mission consisting of Father Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes arrived at Lahore on 5 May, 1595, and, with varying personnel, remained at the Mughul court till Akbar's death in 1605. Akbar showed the same reverence for the Christian faith and permitted the Fathers to preach the Gospel and even convert people. But he was least inclined to embrace Christianity and gave more attention to political and military affairs than to religious discussions. Though this caused not a little disappointment to the Fathers, the viceroy of Goa received in 1598 instruction from the king of Spain to maintain the mission at the Mughul court. Akbar also tried to utilize the services of Xavier and Benedict de Goes to obtain during the siege of Asīrgarh guns and munitions from the Portuguese at Chaul which of course they refused as it was un-Christian and as they were in alliance with the ruler of Khāndesh. From the Deccan Akbar also despatched in March, 1600, an embassy to Goa purely with a view to gaining political alliance. The Portuguese alliance with the sultāns of the Deccan caused grave concern to the emperor and he wanted to check their influence by the establishment of Mughul authority in the

Deccan. At one time he even thought of securing the help of the Deccan sultānates against them. In reality Akbar considered the Portuguese as his most powerful enemy in India as he states in his letter to ‘Abdullah Khān[30e] but he considered it politic to maintain friendly relations with them.

Akbar had no proper diplomatic relations with England, though some Englishmen visited his court. Elizabethan England had already begun to take interest in Indian trade and in 1585 a party of three Englishmen, John Newbery, a London merchant and member of the Levant Company, Ralph Fitch, another London merchant, and William Leedes, a jeweller, arrived at Fathpur Sīkrī. Newbery carried with him a letter from Queen Elizabeth, written in February, 1583, in which she addresses Akbar as ‘the most invincible and most mighty Prince, King of Cambaie’ and recommends to him Newbery and his companions favourable reception, friendly treatment and suitable privileges.[31] The object of their visit was commercial. They were England’s pioneers in India. Of them Fitch has left a valuable account of his travels and to him Āgra and Fathpur Sīkrī appeared much larger and more populous than Elizabethan London. Leedes was taken into the royal service at Fathpur Sīkrī. In 1603 another Englishman, John Mildenhall, also a merchant, arrived at Āgra with a letter from Queen Elizabeth. He presented Akbar twenty-nine horses and some jewels and asked of him friendship with Queen Elizabeth, permission for the newly founded East India Company to trade in his kingdom and his neutrality in the event of English and Portuguese ships fighting on his coasts. But the Portuguese Fathers at the Mughul court prejudiced the mind of Akbar against the English whom they described as ‘a complete nation of thieves.’ Ultimately, according to his own version, Mildenhall was able to exact from Akbar a favourable treaty but there is no doubt that he could not gain any concession from the emperor. The negotiations opened by Newbery and Mildenhall, however, led ultimately to the despatch of a duly accredited embassy to Jahāngīr.

VI. CONQUESTS IN THE DECCAN

Akbar had his eye on the Deccan long before he sent regular expeditions for the expansion of the Mughul empire into the South which ultimately proved to be the *fata morgana* under his great-grandson, leading to his own ruin and the ruin of his empire. Akbar’s ambition for supremacy over the whole Indian sub-continent demanded it; the policy of the previous Muslim rulers like ‘Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī pointed to it; and the Portuguese influence at the courts of the Deccan sultānates made it imperative on the emperor who needed no *casus belli.* Akbar had always reckoned the Portuguese as a power, controlling important parts of India's seaboard and growing as a menace to the Mughul empire, and he considered it essential to counteract their influence at the cabinets of the Deccan sultānates. Chronic jealousy and frequent wars between these States offered Akbar the favourable ground for the fulfilment of his imperial ambition. Of the five offshoots of the Bahmanī empire, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda concerned Akbar. Berār had been annexed by Ahmadnagar in 1574 and Bīdar was too insignificant to attract attention. Besides, there was the kingdom of Khāndesh which was the outpost of Mughul invasion into the South.

As early as 1564 Akbar had sent from Māndū an envoy to Mubārak Shāh II of Khāndesh, demanding the hand of his daughter. Mubārak sent his daughter and agreed to surrender Bijāgarh and Hindiya and recognize Akbar's sovereignty by reciting his name in the *khutba.* During his campaign in Gujarāt in 1573 Akbar despatched envoys to the courts of Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar and four years later, in 1577, the emperor received letters and an envoy from the Nizām Shāhī court in response to an embassy which he had sent. About this time, in February, 1577, Akbar despatched an expedition under Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān against the new ruler of Khāndesh, Rājā 'Alī Khān, who reversed the policy of his predecessors, Mubārak II (1535-66) and Muhammad II (1566-76) by assuming the title of Shāh and refusing to pay tribute. The expedition, however, was withdrawn shortly after as Rājā 'Alī Khān paid tribute.

It was not until 1585 that Akbar secured some pretext for interference into the Deccan affairs. The dictatorial rule of Salābat Khān, the minister of Murtazā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, disgusted the nobles, some of whom fled to Akbar's court and sought his help. In 1585 Akbar ordered Khān 'Azam, governor of Mālwa, to invade Berār but it was not until the next year that he could actually carry out the royal order. He invaded Berār, sacked its capital, Ellichpur, but had to retreat to Nandurbār after fighting an indecisive battle at Chandur[31a] on account of the combined opposition of the troops of Rājā 'Alī Khān and the Nizām Shāh. He banked on the help of the Khān Khānān, governor of Gujarāt, which he failed to secure, and the expedition came to a barren end.

The Deccan enjoyed a respite for about three years after which circumstances in Ahmadnagar invited Akbar's aggression. On 14 June, 1588, Murtazā Nizām Shāh I was murdered by his son Husain who succeeded him but was himself deposed and murdered on 1 April, 1589, by the nobles who raised to the throne Ismā'īl, the son of Burhān-ud-dīn, the younger brother of Murtazā Nizām Shāh, now a refugee at Akbar's court. This aroused the ambition of Burhān-ud-dīn to secure the throne of Ahmadnagar and offered Akbar the pretext for interference into its affairs. Akbar sent him to Mālwa with instructions to Khān A'zam and Rājā 'Alī Khān of Khāndesh to help him secure the Ahmadnagar throne. Burhān, however, refused Mughul assistance to avoid inconvenient and humiliating obligations and invaded Berār with his own troops, but he was defeated and retreated to Khāndesh. His second attempt, in which Rājā 'Alī Khān substantially helped him and secured for him the help of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, proved successful. Ismā'īl was taken captive after the victory of Burhān and Rājā 'Alī at the battle of Rohankhed.[32] Burhān deposed him and sat on the throne of Ahmadnagar as Burhān Nizām Shāh II (May, 1591). Burhān, whom Akbar regarded as his protege, far from proving his obedient vassal, asserted his independence.

Akbar was outwitted and so, in August, 1591, he sent ambassadors to the courts of Khāndesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda. In 1593 Faizī and the other envoys returned from the Deccan. None of the sultāns agreed to acknowledge Akbar's sovereignty, though Rājā 'Alī Khān sent his daughter for marriage with Prince Salīm and the sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda were good enough to present rich gifts to the emperor. Burhān did not even accord Akbar's envoy Faizī an honourable treatment. It was high time that Akbar should send an expedition and he appointed the Khān Khānān and Sultān Murād to this command, assisted by Mīrzā Shāh Rukh and Shāhbāz Khān. Dissensions between the imperial leaders, however, delayed operation. Murād wanted the officers of Mālwa to join him in Gujarāt, his province, and march from there to the Deccan, while the Khān Khānān wanted to proceed from Mālwa, where he was then stationed, and refused to act as a mere follower of the prince.

Meanwhile the course of events in Ahmadnagar offered Akbar the *casus belli* which he had long sought for. On the death of Burhān Nizām Shāh II in April, 1595, his elder son Ibrāhīm succeeded him but a few months after he was slain in a battle. Ibrāhīm's infant son Bahādur was imprisoned by Miyān Manjhū and the Deccanis; they raised to the throne a youth named Ahmad who was represented as the son of Muhammad Khudābanda, sixth son of Burhān Nizām Shāh I (1509-1553). But Chānd Sultān, daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh I and widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I of Bijāpur, championed the cause of the lawful heir, Bahādur. The African nobles, who supported another candidate, besieged Miyān Manjhū in Ahmadnagar who sought the help of Sultān Murād, governor of Gujarāt.

The prince, who had been preparing for a campaign in the Deccan, marched without delay and at Chandur,[33] some sixty miles from Ahmadnagar, where he was joined by the Khān Khānān, Rājā 'Alī Khān also joined the imperial force, though rather reluctantly, because his real sympathies were with the Deccan kingdom. The Mughul army arrived before Ahmadnagar on 26 December, 1595, and, instead of coming as allies, they came as invaders, as Firishta justly comments, and besieged the city.

Miyān Manjhū, who regretted the appeal he had made to the Mughuls, retired from Ahmadnagar, and Chānd Sultān took the helm of affairs in her own hand. The jealousy and dissension between the Mughul commanders, the heroic defence of the fort by the 'noble queen' and the encouragement the garrison received from Rājā 'Alī Khān, who sent secret messages to them, made the progress of the siege slow. In response to the call of Chānd Sultān, the nobles rallied round her. Ikhlās Khān marched from Daulatābād with 10,000 horse but in the vicinity of Paithan on the Godāvarī the Mughuls defeated him. Ābhang Khān marched from the southern frontier with 7,000 horse but was badly defeated by the Khān Khānān's troops with heavy loss. In the doom of Ahmadnagar the sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda read their own and they sent a big army which was advancing from the Bijāpur frontier. The Mughuls, therefore, had recourse to digging mines with a view to destroying the defences but treachery helped the garrison who, being informed in time, destroyed the mines by countermining. Meanwhile the confederate army of Bijāpur and Golconda was approaching the city and scarcity of provisions prevailed in the Mughul camp. Sultān Murād accordingly offered terms of peace to Chānd Sultān: the Mughuls would raise the siege of Ahmadnagar provided Berār was ceded to them. Reluctantly Chānd Sultān agreed and peace was concluded on 23 March, 1596.[34] The Mughuls raised the siege of Ahmadnagar and retired to Berār and the first act in the drama of Akbar's Deccan campaign ended.

The peace thus concluded proved a mere truce. There were causes of complaint on both sides, but the terms of peace were actually violated, against Chānd Sultān's advice, by the rulers of Ahmadnagar who, encouraged by the approach of the Bijāpur and Golconda army, whose help they had sought, made an attempt to expel the Mughul troops from Berār. The Khān Khānān moved with an army of 15,000 horse against the Deccanis, and at Āshti near Sonpet a hardly-contested battle took place on 8 and 9 February, 1597. The battle began late in the afternoon. Suhail Khān, the commander of the Bijāpur troops, made an artillery attack with such vehemence that the two wings of the Mughul army were defeated and put to flight and Rājā ‘Alī Khān of Khāndesh, who commanded the Mughul left, was slain with his officers and 500 of his men. The Khān Khānān and Shāh Rukh Mīrzā who commanded the centre ably stood their ground, pushed back the troops of Ahmadnagar and captured the Bijāpur artillery. Next morning the Khān Khānān with 7,000 men, who had assembled at night, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Bijāpur troops who, with Suhail Khān wounded, fled.

The victory of the Khān Khānān was not however followed by any remarkable progress of the Mughul arms in the Deccan, particularly because of the dissension between the two commanders which led to the recall of the hero of Āshti to court. In 1598 the Mughuls gained some minor successes; they took Gāwīl, Narnāla, Kherlā and other forts in Berār. Next year Akbar sent to the Deccan Abu-’l-Fazl who arrived at Burhānpur in May but failed to persuade Bahādur, son and successor of Rājā ‘Alī Khān of Khāndesh, to join the imperial army. On 12 May, 1599, Prince Murād died of delirium tremens and his younger brother Prince Dāniyāl was appointed to the Deccan command, but his movement was so leisurely that he did not reach Burhānpur until 1 January, 1600. Taking advantage of this situation, the Ahmadnagar troops besieged the Mughul commandant at the fort of Bīr.

Akbar, who was now freed from the bogey of Uzbeg invasion because of the death of ‘Abdullah Khān in February, 1598, left Āgra on 29 September, 1599, with 80,000 horse and despatched the Khān Khānān to join Dāniyāl in the Deccan. Dissension in Ahmadnagar favoured the Mughul cause. Chānd Sultān was opposed by Ābhang Khān and she opened negotiations with Abu-’l-Fazl by which she agreed to surrender Ahmadnagar if the Mughuls would remove Ābhang Khān. Ābhang replied by despatching an army which invaded Berār and advanced as far as Ellichpur, but was ultimately defeated by the Mughuls.

The arrival of Prince Dāniyāl at Burhānpur in January, 1600, added fresh complication to the intricate situation. Bahādur refused to wait on him and shut himself up in the fort of Asīrgarh and the enraged prince summoned the officers of Berār to reply to Bahādur’s insolence. Akbar, who was now in Mālwa on his way to the Deccan, sent orders to the prince to march towards Ahmadnagar and he himself hastened towards Burhānpur to deal with the defiant Bahādur. On 8 April Akbar appeared before Burhānpur and the very next day he despatched Khān A‘zam to besiege the fort of Asīrgarh.

Dāniyāl and the Khān Khānān accordingly marched towards Ahmadnagar. Ābhang Khān proceeded to oppose them but ultimately retreated to Junnār. On 21 April the Mughuls besieged the fort without opposition. Chānd Sultān, who advised peace with the Mughuls by surrender of the fort, was put to death by a riotous faction which was opposed to her policy. With her fall the star of Ahmadnagar sank. The defences of the fort were destroyed by mines and the Mughuls stormed it on 28 August. The fall of Ahmadnagar alarmed Ibrāhīm ʻĀdil Shāh II of Bijāpur who sent an envoy to Akbar to conciliate him and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Prince Dāniyāl.

Bahādur, who had enough provisions in the fort of Asīrgarh to stand a siege, opened negotiations with Akbar just to gain time so that the Mughuls would be compelled to raise the siege on account of scarcity of provisions, but Akbar saw through the design and demanded unconditional surrender. On 21 June a Mughul force captured the Sāpan hill from which the enemy harassed the besiegers and a second overture for peace was also rejected in September. But the progress of the siege was remarkably slow and Abu-'l-Fazl was sent to infuse fresh vigour into the besiegers. The garrison was, however, reduced to great straits on account of the congestion of men, animals and stores and a pestilence broke out which took a huge toll of lives. This miserable plight of the besieged enabled the Mughuls to capture on 9 December the fort of Mālīgarh, situated to the north-west of the main fort and on the lower slopes of the hill. These circumstances compelled Bahādur to agree to Akbar's proposal to meet him at his camp for negotiation on condition that Khāndesh would be restored to him and the members of the royal family would be released. On 21 December Bahādur came to Akbar's camp. He had left instruction to the garrison not to surrender and consequently he refused to surrender the fort. Akbar had tried to secure the help of Portuguese artillery through the Jesuits but failed. He therefore detained Bahādur and coerced him to write to the garrison for delivering the keys of the fort. Yāqūt, the Abyssinian commandant of the fort, loyal to Bahādur's instruction, disregarded his master's letter from Akbar's camp delivered to him by his son Muqarrab Khān, and, on the refusal of every other member of the royal family to sit on the throne for its defence, committed suicide. The garrison, largely bribed by Akbar's officers, lost morale and surrendered the fort to the Mughuls on 6 January, 1601.[35] In the siege of Asīrgarh Akbar stands guilty of an act of treachery; he was not treacherous by nature but when expediency demanded it, he did not hesitate to use it as a weapon.[36]

Akbar made over the government of Khāndesh to Dāniyāl and ultimately Khāndesh, Berār and the annexed portion of Ahmadnagar were combined as the viceroyalty of the Deccan under the prince. A large portion of Ahmadnagar remained independent under Murtazā Nizām Shāh II, the son of Shāh 'Alī, third son of Burhān I, as the nominal ruler but with Malik 'Ambar as the real power with whom the Mughuls made peace after minor engagements.

VII. REVOLT OF SALĪM

Akbar intended to deal with the kingdom of Bijāpur, Golconda and Bīdar but he had to leave the Deccan in April for the North where Salīm was in active mutiny. On 23 August, 1601, the emperor reached Āgra. His profligate son, who had disliked his bestowing favour on Dāniyāl, became impatient of the delay in securing the throne. As early as 1591[36a] he had displayed shameless eagerness to grasp sovereign power and nine years later, taking advantage of Akbar's preoccupation in the Deccan, attempted a *coup de main.* Salīm's revolt was not a protest of orthodox Islām against the heterodoxy of Akbar and Abu-'l-Fazl. Salīm did not champion the cause of Islāmic orthodoxy, as Count Von Noer states. When Akbar set out for the Deccan, the prince had been left in charge of the capital and entrusted with the task of suppressing the Rānā of Mewār in collaboration with Rājā Mān Singh. But he neither seriously carried out his father's instructions nor listened to his brother-in-law who advised him to accompany him to Bengal where he was transferred to deal with the rebellion of the Afghāns. He first made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Āgra and the Punjab and then crossing the Yamunā on 23 July, 1600, made for Allāhabād, evading an interview with his grandmother who hastened after him to dissuade him from his purpose. On arrival at Allāhabād he took possession of the treasures of Bihār amounting to 30 lakhs of Rupees and seized the territory from Kālpī to Hājīpur where he appointed his own officers. He sent an evasive reply to his father's letter from the Deccan. On his return to the capital Akbar opened negotiations with his rebel son but Salīm advanced towards Āgra at the head of 30,000 horse and reached Etāwa. Akbar despatched a letter of remonstrance and threat ordering the prince to return to Allāhabād and then offered him the government of Bengal and Orissa. Salīm disregarded the offer but returned to Allāhabād (May, 1602) where he set up as an independent monarch. He sent his envoy to Āgra to negotiate peace with his father who could hardly agree to his extravagant demands. Besides he struck coins in his own name and had the audacity to send specimens to confirm his sovereign powers. This fresh provocation moved Akbar to action which paternal affection as well as policy had so long prevented. He recalled from the Deccan his valued counsellor Abu-'l-Fazl who deeply resented the prince's foolish and shameless conduct and assured his sovereign that he would bring the 'king of Allāhabād' bound to court and immediately left for the capital. Salīm, who was jealous of the power and influence of the great minister, regarded him as his personal enemy and saw his impending doom. He apprehended that Abu-'l-Fazl's influence might cause Akbar to adopt a sterner attitude and even to take the extreme step of disinheriting him. He was determined to destroy Abu-'l-Fazl and commissioned Bīr Singh, the rebel Bundelā chieftain of Orchha, for this purpose. On 19 August 1602, the loyal bandit intercepted Abu-'l-Fazl between Sārāī Bīr and Antri[37] and with 500 horsemen fell upon the great minister, overpowered his insufficient escort and after severing the head from his body, sent it to Salīm at Allāhabād. It is strange to relate that this cultured prince received it with barbaric delight and treated the savage murder of the greatest savant of Muslim India with supreme contempt. Stranger still, even in his autobiography, which must have been written later and in calmer moments, he refers to the incident—tragic beyond measure—with almost brutal cynicism.

Akbar became furious and heart-broken. He had lost Rājā Bīrbal, the brilliant wit and poet, in 1586 due to his own mistake and in 1589 he had been deprived of two of his valued servants: Todar Mal, the great financier and Rājā Bhagwān Dās, the valiant commander. In 1593 his faithful counsellor Shaikh Mubārak died and two years later he lost his valued Poet Laureate Faizī; but the loss of Abu-'l-Fazl, his devoted counsellor and constant friend, overpowered him with grief and rage. For three days he abstained himself from appearing in public and he cried like a helpless child. The emperor ordered that the culprit should be hunted down and his head brought to court. Bīr Singh was hotly pursued and almost captured in the fortress of Erachh[38] but he managed to escape. This heightened the indignation of Akbar who deputed Asad Beg to investigate into the matter and Asad Beg reported great negligence on the part of the officers concerned.

Salīma Sultān Begam, the gifted widow of Bairam Khān and Akbar's cousin and wife, now offered her good offices to reconcile Salīm to his father. She went to Allāhabād and, succeeding in her mission, returned with the prince who was received by his grandmother one stage from Āgra and led into his father's presence. Salīm presented 12,000 gold *mohurs* and 770 elephants to Akbar who forgave his profligate son deserving capital punishment, received him kindly by a warm embrace and even designated him heir apparent. In October, 1603, Salīm was deputed to lead an expedition against the Rānā of Mewār but he expressed his reluctance and was permitted to return to Allāhabād. At Allāhabād Salīm gave himself up to opium and wine and committed the worst barbarities; he had the news-writer who reported his misdeeds flayed alive in his presence and one of his associates was castrated and another beaten to death. The other son of the emperor, Dāniyāl, who had just married a daughter of the 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, drank himself to death at Burhānpur in April, 1604.[39] Akbar himself set out for Allāhabād to punish his recalcitrant son, but he had to return to Āgra due to the serious illness of his mother who died on 10 September. Akbar deeply mourned her loss and discontinued his movement against Salīm who, by the persuasion of Mīr Sadr Jahān as well as due to the necessity for remaining at court to counteract the intrigues of Khusrav's partisans, agreed to submit and on 16 November arrived at court with rich presents for his father. Akbar welcomed him at the public audience but afterwards reproached him for his misconduct and imprisoned him in a room for ten days during which he was deprived of opium and wine. Thus ends the rebellion of Salīm whom Akbar could probably never forgive in all sincerity as the blood of Abu-'l-Fazl flowed between the grieved father and the unrepentant son.

Meanwhile at court there was a strong party led by Khān A'zam and Rājā Mān Singh who favoured the succession of Salīm's son Khusrav and induced Akbar to set aside the claim of his father. Khusrav was Khān A'zam's son-in-law and Rājā Mān Singh's nephew. Besides, Salīm's misconduct had created an unfavourable opinion of him as heir to the throne.

VIII. DEATH OF AKBAR — HIS PERSONALITY

On 3 October, 1605, Akbar fell ill with dysentery and the efforts of his best physician Hakīm 'Alī failed to cure him. Khān A'zam and Rājā Mān Singh now became alert and conspired to seize Salīm when he would next visit his dying father, but the prince was informed in time and was able to return safely from the court. The right of primogeniture had become customary in the Tīmūrid family and the two leaders were outvoted in a conference of the nobles, the majority of whom decided in favour of Salīm. The

Sayyids of Bārha supported his cause and the Rājputs of Rājā Rām Dās, the Kachhwāhā, guarded the treasury in his interest.

On 21 October, when at last Salīm visited his dying father, he could not speak; he made a sign asking his son to place the imperial turban on his head and gird himself with Humāyūn's sword. At midnight on 25-26 October the great monarch passed away, and next morning his body was borne in state to the garden of Bihishtābād (Sikandra), some six miles from Āgra, where he had commenced to build his own mausoleum.

"Happy the writer who shall tell the history of Catherine II", exclaimed Voltaire. A similar remark might be made with greater justice in regard to Akbar who is 'one of the hinges of history' and was great in an age of great rulers: Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, Sulaimān the Magnificent of Turkey and Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Persia were his contemporaries. We have contemporary portraits of the emperor: one from the pen of the Jesuit Father Monserrate and one from that of his son Jahāngīr and several from the brush of his court painters. Akbar was a man of medium height with broad shoulders, dark sparkling eyes, open forehead, long arms and wheat-coloured complexion. He was strongly built, neither thin nor stout. His eyebrows were narrow, eyelids heavy. His nose was of middle size and his nostrils were wide. Below his left nose was a mole of the size of a pea. His head drooped slightly over his right shoulder. His voice was loud, his conversation witty and animated. Normally he was dignified: when he laughed, he was distorted; in his wrath he was majestic. Altogether he was kingly and was easily recognized as the king in any assemblage of men.

The titanic and complex personality of the great Mughul is not easy to portray. Akbar was by nature humane and gentle, though occasionally he could be violent and cruel as when he ordered the general massacre of the vanquished garrison of Chitor and put a luckless lamp-lighter to death for the crime of having fallen asleep close to the royal couch. Chivalrous and just to all men, fundamentally sincere and straightforward, charitable and generous to a fallen foe, he could be perfidious and unscrupulous when expediency demanded it, as we find him in his treatment of Yūsuf Shāh of Kāshmir and Bahādur Shāh of Khāndesh. Genial and sociable, possessed of a magnetic personality and winning manners, he had 'super-abundant capacity for sympathy' and genius for gaining the love and affection of his people and the respect and admiration of his enemy. Moderate in his diet, he took but one full meal a day. A temperate drinker, he was fond of fruit; he disliked and ultimately abstained from flesh food. Possessed of radiant energy, he was essentially a man of action. Equally efficient in riding, polo and swordsmanship, he was an unerring shot and had practical knowledge of the mechanical arts. A true Tīmūrid in his dauntless personal courage, he would expose himself in battles and sieges and would not hesitate to risk his life by attacking a mighty tiger or by hand-to-hand challenge of the enemy as in the battle of Sarnāl. He possessed the essential qualities of a general: capacity for strategy and practical knowledge of war to a remarkable degree as well as swiftness of military movements that was perfectly Alexandrine. His mastery of speed and surprise was revealed in his wonderful *blitzkrieg* in Gujarāt. The siege of Chitor revealed him as an exact marksman. The Kābul campaign showed his mastery of detail and that of Bengal, where he defeated the Afghāns during the full rains, proved his contempt of time-honoured custom. His Central Asian policy, by which he maintained the balance by playing off 'Abdullah Khān of Bukhārā against Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, befriending both but helping neither, is well worthy of the *Roi Soleil* and testifies to his mastery in diplomacy. A man of soaring and boundless ambition, he was a self-confessed annexationist, an antithesis of the great Asoka whom he resembles in so many respects. He was an indefatigable worker at the trade of a king and would only sleep for three hours at night. His mind was as active as his body. Sincerely religious and God-fearing, he was a rationalist and a dreamer, a mystic and a seeker after truth: he covered under his inexhaustible energy a soul melancholy. Of his two inscriptions on the walls of the portico of the *Buland Darwāza,* one records the date of his proud conquest of Khāndesh and the Deccan and the other reminds all of the transitoriness of worldly things. He had an infectious enthusiasm for religious and philosophical discussions. He could neither read nor write, but he was not ignorant as Badāūnī would have us believe. Monserrate, who was impressed by his splendid versatility, testifies that in spite of his illiteracy, he was yet most learned (*doctissimus eruditissimusque*).[40] He was a man of many interests and varied tastes. He had books read to him on poetry, history, philosophy and theology and he had a prodigious memory. He took interest in music and to him the art of painting was a means to the realization of the greatness and glory of God. He not only laid the real foundation of the Mughul empire and conferred on the subjects of his far-flung dominion the blessings of *Pax Mughuliana,* but he was also the founder of Mughul polity and he made his capital the veritable Mecca of culture and civilization rivalling, if not surpassing, in grandeur Herāt of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Baiqara, the *grande monarque* of Central Asia. Architecture and gardening, calligraphy and painting, music and the minor arts, history and poetry, theology and philosophy, all were represented at his sumptuous court. He laid the foundation of the Mughul school of painting and the Mughul style of architecture. Persian as well as Hindī literature had a glorious revival under his generous patronage. Kausarī, the court poet of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, even regrets that the centre of Persian literature had shifted from Persia to Hindusthān. Even Sanskritic studies did receive his positive encouragement.[40a] Indeed Akbar took an important part in the evolution of Mughul civilization by the happy fusion and harmonious blending of Persian and Indian cultures; he himself was the very symbol of that synthesis.

Yet it has to be confessed that Akbar's knowledge, acquired through ears, could neither be methodical nor co-ordinated. He was a man of original ideas and bold conceptions. His administrative and military reforms reveal his constructive ability and organizational power. In his social reforms—the abolition of forced *satī*,[41] encouragement of widow remarriage and prohibition of child marriage—he anticipated the ideas of modern times. He believed in the divinity of kingship in regarding royalty as a 'light emanating from God' and by his character and work he raised the prestige of monarchy. He was a statesman *par excellence* with a masculine intellect, profound knowledge of human nature, judgment of problems and a vision of things afar: he could hear the beating of drums coming from a distant mart. He was the first Muslim ruler, Sher Shāh excepted, who accepted the responsibilities of government with the welfare of the governed as its objective. He gave a new orientation to Indo-Islāmic history. Few monarchs have come nearer to the ideal of a father of his people. As the apostle of *sulh-i-kull* (universal toleration) he stands unique. In his boyhood there were the fires of Smithfield in England, his contemporary was Philip II of Spain and he was followed a century later by the monarch of the Dragonnades. While the Duke of Alva by the stroke of his pen was massacring millions of people for their resistance to the authority of Rome, Abu-'l-Fazl was enunciating that 'persecution defeats its own purpose.' Like the *Buland Darwāza* that he built at Fathpur Sīkrī, Akbar towers far above his contemporary sovereigns and, with all his vices, he remains not only as one of the grandest monarchs known to history but 'one of the few royal figures that approach the stature of great men.'

1. *Badāūnī,* Tr. by Ranking, Vol. I, p. 2.

1a. Vambery, *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Ali Raiʿs,* pp. 56-58.

1b. Hodivala, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics,* pp. 265-66; ʿĀrif Qandahārī, *Tārīkh-i-Akbarī,* pp. 40-41.

2. There is a picture by the famous artist Khvāja ʿAbdus-Samad illustrating the incident, at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Reproduced in Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, p. 55.

3. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* June 1952, pp. 147-156.

4. This conclusion is not based on the statements of later chroniclers like Ahmad Yādgār and Van den Broecke as Vincent Smith has done in *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, pp. 527-34, but on the evidence of two really contemporary authorities: Bāyazīd Biyāt and ʿĀrif Qandahārī, supplemented by other chroniclers. For a full discussion see *Dacca University Studies,* November 1935, pp. 67-101.

5. Town in Kāshmir State 32° 38', 75° 24'; Thornton, *Gazetteer of India,* London, 1886.

6. Her mother was a daughter of Bābur. See the article on Salīma Begam in *J.A.S.B.*, 1906, and A.S. Beveridge, *Humāyun-nāma,* pp. 276-78.

7. The conflicting accounts in the chronicles make it difficult to say whether he was a saint or a charlatan.

7a. *Tab. Akbarī,* Eng. Transl. II, p. 112; *Tārīkh-i-Alfī,* I. O.Ms., ff. 423-4.

7b. Vide *Tab. Akbarī.* Eng. Transl. II., p. 238. The message runs thus; 'As I have come to such distance without consulting you, my attendants have become uneasy (lit. fallen into suspicion). It is best and proper if you will soothe them so that they may serve with composure of mind.'

8. Vincent Smith is wrong in his statement that Bairam Khān died as a young man of thirty-six or thirty-seven, *Akbar the Great Mogul,* p. 46, n. 2. See *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress,* 1949, pp. 191-195.

9. Two chronicles assert that Bairam Khān proceeded to the Punjab with a view to going to Mecca by way of Qandahār and Mashhad, holy for the Shiahs, the road to Gujarāt being controlled by Māl Dev, rājā of Jodhpur, who was hostile to Bairam, *Maʿdan-i-akhbār-i-Ahmadī.* f. 183 b and *Khāfī Khān,* Vol. I, pp. 146-47.

10. See *Journal of Indian History,* Vol. I, 1921, pp. 327-44. Also *Maʿdan-i-akhbār-i-Ahmadi,* f. 177 a and *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh,* I O.Ms., f. 103 b.

11. In Jubbulpur district. 23° 10′ N., 79° 57′ E.

12. In Narsinghpur district. 22° 46′ N., 78° 59′ E.

13. See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1904, 'A Forgotten City.'

14. Vide Chapter II.

15. For the Shaibānīds see Lane-Poole, *The Mohammadan Dynasties,* pp. 270-72.

16. *Cambridge Shorter History of India,* p. 346.

17. Firishta suggests that they wanted to retire to Mālwa with a view to joining the rebellious Mīrzās or forming an alliance with the sultāns of the Deccan, Briggs, Vol. II, p. 227; Text, Vol. II, p. 256.

18. The site of the battle named by Abu-'l-Fazl as 'Sakrawal' and Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāūnī as 'Mankarwal' cannot be properly identified.

19. He remained there until March 1572, when through the intercession of Munʿim Khān he obtained pardon and was granted Lakhnau as his fief where he died shortly after. ʿAbdullah Khān who had escaped from Gujarāt and joined Khān Zamān in Jaunpur had already died.

20. See Chapter III.

20a. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Rājputāna,* p. 132.

21. Major Price and Beveridge (*Akbar-nāma,* Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 464) and following them Vincent Smith also gave the incorrect date, 20 October.

22. *Akbar-nāma,* Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 333; Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India,* p. 85.

22a. Haig reads Nāgaur as Bāgor as he considers that Akbar should not have proceeded in a north-westerly direction from Ajmer when his objective lay to the south-west. But besides the MSS. of the *Akbar-nāma,* Nizam-ud-dīn, Badāūnī, Firishta and 'Abdul-Bāqī state that Akbar left Ajmer for Nāgaur.

22b. *Tab. Akbarī*, Eng. Trans. II, p. 403.

23. Moreland has rightly objected to the translation of *khālisa* as 'crown lands', *Agrarian System of Moslem India,* p. 29, n. 1.

23a. A town in Patna district.

23b. Tod. *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān,* Ed. by Crooke, I, p. 394.

23c. *Akbar-nāma,* Eng. Trans. II, p. 93.

23d. *Ibid,* III, p. 332.

23e. *Āīn-i-Akbarī,* Trans. by Jarrett, III, p. 394; *Badāūnī,* Trans. by Lowe, II, p. 213; *Akbar-nāma,* Eng. Trans., III, p. 397.

24. See *J.R.A.S.,* 1924, pp. 591-608, where Buckler emphasizes the importance of the 'declaration' in relation to the outer Islāmic world. There is no reason to believe, as Buckler does, that the early Mughul emperors acknowledged the sovereignty of the Safavī Shāhs or that the latter asserted the right of overlordship over the former. On this point see Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration,* pp. 156-58, and S.Ray, *Humāyūn in Persia,* pp. 58-60. See also Hollister, *The Shī'a of India,* pp. 133-34, London, 1953.

25. The date as given by Luis de Guzman is here accepted. See Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul,* p. 42.

26. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion,* Vol. II, pp. 97, 105-9.

27. Lowe, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh,* Vol. II, pp. 263-64.

27a. Ibid., p. 308; Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul,* p. 62.

27b. Freeman, *History and Conquests of the Saracens,* pp. 199-200.

27c. Von Noer, Havell, Yusuf Ali and following them M. L. Roy Chowdhury; Sri Ram Sharma and A. L. Srivastava rather do not consider it a religion.

28. Goldziher, *Mohammed and Islām,* p. 330.

28a. Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul,* p. 34. The Jesuit sources are Peruschi, du Jarric and *Informatione.*

28b. Maclagan, *op. cit.,* p. 34; Monserrate, *Commentarius* (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, iii, 1914), fol. 42a.

28c. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa,* Vol. II, p. 3.

28d. See *Akbar-nāma,* Eng. III, p. 431. '[Akbar]...had ordered for the encouragement of the army that the pay of the soldiers should be increased by 100 per cent. in Bengal and 50 per cent. in Bihār. The Khwāja [Shāh Mansūr]...did not understand the situation and took upon himself the responsibility of issuing an order to the effect that in Bengal the increase should be 50 per cent and in Bihār, 20 per cent. Muzaffar was bound by the order and made out the accounts from the beginning of the year, and so instituted heavy demands'. As pointed out by Beveridge in *Akbar-nāma,* III, footnote, p. 431, Mansūr reduced the pay and apparently Muzaffar made the reduction take effect from the beginning of the year and so *demanded repayment of the excess.* Therefore it comes to this that 'Muzaffar decreased the pay of the troops in Bengal by 50 per cent. and in Bihar by 30 per cent'. The pay was already increased and Muzaffar reduced it and demanded repayment. Shāh Mansūr was responsible for this measure, but in Bengal Muzaffar executed it. For tactlessness and severity, see J. N. Sarkar—*History of Bengal,* II, published by Dacca University, p. 196; *Badāūnī,* Eng. Trans., II, pp. 288-89.

29. Cf. *J.A.S.B.,* 1915, pp. 201-04; *Tab. Akbarī,* Eng. Trans., II; pp. 545-7, 553-4; *Badāūnī,* Trans. by Lowe, II, pp. 298-303; *Akbar-nāma,* Eng. Trans., III, pp. 501-505. *Maāsir-ul-Umarā,* Vol. I, pp. 656-7.

29a. *Akbar-nāma,* Eng. Trans., III., pp. 541-2; *Badāūnī,* Eng. Trans. by Lowe, II, p. 303; *Tab. Akbarī,* Eng. Trans., II, p. 551.

30. *History of Bengal,* Vol. II, p. 209, has 10 April, 1592 which seems incorrect. The battle took place on 31 Farwardīn or 6 Rajab, 1000 A.H., which yields

18 April, 1592. The error has been probably due to calculation based on Beveridge's conversion of 5 Jumāda II, 1000, into 11 March, 1592 at p. 927, A.N., iii.; it should be 19 march.

30a. 'Abdur Rahim, Mughal Relations with Central Asia, *Islamic Culture*, January 1937, pp. 81-90; R.C. Verma, *Foreign Policy of the Great Mughals*, pp. 58-59.

30b. Hoyland and Banerjee, *Commentaries of Fr. Monserrate*, p. 172.

30c. *Akbar-nāma*, Eng. Trans., III, p. 758.

30d. For rivalry and jealousy over the Caliphate issue, Cf. Arnold, *The Caliphate.*

30e. *Akbar-nāma*, Eng. Trans., III, pp. 757-8.

31. The letter is reproduced in J. C. Locke, *The First Englishmen in India*, London, 1930, pp. 31-32. It is the earliest communication between the Governments of the two countries.

31a. In Ellichpur district.

32. 20° 37′ N. and 76° 11′ E.

33. 20° 19′ N. and 74° 15′ E.

34. *Burhān-i-Maāsir*, Eng. Trans. in *Indian Antiquary*, November 1923, p. 345.

35. The above date is given by Abu-'l-Fazl who himself was present at the gate of the fort. According to the inscription on the front wall of the Jāmi' Masjid in the fort, the date was 26 January, 1601.

36. The siege of Asīrgarh has been a controversial point in Akbar's history. The Jesuit version of the incident is at variance with that of the Muslim chronicles. After careful examination Payne has come to the definite conclusion that the 'Jesuit references to the Deccan campaigns are vague and inaccurate.' The exhaustive researches of Payne have conclusively overthrown V. A. Smith's charge against Abu-'l-Fazl that he was guilty of deliberate perversion of the truth. According to Du Jarric, Muqarrab Khān, the commandant's son, was killed by Akbar when he reported his father's refusal to surrender the fort, while according to the Muslim chronicles he committed suicide to avoid the critical situation. For a detailed discussion see Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, pp. 248-258; *Akbar-nāma*, Eng. Trans., Vol. III, pp. 1168-69; *Indian Antiquary*, 1918, pp. 180-83; and V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 272-86 and 297-300. V. A. Smith unjustly accused Abu-'l-Fazl without consulting the *Akbar-nāma;* Abu-'l-Fazl, indeed, does not conceal the fact of Akbar's treachery and his recourse to bribery.

36a. *Badāūnī*, Lowe, II, p. 390.

37. Sarāī Bīr is about 12 miles from Narwar while Antrī is about 6 miles away from it, Blochmann, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, XLVIII. Abu-'l-Fazl's tomb is at Antrī.

38. On the Betwa in Jhānsī district.

39. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, pp. 34-35, and V. A. Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 331-32. The supplement to the *Akbar-nāma* gives the date as March, 1605.

40. *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius* by Father Anthony Monserrate, S. J., edited by Rev. H. Hosten, S. J., in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, iii, No. 9, Calcutta, 1914, p. 643.

40a. J. B. Chaudhuri, *Muslim patronage to Sanskrit learning*, pp. 86-88.

41. Akbar saved the widow of Jai Mal, a cousin of Rājā Bhagwān Dās, from *satī* forced on her by her son whom he punished by imprisonment.

CHAPTER VI

JAHĀNGĪR

Jahāngīr was born on Wednesday, 9 September, 1569,[1] at Fathpur Sīkrī. A child of many prayers,[2] he was named Muhammad Sultān Salīm, though Akbar always, whether drunk or sober, addressed him as 'Shaikhu Bābā.' His early education was entrusted to a famous Muslim divine, Maulānā Mīr Kalan Harvī, and later to Shaikh Ahmad, the prince's foster-father, and to Qutb-ud-dīn Muhammad Khān Atga. In 1582, Akbar put him in charge of the famous 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-Khānān, son of Bairam Khān. Jahāngīr acquired proficiency in Persian and Turkish and became an excellent calligraphist. He also showed considerable interest in history, geography, botany, zoology and art. As was customary with the Tīmūrid princes of those days, Prince Salīm was placed in nominal charge of large detachments of the army in the important Kābul campaign of 1581, when he was only twelve years of age. In the following year, he was placed in nominal charge of the departments of justice and public celebrations.

At the age of fifteen, Salīm was married to Man Bāi, daughter of Rājā Bhagawān Dās of Amber. She died in 1604, to the utter grief of Salīm, who recalls her "perfect intelligence" and "her excellences and goodness" with affection in his *Memoirs*.[3]

Salīm's relations with his father, who had always doted on him, were estranged when he came of age. His indecent eagerness to grasp power, his jealousy of Abu-'l-Fazl and Akbar's dislike of his excesses were primarily responsible for this. Reference has already been made in the preceding Chapter to Salim's open revolt against his father, the murder of Abu-'l-Fazl at his instigation, court-conspiracy against him in favour of Khusrav's succession, Salīm's reconciliation with Akbar and accession after the latter's death. On his accession, Salīm assumed the name Jahāngīr (Holder of the World) and the title of Nūr-ud-dīn (Light of the Faith).

Jahāngīr ascended the throne in the fort of Āgra on 3 November, 1605, at the age of thirty-six. His triumph over Khusrav and his partisans was not marred by any acts of retaliation. Friends and political opponents were all alike recipients of favours. Bīr Singh Bundelā, the murderer of Abu-'l-Fazl, was raised to the dignity of a commander of 3000. The sons and relatives of his patron saint, Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, were given ranks and offices beyond their hopes and abilities, and this caused much heart-burning among the older officers. "Jahāngīr", says Asād Beg, "began to win the hearts of all the people and officers, and to rearrange the withered world."

One of Jahāngīr's earliest orders, which he mentions with pardonable pride in his *Memoirs,* was the setting up of a chain of justice made of pure gold, thirty *gaz* long, with sixty bells upon it. One end was attached to a battlement of the fort of Āgra and the other to a stone column on the bank of the river. Anyone who failed to secure justice might pull the end outside the fort in order to draw the attention of the Emperor so that the latter might redress his grievances. Later European writers speak of it as a piece of "silly make-believe" and doubt if it were ever used by a person in distress. This criticism is not fair. The chain was a symbol of Jahāngīr's determination to dispense justice fairly and firmly without fear or favour, and whatever his shortcomings may have been—and they were many—he remained true to his ideal of a justice-loving ruler. Asād Beg judiciously remarks: "For the consolation of the hearts of his people, he suspended the chain of justice and removed the rust of oppression from their hearts". The chain of justice was an emblem of his accessibility and of his desire to redress wrongs.

Another of his important acts was the issuing of the Twelve Ordinances for the better government of the country. It is best to let Jahāngīr speak for himself.

"I also gave twelve orders to be observed as rules of conduct (*dastūru-'l-amal*) in all my dominions—

"1. Forbidding the levy of cesses under the names of *tamghā* and *mīr baḥrī* (river tolls), and other burdens which the *jāgīrdārs* of every province and district had imposed for their own profit.

"2. On roads where thefts and robberies took place, which roads might be at a little distance from habitations, the *jāgīrdārs* of the neighbourhood should build *sarā'īs* (public rest-houses), mosques, and dig wells, which might stimulate population, and people might settle down in those *sarā'īs.* If these should be near a *Khāliṣa* estate (under direct State management), the administrator (*mutaṣaddī*) of that place should execute the work.

"3. The bales of merchants should not be opened on the roads without informing them and obtaining their leave.

"4. In my dominions if anyone, whether unbeliever or Musalman, should die, his property and effects should be left for his heirs, and no one should interfere with them. If he should have no heir, they should appoint inspectors and separate guardians to guard the property, so that its value might be expended in lawful expenditure, such as the building of mosques and *sarā'īs,* the repair of broken bridges, and the digging of tanks and wells.

"5. They should not make wine or rice-spirit (*darbahra*) or any kind of intoxicating drug, or sell them; although I myself drink wine, and from the age of 18 years up till now, when I am 38, have persisted in it. When I first took a liking to drinking I sometimes took as many as twenty cups of double-distilled spirit; when by degrees it acquired a great influence over me I endeavoured to lessen the quantity, and in the period of seven years I have brought myself from fifteen cups to five or six. My times for drinking were varied; sometimes when three or four sidereal hours of the day remained I would begin to drink, and sometimes at night and partly by day. This went on till I was 30 years old. After that I took to drinking always at night. Now I drink only to digest my food.

"6. They should not take possession of any person's house.

"7. I forbade cutting off the nose or ears of any person, and I myself made a vow by the throne of God that I would not blemish anyone by this punishment.

"8. I gave an order that the officials of the Crown lands and the *jāgīrdārs* should not forcibly take the ryots' lands and cultivate them on their own account.

"9. A government collector or a *jāgīrdār* should not without permission intermarry with the people of the *parganā* in which he might be.

"10. They should found hospitals in the great cities, and appoint physicians for the healing of the sick; whatever the expenditure might be, it should be given from the *Khāliṣa* establishment.

"11. In accordance with the regulations of my revered father, I ordered that each year from the 18th of *Rabīʿu-l-awwal* which is my birthday, for a number of days corresponding to the years of my life, they should not slaughter animals (for food). Two days in each week were also forbidden, one of them Thursday, the day of my accession, and the other Sunday, the day of my father's birth. (He held this day in great esteem on this account, and because it was dedicated to the sun and also because it was the day on which

Creation began. Therefore it was one of the days on which there was no killing in his dominions).

"12. I gave a general order that the offices and *jāgīrs* of my father's servants should remain as they were. Later, the *manṣabs* (ranks or offices) were increased according to each one's circumstances by not less than 20 per cent. to 300 or 400 per cent. The subsistence money of the *aḥadīs* was increased by 50 per cent., and I raised the pay of all domestics by 20 per cent. I increased the allowances of all the veiled ladies of my father's harem from 20 per cent. to 100 per cent. according to their condition and relationship. By one stroke of the pen I confirmed the subsistence lands of the holders of *aimas* (charity lands) within the dominions, who form the army of prayer, according to the deeds in their possession. I gave an order to Mīrān Ṣadr Jahān, who is one of the genuine Sayyids of India, and who for a long time held the high office of *Ṣadr* (ecclesiastical officer) under my father, that he should every day produce before me deserving people (worthy of charity). I released all criminals who had been confined and imprisoned for a long time in the forts and prisons."[4]

A careful analysis of these ordinances shows Jahāngīr's genuine desire to ensure to his subjects freedom of person and security of life and property, and his solicitude for their material and moral welfare. The fact that these regulations did not in effect serve the purpose they were intended for, at least to the degree desired by Jahāngīr, does not detract from his honest and sincere desire to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects without distinction of class or creed. The regulations are "remarkable for the humanity, justice and political sagacity which pervades them."

The reign which opened with such promise was marred by the rebellion of Jahāngīr's son, Khusrav. The attempt to place Khusrav on the throne failed; father and son were reconciled and Jahāngīr, either from policy or large-heartedness, restored his son to his former favour. Khusrav, whom Jerry describes as a "gentleman of a very lovely presence and fine courage" and of great personal charm and well-educated, was immature and inexperienced. The affection bestowed upon him by his father and grandfather and the people of the court and the camp had made him wilful and restive. The fact that he had nearly succeeded in displacing his father had roused his ambition and filled him with a grievance. Jahāngīr did all that was possible to set Khusrav's mind at rest, but at the same time maintained a careful watch over his movements. Khusrav, petulant and peevish, constantly brooding over the loss of a position for which he had neither the claim nor the talents, and encouraged by his companions who kept his resentment alive for their personal ends, escaped from Āgra on 6 April, 1606. He made his way to the Punjab, raising troops on the way. The anxiety of Jahāngīr, when he heard of this, was genuine. "My distress arose", he says, "from the thought that my son without any cause or reason had become my enemy, and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, dissatisfied and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Uzbeks or Kizilbashes (Persians) and thus dishonour would fall upon my throne."[4a]

Jahāngīr followed Khusrav in person. Khusrav had neither the capacity to organise a successful revolt nor moral and material support of any influential party in the State. The people seem to have liked and loved him as a prince but had no desire to have him as their ruler.

When the prince reached Lahore, the governor closed the gates against him and resisted all the attempts of the rabble Khusrav had collected. Hearing that imperial reinforcements were coming, Khusrav raised the siege and tried to cross the Chenab. His army, ill led, ill equipped and ill organized, was defeated at Bhairowāl. The prince tried to make a dash for Kābul, but the whole country was up against him. He was captured and conducted to Lahore, where he was presented before Jahāngīr in fetters.

Khusrav, trembling and weeping, wanted to fall on the feet of Jahāngīr, who sternly ordered him to stand in his place, and put him in confinement. He further directed a double row of stakes to be set up from the garden to the city and several hundred of the rebels were impaled thereon. Two leading rebels were punished more severely. Hasan Beg was sewn up in the fresh hide of an ox and 'Abdur-Rahīm in that of an ass. Others were let off with lighter punishments.

Arjun, the fifth *Guru* of the Sikhs, an innocent helper of Khusrav, was unwittingly drawn into the whirlpool of this palace intrigue. Khusrav on his way to Lahore had stayed at Taran Taran and was well received by the *Guru* who felt compassion for him and gave him Rs. 5,000. The *Guru* was at first fined by the Government, but as he refused to pay the fine, he was sentenced to death. The death of the *Guru* sowed the seeds of hatred between the Sikhs and the Muslims which the passage of time did not diminish. The execution of the *Guru* was not an act of religious persecution, but it was politically unwise and the Mughuls paid a heavy penalty for it.[5]

Prince Khusrav was later ordered to be blinded, after an insurrection was attempted in his favour. But Jahāngīr afterwards relented and, under the treatment of a Persian physician, Khusrav regained the sight of one eye.

Akbar had succeeded during his lifetime in coercing or cajoling the proud Rājput rulers into acknowledging the supremacy of the Mughuls. Rājput soldiers and statesmen had distinguished themselves by their reckless and romantic courage on many battlefields, and by their wisdom and knowledge of the country and its people in the council-chamber. But the Rājput State of Mewār held aloof and continued to wage an unequal fight against superior Mughul organization and resources. The failure of Mughul military operations against Mewār towards the end of Akbar's reign was in a large measure due to the half-hearted way in which Jahāngīr as Prince Salīm had conducted the operations; his rebellion later called a halt to any further advance.

The first military expedition undertaken by Jahāngīr was against Rānā Amar Singh of Mewār. An army of 20,000 horse was despatched under the command of Prince Parvīz and Āsaf Khān (Ja'far Beg). A battle was fought at Dewar but its issue was doubtful as both sides claimed victory. The rebellion of Khusrav, which occurred during the course of this war, necessitated the withdrawal of the army.

A second expedition was sent in 1608 under the command of Mahābat Khān, but in spite of some initial success the Mughuls made no effective headway against the Rājputs. In 1609 Mahābat Khān was replaced by 'Abdullah Khān, "a valiant soldier, a rash commander and a cruel and rebellious sort of man." The war dragged on till 'Abdullah Khān was sent as governor of Gujarāt and the command given to Rājā Basu. Jahāngīr was thoroughly dissatisfied with the halting way in which the operations were being conducted and appointed Khān A'zam 'Azīz Kuka and Prince Khurram to the command of the forces operating against Mewār. As was inevitable, Khurram and 'Azīz Kuka quarrelled and the latter had to be recalled. The command then devolved on Prince Khurram who now carried on the operations in right earnest. Bit by bit, the country was devastated and the Rānā's supplies were cut off, while the net closed round him. The spirit of Rānā Amar Singh was broken and he submitted in desperate straits. Jahāngīr accepted the submission, graciously received Rānā Amar Singh's son, and restored Mewār, including Chitor, to the Rānā but on the express condition that Chitor was neither to be repaired nor re-fortified. Jahāngīr was rightly very jubilant over the successful conclusion of the long campaign which had taxed the resources of the empire to the utmost. His treatment of the fallen foe was both magnanimous and wise. Now that the hereditary enemy of the Mughul family had rendered submission, Jahāngīr could afford to be generous. He complacently closes his account of the campaign with the following remarks: "My lofty mind was always desirous, as far as possible, not to destroy the old families."

Akbar had to put an end to his personal conduct of the Deccan campaign after the siege of Asīrgarh in 1601 on account of Salīm's rebellion. After Akbar's return the campaigns were carried on indifferently and further advance and consolidation were rendered impossible by the senseless factiousness of Mughul officers. When Jahāngīr turned to the Deccan after his armies had been relieved from the Mewār campaign, he found himself faced with the famous Malik 'Ambar, one of the ablest soldiers, administrators and statesmen the Deccan has produced.

Malik 'Ambar was an Abyssinian by birth. He had served for a long time under the Nizām Shāhī rulers and by sheer ability and force of character had risen to the highest position in the kingdom. After the fall of Ahmadnagar he retired to Khirki with a scion of the reigning family, Murtaza Nizām Shāh. His loyalty to the Nizām Shāhī dynasty was equalled by his intense dislike of the Mughuls, and he devoted his energy to the difficult task of rebuilding the shattered administration of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom. He raised a strong and well-disciplined army and organized the revenue system on the model of Rājā Todar Mal's settlement in the north. He was the first Deccan statesman to conceive the possibility of raising a people's army out of the Marāthā peasantry and to the "traditional mode of warfare (of the Mughuls) he opened a new system of tactics which was remarkably successful during his lifetime."

Malik 'Ambar started by recovering some of the territories lost to the Mughuls in the time of Akbar. In 1608 Jahāngīr sent the Khān Khānān to the Deccan. The Khān having failed to compose the differences amongst the Mughul officers, Prince Parvīz was appointed governor of Khāndesh and Berār (1609). He had neither the talent nor the energy and inclination for strenuous military pursuits. Thomas Roe, who visited him there, has left a graphic account of the pomp and ceremony of the court of Parvīz. The Prince delighted in show but was slow in action. The campaign, which now assumed a defensive character, dragged on without much success from 1609 to 1615. The Khān Khānān, Khān Jahān Lodī, Khān Zamān, Mān Singh and 'Abdullah Khān were tried in turn. They failed and frittered away their energies in senseless recrimination against each other to the advantage of the enemy. The Khān Khānān was again put in charge of the operations in 1612, and won some successes, but he was ultimately relieved of his command by Prince Khurram whose military fame, owing to the brilliant conclusion of the Mewār expedition, was then at its height.

Prince Khurram reached Burhānpur in 1617 and Jahāngīr moved to Māndū at the same time. The presence of the Mughul prince in the Deccan with a superbly equipped army filled the Deccanis with dismay. The long and disastrous war had sapped the material resources of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, and when Khurram proposed peace on the payment of tribute and the restoration of the lost territory, the offer was readily accepted by 'Ambar as well as the Bijāpur ruler. The territory of Bālāghāt was ceded to the Mughuls and the keys of the forts of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds were delivered. Khurram appointed his own officers to the recovered territory and retired to Māndū amidst great rejoicings and festivities. But all that Khurram had succeeded in doing was to patch up a peace with the recalcitrant forces of the Deccan kingdoms. "Nothing could", writes Beni Prasad, "conceal the stern reality that the expenditure of millions of rupees and thousands of lives had not advanced the Mughal frontier a single mile beyond the limits of 1605."[5a]

How temporary the peace was became evident when by 1620 the astute Malik 'Ambar won back all that he had lost by the previous treaty. In 1621, the relations between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar became strained and both kingdoms sought the Mughul alliance. The Mughuls closed in with the offer of Bijāpur, and Malik 'Ambar proceeded to harass the territories of that State. His death in 1626 at the age of eighty (lunar year) sealed the fate of Ahmadnagar and opened up the Deccan to Mughul designs. Mu'tamid Khān, otherwise very hostile to Malik 'Ambar, has testified to his great qualities in the following oft-quoted words: "This 'Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgement, and in administration he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory (*Kazzāki*) warfare, which in the language of the Dakhin is called *bargi-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence."[6]

One of the important military achievements of the Mughul armies under Jahāngīr was the capture of Kāngra. The fort of Kāngra, perched on the crest of a lofty hill, had long defied all earlier attempts against it. Tradition declares that it had been attacked no less than fifty-four times.

In 1615, Murtaza Khān and Suraj Mal were commissioned to capture the fort. Suraj Mal was accused of hampering the operations and recalled. On the death of Murtaza Khān, Suraj Mal was again placed in command, but this time he broke into open revolt, allied himself with the hill chiefs, and plundered the imperial territory. Rājā Bikramajit was next sent into the valley and he succeeded in recovering the lost imperial prestige. The Rājā of Chambā, who had helped Suraj Mal, submitted and Suraj Mal's property was confiscated and given over to Jagat Singh. The siege of Kāngra now began in right earnest, and, after a stout resistance of fourteen months, the garrison surrendered on 16 November, 1620. Jahāngīr visited the fort a year later with some Muslim divines, and to celebrate the occasion a mosque was built in the fortress.[6a]

In 1611 Rājā Kalyān, son of Rājā Todar Mal, subdued Khardā in Orissa. The Rājā submitted but rebelled in 1617, and his territory was finally annexed to the empire. In 1615, Khokhar was captured with its valuable diamond mines. In 1617, the Jām of Navānagar and Bahara, two Cutch chiefs, were subdued, and three years later Kishtwār, to the south of Kāshmīr, submitted to the Mughuls.

The Afghāns had not been fully reconciled to the loss of their political power in India at the hands of the Mughuls. Though a rising of the Afghāns on an all-India scale was out of the question, ambitious Afghān officers were constantly chafing against the Mughul yoke. In 1599, 'Usmān Khān had rebelled in Bengal, and though Mān Singh put down the rising, the Afghāns continued to give trouble in the earlier years of Jahāngīr's reign. Frequent changes of provincial governors, the distance of Bengal from the capital, and the fact that Jahāngīr's attention was diverted to more serious and larger issues nearer home were responsible for the easy and indifferent manner in which the Afghān rebels were treated. But on 1 April, 1612, Jahāngīr was informed of the victory against the Afghāns and the death of the leader 'Usmān, "the last of the brave Afghāns."

Bengal, one of the most difficult provinces of India to conquer and consolidate, had taxed to the utmost the military power of Akbar because of its distance from Delhi and the power of the irreconcilable Afghān nobility, who, on being uprooted from the Gangetic plain, had found refuge there. In order to consolidate the newly conquered province Akbar had entered into a friendly alliance with Nara Nārāyan, the ruler of Cooch Behār, on the north-east of Bengal, in 1579. The domestic troubles of Cooch Behār led to its division into two States and weakened it considerably. Also the original friendly alliance soon became an instrument of imperial expansion in that region, and by 1596, Cooch Behār had become politically subject to the Mughuls. With the appointment of 'Alā-ud-dīn Islām Khān as the governor of Bengal, a change came over the attitude of the Mughuls towards their erstwhile ally, the ruler of Cooch Behār, who was reduced to the position of a tributary vassal in 1609.

Lakshmī Nārāyan of Cooch Behār, having lost his independence, turned to avenge his humiliation by inciting the Mughul governor against his turbulent cousin, King Parīkshit of Kāmrūp. The Mughul governor was not slow in taking advantage of his invitation and in 1613, after a nine months' campaign, he succeeded in conquering Kāmrūp. Direct contact of the Mughuls with the Āhom kings of Assam began after the fall of the kingdom of Kāmrūp. Imperialistic designs, border disputes and the desire of the Mughuls for active trade relations with Assam, which the latter did not encourage, ultimately led to the invasion of Assam.

At the end of the rainy season of 1615, a large Mughul force was sent under Sayyid Abū Bakr. The army moved to Kohata, the frontier town on the Bar Nadi, and halted there for reinforcements. The struggle opened with an attack on Kajali, the Āhom frontier post on the south-west, and the defeat of the Assamese. The Mughuls moved up to Saurdhara but, in spite of initial victories, they could not retain the initiative. The Mughul army met with a serious defeat and the campaign closed ignominiously. The Āhom king retaliated by creating trouble in Kāmrūp and made the consolidation of the rule of the Mughuls difficult by inciting the local chiefs against them.

One of the most fascinating figures of Mughul India, around whom fact and fiction have woven a web of romance, was the famous Nūr Jahān, whom Jahāngīr married in 1611 and who survived him by eighteen years. Mīrzā Ghiyās Beg, the father of Nūr Jahān, belonged to a noble family of Tehran, and his father had served as governor of Yazd under Shāh Tahmāsp. The family fell on evil days after the death of Ghiyās's father, and Ghiyās Beg migrated to India in search of employment and fortune. On his way to India, near Qandahār, under very distressing circumstances, his daughter, Mihr-un-nisa, was born in 1577. Mīrzā Ghiyās travelled to India and was presented by Malik Mas'ūd to Akbar at Fathpur Sīkrī. Being a talented and experienced man, he soon rose in the estimation of the Emperor and was appointed *dīwān* or superintendent of the household. "He was considered", says Mu'tamid Khān, "exceedingly clever and skilful, both in writing and in transacting business. He had studied the old poets and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words; . . . his generosity and beneficence to the poor was such that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In taking bribes, however, he was very bold and daring."[6b]

At the age of eighteen Mihr-un-nisa was married to 'Alī Qulī Beg Istajlu, better known as Sher Afgan (the tiger thrower), who had first served under Shāh Isma'īl II and had then come to India and taken service under Akbar. In the reign of Jahāngīr, 'Alī Qulī Beg received a suitable *manṣab*, was styled Sher Afgan and given a *jāgīr* in Bengal. It was reported to Jahāngīr that Sher Afgan was insubordinate and disposed to rebellion. Qutb-ud-dīn, who was sent to Bengal as governor in 1606, confirmed the reports of Sher Afgan's disloyal intentions and was instructed to send him to the court. But Sher Afgan slew Qutb-ud-dīn during an interview and was killed by the followers of Qutb-ud-dīn. Mihr-un-nisa was sent to the capital and entrusted to the care of Jahāngīr's mother. Jahāngīr has been accused of complicity in the murder of Sher Afgan, but there is no evidence in contemporary records to substantiate the charge. "A careful perusal of contemporary chronicles", writes Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "leaves upon our minds the impression that the circumstances of Sher Afgan's death are of a highly suspicious nature, although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the emperor was guilty of the crime."[7] Four years after the death of her former husband, Mihr-un-nisa was married to Jahāngīr. She received the title of Nūr Mahall and later on of Nūr Jahān, by which title she is most popularly known. The young widow, whose charm of personality was indescribable, and who had profound attachment to Jahāngīr, soon gained ascendancy at the court. Her success raised her ambitions, and as her husband's mental and physical powers declined, her influence and her active participation in State affairs increased. Mu'tamid Khān's plain account is both authentic and reliable: "All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth. No grant of land was conferred upon any woman except under her seal. In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Nūr Jahān the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this superscription: 'By order of the King Jahāngīr, gold has a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nūr Jahān, the Queen Begam.' On all *farmāns* also receiving the Imperial signature, the name of 'Nūr Jahān, the Queen Begam', was jointly attached. At last, her authority reached such a pass that the king was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nūr Jahān Begam and would say, "I require nothing beyond a *sir* of wine and half a *sir* of meat." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned."[8]

One immediate effect of Nūr Jahān's influence was the rapid promotion her brother (Āsaf Khān) and father (I'timād-ud-daula) received. But both of them amply deserved the confidence which the emperor reposed in them by reason of their outstanding personal abilities. Even without Nūr Jahān to help them, they would have pushed their way up. But Nūr Jahān accelerated their promotion and the Mughuls gained greatly by the ability and the devotion of these two highly gifted and talented officers. In 1612, Arjumand Bānū Begam, better known as Mumtāz Mahall, daughter of Āsaf Khān, was married to Prince Khurram. "This marriage", says Beni Prasad, "symbolised the alliance of Nūr Jahān, I'timād-ud-daula, and Āsaf Khān with the heir-apparent. For the next ten years this clique of four supremely capable persons practically ruled the empire. What has been called Nūr Jahān's sway was really the sway of these four personages."

Nūr Jahān's political career may be divided into two periods. From 1611 to 1622, she exercised on the whole a sobering and beneficent influence in politics. Her parents, who had seen the vicissitudes of life, had a restraining influence on her. During this period, she worked in close collaboration with Prince Khurram whose cause she furthered. In 1620, Lādlī Begam, Nūr Jahān's daughter by her former husband, was betrothed to prince Shahryār. This introduced an unbalancing factor in her relationship with Khurram. The latter had won a position for himself in the court and the camp; he no longer stood in need of the support of Nūr Jahān, and in fact resented her interference. From 1622 Prince Khurram and Nūr Jahān drifted apart. Jahāngīr fell more and more under the exclusive influence of Nūr Jahān and the older nobility fretted and fumed at the power and influence of her family. Mahābat Khān had the courage to represent to the emperor: "Has His Majesty read in any of the histories of ancient sovereigns that there was a king so subject to the will of his wife?" "But the influence of Nūr Jahān," the author of *Intekhab-i-Jahāngīr Shāh,* regretfully declares, "had wrought so much upon his mind that if 200 men like Mahābat Khān had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him." Mahābat Khān favoured the cause of Prince Khurram who was feared as a rival by Nūr Jahān and Prince Khusrav alike. Prince Khurram succeeded in getting the custody of this ill-fated prince, took him to the Deccan, and in January, 1622, Jahāngīr was informed from Burhānpur that Khusrav had died of colic. According to De Laet, Khusrav was murdered in his bedroom by one Raza, at the instance of Prince Khurram. Khusrav was hurriedly buried in Burhānpur, but later his mortal remains were transferred to Allāhabād, and buried in a garden which came to be known as Khusrav-bāgh.

Jahāngīr's health was rapidly deteriorating and Nūr Jahān and Khurram both looked about for allies. Khurram refused to be diverted to the Qandahār campaign; he wished to be near the scene of action in case of his father's death. He seized some of the *jāgīrs* of Nūr Jahān and Prince Shahryār and, when his father reprimanded him and warned him of the consequences of his impudence, he turned a deaf ear. "He persisted in his perverse course", Jahāngīr writes, "and, preferring the way of disobedience to the path of duty, took a decided step on the road to perdition by marching upon Āgra." Khurram hoped to capture Āgra before it could be put in a state of preparation, but in this he did not succeed. He reached Fathpur and plundered the country. The rebels marched towards Delhi but were defeated near Balochpur in 1623. The Prince retired to Mālwa and thence to the Deccan.

Failing to get help from Malik 'Ambar, Khurram occupied Bihār and captured Rohtās. But at Allāhabād he found the imperial officers alert and went back to the Deccan. Finally, despairing of success, he wrote to his father begging forgiveness for his conduct. Jahāngīr accepted Khurram's submission on condition of his surrendering the forts of Rohtās and Asīr and giving his two sons, Dārā and Aurangzīb, as hostages. Khurram complied and proceeded to Nasik. The rebellion of Khurram had seriously affected the prestige of the empire, hampered the military operations for the recovery of Qandahār and wasted the resources of the State in men and money.

The humiliation of Khurram gave secret joy to Nūr Jahān, but the prominent part played by Mahābat Khān in liquidating Khurram's rebellion and Mahābat's alliance with Prince Parvīz was not to her liking. With the object of separating them, Mahābat Khān was ordered either to proceed to Bengal or to repair to the court. Various charges were brought against him. He was said to have realized large sums of money due to the State and also from the *jāgirs;* he had not sent to the court the elephants obtained in Bengal; and, finally, he was guilty of contumacy in betrothing his daughter to the son of Khvāja Umar Naqshbandi, without the previous permission of the emperor, who visited his wrath on the young man by openly disgracing him and seizing all that Mahābat Khān had given him.

Mahābat Khān obeyed the royal summons and came north from the Deccan with 4000 brave Rājputs personally attached to him. Jahāngīr was then on his way to Kābul and was encamped on the banks of the Jhelum. Āsaf Khān, who was with the emperor, crossed over to the other side with the troops, women and children, but before the emperor could go across, Mahābat Khān captured the bridge and stationed 2000 of his Rājputs there, while he himself proceeded to the royal camp and placed the emperor practically under arrest. When Nūr Jahān heard of it, she collected her officers, bitterly reproached her brother and attempted to cross the river. The attempt failed though Nūr Jahān later succeeded in joining her husband in captivity. Āsaf Khān fled and shut himself in the fort of Attock and later on submitted to Mahābat. Nūr Jahān was now left entirely to her own resources, but she did not lose her nerves and continued "to work against Mahābat both in private and in public." Mahābat Khān throughout behaved with courtesy towards the emperor. He had no backing except of his Rājputs and there was no prince of the royal blood in his hands at the time to serve as a trump card. Jahāngīr on the return journey from Kābul succeeded in going over to Rohtās and Mahābat Khān, whose temporary chagrin had forced him into the disloyal course, submitted.[9] He was ordered to release Āsaf Khān and to proceed against Prince Khurram, who had retired into Sindh and was again on the warpath. Mahābat went and joined the Prince who later left for Nasik. Jahāngīr's health was now completely shattered and while returning to Lahore he died on 7 November, 1627.

National and personal considerations had induced Akbar to cultivate relations of friendship with the Portuguese. But he does not appear to have gained much advantage from the courtesy shown to the Jesuit Fathers or the concessions granted to the Portuguese. At one time Akbar wrote to ‘Abdullah Khān Uzbeg that he intended to drive the Portuguese into the sea. After the capture of Asīrgarh, Akbar's enthusiasm for them appears to have cooled but relations were not estranged. Jahāngīr desired to maintain friendly relations with them and he sent an embassy to Goa in 1607, and another in 1610. He was, however, thoroughly annoyed with the Portuguese when in 1613 they seized four imperial vessels near Surāt. Failing to get satisfaction, Muqarrab Khān, the governor of Surāt was ordered to chastise the Portuguese. The Mughul commander wisely and skilfully managed to come to terms with Downton, the English sea-captain, so as to remedy his own naval impotence—the weakest point in the Mughul armour. This enabled the Mughul commander to inflict a naval defeat on the Portuguese. The privileges granted to the Portuguese were withdrawn, the churches at Āgra and Lahore were forcibly closed and the Portuguese living in the empire were arrested, wherever they could be found. The Jesuits, however, succeeded in restoring harmony in 1615.

Jahāngīr came into contact with the Jesuits during the lifetime of his father. He always treated the Jesuit Fathers with great courtesy and consideration and they held high hopes of his conversion to Christianity. But Jahāngīr was too good a Muslim and too proud a Mughul to accept baptism. It has been alleged that Jahāngīr's conciliatory attitude was due to the hopes of Portuguese assistance in case his peaceful succession to the throne was contested. That he sided with the Fathers in their debates with the Muslim divines was due to the delight it gave him to see the *mullahs,* always rigid and self-opinionated, worsted in polemical disputes. The veneration he showed to the pictures of Jesus and Mary was due to his personal passion for works of art and to the average Muslim's respect for Christ. He followed the policy of his father in contributing large sums for the erection of churches and showing general toleration for the Christian faith. At Āgra about twenty baptisms took place in 1616, and he permitted the baptism of the sons of his brother, Prince Dāniyāl, who after four years abjured the Christian faith. Father Xavier died in 1617, and Pinheiro in 1618. They were succeeded by Father R. Corsi and Joseph de Castro. The Jesuit mission now assumed the character and functions of an embassy aiming at outplaying the English and furthering the interests of the Portuguese at the court. But the Portuguese power was already on the decline. They had lost the opportunity of establishing their authority and influence in the east owing to their arrogant contempt for oriental people, while their pride and religious intolerance made them feared and despised.

Captain Hawkins arrived at Surat in August 1608, with a letter from James I, King of England, and a present of 25,000 gold pieces. In spite of the opposition of the Jesuit Fathers, Hawkins was well received by Jahāngīr. He could speak Turkish and Persian and was in a better position to win over the Mughul emperor. His mission, however, was a failure and he left in 1611. Paul Canning appeared at the court in 1612 and was followed in 1615 by William Edwards. Both of them met with the same difficulties which Hawkins had to face. The most important and the best known English plenipotentiary who came to Jahāngīr's court was Sir Thomas Roe, "a gentleman of good education, a polished courtier, and a trained diplomatist." Well-qualified for the task assigned to him, which was the negotiation of a treaty giving security to English trade, Roe remained in India for three years but did not succeed in achieving his object. His account of his mission and that of his Chaplain, Terry, constitute a very important source of information about the manners of the court and of the social and political conditions of the time.

Bābur brought to India "an unfulfilled ambition" for conquering the ancestral lands of the Tīmūrids, and this ambition, coupled with the exigencies of the external defence, found expression in the Mughul policy towards the Persian empire and the Central Asian Princes. The danger of Uzbeg expansion towards India impelled the Mughuls to co-operate with the Persian empire, and frustrated the attempts of the Ottoman Sultāns to draw them into a religious alliance of Sunnī powers against the Shiahs of Persia. The Mughuls, further, were estranged from the Uzbegs on account of the latter's traditional hostility to the House of Tīmūr and their constant propaganda against the Mughuls among the tribesmen of the north-west.

The relations of the Persians and the Mughuls were usually friendly. There were, however, two grounds of conflict—Qandahār was coveted by both owing to its strategic and commercial importance, and the Shiah States of the Deccan, with whom the Mughuls were often at war, were on good terms with Persia.

Jahāngīr's reign opened with an unsuccessful attempt by the Persians to occupy Qandahār. That the attack was not wholly unexpected is evident from Jahāngīr's remark: "It occurred to me that the death of His Majesty Akbar and the unreasonable outbreak of Khusrav might put an edge on their design, and that they might attack Qandahār." A semblance of friendship was maintained after this incident, as the Shāh alleged that he had no knowledge of the affair and sent his officers to apologise for the indiscretion of his frontier governors. In April, 1611, the Shāh sent a formal embassy and a letter which closed with the prayer "that the tree of hereditary friendship and assiduousness and the garden of intimacy and regard may acquire great splendour and greenness." Jahāngīr sent an embassy in return in 1613, and several more embassies were exchanged. It is very difficult to determine the nature of the Shāh's diplomacy. He was very much interested in preserving the independence of his allies in the Deccan and he looked with jealousy at the rapid extension and growing prosperity of the Mughul empire. The Deccan rebellion of 1621 might have been connected with the Shāh's attack on Qandahār a few months later, but Dr. Beni Prasad thinks this unlikely. The Shāh could only assist his Deccan allies by creating diversions on the north-west frontier and by occupying Qandahār. He had received ambassadors from Kish and Makrān and hoped some day to extend the boundary of his empire to the right bank of the Indus. It is a significant fact that the Nizām Shāhī envoy, Jaish Khān, was with the Shāh during the siege of Qandahār. Certain entries in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* leave no doubt that he was aware of these intrigues. Although Jahāngīr talks a great deal about strengthening the fortifications of Qandahār, little could be done owing to the attitude of Prince Khurram, and Qandahār fell after a feeble resistance in 1622. It has been suggested by Dr. Beni Prasad that Prince Khurram was in secret intrigue with the Shāh. Khurram knew that with the loss of Qandahār Jahāngīr would be busy in suppressing the wave of unrest in Afghanistān and amongst the frontier tribes, and that this would leave him a comparatively open field in the south. This, of course, may be a mere conjecture; it is supported only by the evidence of one letter which Prince Khurram sent to the Shāh to seek his assistance. The Shāh, who was anxious to maintain good relations with the Mughuls after the Qandahār affair, openly declined to help Khurram and advised him to make peace with his father.

Jahāngīr was too indolent to follow an ambitious foreign policy in Central Asia. He did not maintain the usual relations with the rulers of Mawarun Nahr (Trans-Oxonia) probably on account of his desire to be more closely allied to Persia.

In 1621, the mother of the king of Bukhārā sent a letter to Nūr Jahān who replied to it and sent some Indian rarities as presents. Shortly afterwards, a formal embassy arrived. During these years relations with Persia had become strained and Jahāngīr could only look to the Uzbeg ruler for support, who in turn hoped to humble Persia with the help of the Mughuls. But Jahāngīr's death made further progress of the alliance impossible.

Akbar's religious policy caused considerable stir amongst Muslims of all shades of opinion. Some saw in his new religion an attempt to deprive the Muslims of the dominant position they enjoyed in Indian society, while others thought it was a potential threat to the integrity of their creed and the solidarity of their *millat* (religious community). In particular, the orthodox scholars (*ulema*) and the pietists saw in it a great danger to their religion. The *ulema,* consequently, protested against Akbar's regulations, the most important among them being Mulla Yazdi, a Shiah divine, and Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, popularly known as the Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani. At the time of Jahāngīr's accession Shaikh Farīd, otherwise known as Nawāb Murtazā Khān, played a very important part in making him promise to uphold the *shar'iyat.* In a letter written by the Shaikh of Sirhind to Nawāb Murtazā Khān, the Shaikh congratulated him on the death of one (Akbar) who was antagonistic to Islām and the accession to the throne of the emperor of Islām (Jahāngīr). In the same letter he exhorted the Musalmans to assist the new emperor and to help him in making the laws of the *shar'iyat* current in the country and in strengthening Islām. This help was to be rendered by all means available, by words and by actions. Similarly in another letter to the Khān-i-A'zam, the Shaikh, in a pathetic manner, draws his attention to the evil and un-Islāmic practices introduced in Islām and expresses the fear that though at present the emperor is not hostile to Islām yet he may revert to the policy of his forefathers. It was in an atmosphere charged with such hopes and fears that Jahāngīr ascended the throne. In addition to the fear of internal disintegration, the infiltration of a large number of Shiahs had alarmed the pietists. During this period, therefore, not only was an attempt made by the orthodox to re-establish the laws of *shar'iyat* but also to fight the Shiah heresy.

Jahāngīr, in spite of the promises that he had made, remained tolerant in religious matters like his father. In his *Memoirs* he says that an "audacious speculator" suggested to him the reimposition of the *jizya.* Jahāngīr repudiated this suggestion and punished the speculator. In the subsidiary regulations issued some time after his accession, he ordered his officials not to enforce Islām on anyone. Like his father he was fond of religious discourses, though he did not give as much time to them as Akbar had done. Roe and Terry testify to the fact that he accorded equal welcome to Christians, Jews and Muslims. Hindu festivals like Rākhī, Daśahrā etc. were celebrated as in old days. The *tulā dān* (weighing of the emperor against gold) was also observed.

Certain cases are cited as evidence of Jahāngīr's orthodoxy and fanaticism born of the fear and suspicion of the times. For example, it is asserted that Jahāngīr allowed daily allowances to new converts. When he learnt that in certain localities Muslim girls were converted to Hinduism and married to Hindus, he put a stop to it and punished the guilty. From this it is inferred that Jahāngīr attempted to stand forth as a protector of the true faith. In this he was only following an old custom, for Muslim law does not permit the marriage of Muslim girls to non-Muslims. The protection of the Muslim minority obviously was a source of strength and vitality to the Mughuls. That he declared the forcible conversion of Hindus to be illegal[9a] shows that he stood forth equally as their defender.

New temples and Christian churches were freely built during his time, though now and then, during a campaign, religious places suffered at the hands of zealous or fanatical soldiers. Hindu pilgrims freely visited their shrines. Coryat puts the number of persons visiting Hardwar at 4,00,000 while Roe puts it at 5,00,000. Jahāngīr was particularly tolerant towards the Christians.

Jahāngīr's attitude towards the Sikhs has been a matter of controversy. A careful perusal of contemporary evidence shows that the Sikh religious leaders suffered because they interfered with politics, which was a dangerous game and might have constituted a menace to the State unless suppressed in time. There is no evidence to show that he persecuted the Sikhs as such. The following remark of Dr. Beni Prasad deserves attention: "The melancholy transaction (punishment of *Guru* Arjun) has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khalsa suffered from the Mughal emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimizing the gravity of Jahāngīr's mistake, it is only fair to recognize that the whole affair amounts to a single execution due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjun himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel."[9b]

It should be borne in mind that it was the explicit policy of Akbar to compose religious differences and Jahāngīr followed this policy consistently[9c] without interfering with the Muslim creed. His attitude towards the Sikhs was part of the same policy. He confined Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind in the Gwālior prison, first, because the Shaikh was accused of considering himself equal to the Pious Caliphs and, secondly, because he refused to perform the *sijda* (prostration) to the Emperor. Jahāngīr later on realized his mistake and released the Shaikh and made amends for the punishment meted out to him. Similar treatment was meted out to Shaikh Ibrāhīm Bābā. In both cases the punishments were due to the jealousy and the fear excited by these Muslim divines amongst the less important members of their profession and the influence which they wielded on their devoted Afghān and other Muslim disciples. Dr. Beni Prasad is wrong in asserting that Ahmad Sirhindi repented or promised loyalty.[10] It was Jahāngīr who realized his mistake.

Jahāngīr is accused of having persecuted the Jains of Gujarāt. This was mainly due to the fact that their leader, Mān Singh, had sided with Khusrav and had prophesied the fall of the Mughul empire. Moreover, the Jains were accused of having put up temples and other buildings which were reported to have become centres of disturbances. Their religious leaders were also accused of immoral practices.

When Jahāngīr visited Ajmer in the eighth year of his reign, the temple of Bhagwat was destroyed. Dr. Beni Prasad says that this was done from disgust, and also out of deference to Muslim sentiment. The Mughul emperors were never superstitious and had a high aesthetic sense. But whenever any practice was calculated to play on the simplicity or credulity of the poor folk, they put a stop to it.

The admission of Hindus to the higher public service continued. Of forty-seven *Manṣabdārs* above the rank of 3,000, six were Hindus (i.e. 12 per cent). Governors and Dīwāns were still appointed from amongst the Hindus. Jahāngīr shared the zeal of his father for the reformation of Indian society. The public sale of intoxicants like *bhāng* and wine, and the castration of children in Bengal and Assam were prohibited. The total suppression of gambling was ordered and *Satī* was prohibited.

There is considerable difference of opinion about Jahāngīr's personal religion. Some regarded him as atheist and others, as eclectic. Some regarded him as a Christian, though superstitious, and some, a member of the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. He could not have been all these things together, or, as Professor Sharma remarks, "even by turns." Jahāngīr believed in Islām, but not in mere dogma. He was fond of Sūfīstic and Vedāntic philosophy. The Jesuit and

Christian accounts are confused, being saturated with narrow-mindedness and fanaticism. It was impossible for the European visitors of the time, who were accustomed to persecution at home, to comprehend the spirit and content of Mughul toleration. Contemporary religious Muslim literature gives Jahāngīr a good testimony. Blochmann's verdict that superstition was his real religion is belied by the whole attitude of Jahāngīr in life.[11]

Jahāngīr, in spite of his shortcomings, strove honestly to maintain the integrity of his empire and to follow the principles of toleration and justice enunciated by his father. His love of ease and indulgence in drink are well known. Capricious, wilful and occasionally cruel and superstitious, he had redeeming virtues. These were a high sense of justice, loyalty and affection for his family and friends, generosity, recognition of merit, and energy and firmness when the occasion demanded it; and they made up for his defects of character and early training. His hold on the government, except in the last years of his life when his health broke down, never relaxed. Neither Nūr Jahān nor the other cliques really dominated over him so far as the principles of foreign and domestic policy were concerned.[12] In a fit of wrath, he was sometimes guilty of acts of cruelty, but as a rule he was affable, humane and just. According to Jerry, his character appeared "to be composed of extremes; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times, he would seem to be exceedingly pure and gentle". Under his enlightened patronage there was an all round progress in industry and commerce, while painting, literature and architecture also flourished during his reign. "The political side of Jahāngīr's history is interesting enough, but its best virtue lies in its artistic development."

1. For slight divergence of views on the date, cf. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir,* Second Edition, 1930, p. I, f.n. 1.

   The conversion of dates in Hijra Era to those of Christian Era is done in two ways, with a difference of about ten days. The dates adopted here are those given in *CHI*. The author of this Chapter, like Beni Prasad, followed the other system, but it has been changed (Editor).
2. For details, cf. Prasad, op. cit. pp. 3-8.
3. For a detailed account of this marriage and the other marriages of Jahāngīr, cf. ibid, pp. 29 ff.
4. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* Tr. by A. Rogers, ed. by H. Beveridge, 2nd Ed. pp. 7-10.

4a. *HIED,* VI, p. 273.

5. This version is not probably the true one, but is somewhat coloured by the legend that later grew up in the Sikh community, and has been narrated at length in the *Transformation of Sikhism* (pp. 31-34) by G. C. Narang. Beni Prasad's account seems to be more reasonable. He says: "The Emperor was at first disposed to take a lenient view of the affair, but he fell at last into the snares of Arjun's enemies. The Guru was sentenced to death and to confiscation of his property including his hermitage." (op. cit. p. 149). (For a more detailed and somewhat different account, cf. Chapter XI—Editor).

5a. Op. cit. p. 282.

6. The statements in this chapter attributed to Mu'tamid Khān are to be found in his work *Iqbāl-nāma* (translated in *HIED,* VI, pp. 393-498). For the passage quoted, see pp. 428-9.

6a. Jahāngīr "formally desecrated the temple by sacrificing a cow." *CHI.* IV, p. 169. The incident is described by Beni Prasad with full reference to authorities (op. cit. p. 313). Jahāngīr himself gloats over it in his memoir, Rogers and Beveridge, II, p. 223 (Editor).

6b. *HIED,* VI, p. 404.

7. The account given above is very sketchy. A romantic legend grew up round this affair which has been fairly summed up by Beni Prasad (op. cit. p. 176). He has discarded the legend and reconstructed the true history which agrees with the view given here, but adds more details (pp. 174-80). The suspicion hinted by Ishwari Prasad, in the passage quoted, is based, among others on the fact that Mihr-un-nisa, after the tragic death of her husband, was taken to the harem of Jahāngīr, and not sent to live with her father who was in the capital, and held high office. For a full discussion of the historical value of the romantic story, cf. pp. 180-82 of Beni Prasad's book (Editor).

8. Cf. *HIED,* VI, pp. 399, 405; Beni Prasad, op. cit. p. 183-96.

9. The account is materially different from that given by Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 387-410 (Editor).

9a. No evidence is cited in support of it, and it is belied by the author's own statement, a few lines above, that Jahāngīr "allowed daily allowances to new converts." The author further states, a few lines above, that the emperor not only stopped but punished the conversion of the Muslim girls to Hinduism and their marriage with the Hindus. It is excused by the author on the ground that in this he was merely following the Muslim custom. But did the emperor show the same attitude to the conversion of Hindu girls to Islām and their marriage with the Muslims which equally violated the Hindu custom? (Editor).

9b. Beni Prasad, op. cit., pp. 149-151.

9c. It is difficult to accept this statement. Reference may be made to foot-notes 6a and 9a above (Editor).

10. Op. cit., p. 433, f.n. 4.

11. In the chapter, as originally written, some views were attributed to Beni Prasad which might wound the religious susceptibilities of the Muslim community. I have omitted it, because the author did not cite any authority, and the words he probably had in view do not, in my opinion, bear the interpretation he put upon them. The following passage contains Beni Prasad's view about the personal religion of Jahāngīr (Editor).

> "The latitudinarianism revealed by the Jesuit records is fully borne out by Jahangir's diary. He often appeals to God, but never mentions the name of the Prophet. If he observed the Shab-i-barat or Id, he celebrated the Hindu festivals, Diwali, Dasahra, Rakshabandhan and Shivaratri with the regularity, eagerness, and splendour of a Hindu court. He rejoiced with all his heart at the Persian vernal festival of Nauroz which the orthodox Aurangzeb promptly abolished. He dates his diary generally according to the Persian solar era. He violated orthodox tradition in ordering a translation of the *Quran.* He scandalized all good Muslims by presenting hogs to Christians. His heresy gave rise to the rumour that he was an atheist at heart." (op. cit. pp. 41-2).

12. This is contradicted by the statement of Mu'tamid Khān which the author quotes on pp. 185-6 and regards as both authentic and reliable (Editor).

CHAPTER VII

SHĀH JAHĀN

Shah Jahān was born on Thursday, 15 January, 1592, at Lahore. He was brought up by Akbar's childless wife Ruqaiah Begam. Intelligent, quick-witted and gifted with an excellent memory, he nevertheless showed very early his predilection for the profession of arms rather than the pursuit of knowledge. In 1606 when he was fourteen years of age, he was left in charge of the capital with a Council of Regency while his father went to the Punjab in pursuit of his rebellious son, Khusrav. During the lifetime of his father, he won his laurels as a successful organiser of victories in the Mewār, Deccan and Kangrā campaigns. Up to 1622 he worked in close collaboration with Nūr Jahān, but then he fell out of favour, broke into rebellion and, though reconciled to his father, was sent to the Deccan where he received the news of his father's death.

Nūr Jahān intended to place her favourite, Shahryār, on the throne either out of sheer spite for Shāh Jahān, for whom she had developed an intense dislike, or because Shahryār promised to be a pliant tool who would allow her to keep the direction of affairs in her hands. Āsaf Khān would not agree to this; he was equally interested in his own son-in-law, Shāh Jahān, who was certainly the ablest, the most experienced and the most popular of all the sons and grandsons of Jahāngīr.

Since Shahryār had proceeded to Lahore at the time of Jahāngīr's death, Āsaf Khān, as a stop-gap arrangement, proclaimed Dāwar Bakhsh, son of Khusrav, as emperor, and the *khutba* was read in Dāwar's name near Bhimbar. Shahryār assumed the royal title at Lahore; he seized upon the royal treasures which were there and secured troops and supporters by lavish expenditure of seventy lakhs of rupees within one week. When Dāwar Bakhsh arrived near Lahore, he was met by the army of Shahryār. Shahryār was defeated; he fled into the city and was captured and blinded. Tahmurs and Hoshang, sons of Prince Dāniyāl, were also captured and put in confinement to preclude the possibility of a rising in their favour. Āsaf Khān in the meantime had sent Banarsi, a trusted runner, to Shāh Jahān and summoned him to the capital. When Shāh Jahān was informed of the defeat of Shahryār, he wrote to Āsaf Khān to "send out of the world" his rivals Dāwar Bakhsh, Shahryār, Gurshasp, Tahmurs and Hoshang. The order was faithfully carried out.[1]

Shāh Jahān ascended the throne on 24 February, 1628, and assumed the title of Abu-'l Muzaffar Shahbuddin Muhammad Sahib-i Kiran-i Sani. The coronation was celebrated by the usual round of lavish festivities and distribution of offices, titles and stipends. The reign which opened with the execution of Shāh Jahān's brothers and nephews was destined to close in circumstances, similarly tragic, finally ending in the death and disgrace of Shāh Jahān's sons and grandsons. Muhammad Sālih Kambū, the author of *'Amal-i-Sālih*, justifies the execution of the princes in the following callous and unemotional manner: "It is entirely lawful for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations, whose total annihilation is conducive to the common good. . . . , and leaders, spiritual and temporal, justify the total eradication of rival claimants to the fortunate throne on grounds of expediency and the common welfare."

In the first year of his reign Shāh Jahān had to face the rebellion of Jujhār Singh, son of Rājā Bīr Singh Deo, the Bundelā chief who had risen to prominence in the reign of Jahāngīr and on whom that emperor had showered favours for the murder of Abu-'l-Fazl. The wealth and position which Bīr Singh Deo had secured "without labour and without trouble" and the fact that he had his *jāgir* in his own country, had made him restless and ambitious. His son Jujhār visited Shāh Jahān at Āgra and was confirmed in the rank of 4000 *zat* and 4000 *sawar*. But suspecting that an inquiry would be made into the unauthorised gains of his father, Jujhār secretly left Āgra, and proceeding to Orcha, his stronghold, broke into open rebellion. Mahābat Khān was sent against him and Jujhār, realising the futility of fighting against the imperial forces, submitted. He was pardoned and sent off on service to the Deccan. Jujhār, however, had no intention of serving as a vassal of the Mughuls; he soon after attacked Bhīm Nārāin of Garha and compelled him to surrender the fort of Chaurāgarh. Later on he put Bhīm Nārāin to death and took possession of the fort with all the valuables it contained. On the complaint of Bhīm Nārāin's son, the emperor sent Jujhār an order to surrender to the imperial officer the territory he had acquired along with ten *lakhs* of rupees out of the spoils secured by him. Before this order could reach him, Jujhār had removed his family from Orcha to the fort of Dhāmoni and had also directed his son, Bikramajit, to escape with his troops from the Bālāghāt, where he had gone in service with the Mughul army.

Prince Aurangzīb was put in nominal command of the army of 20,000 troops which was commissioned to reduce the rebels. Jujhār fled from Dhāmoni to Chaurāgarh after blowing up the buildings round the fort and garrisoning it with a small force of his followers. He was closely pursued by the Mughul army and, losing all hope of successfully holding his ground against the imperial forces, he put most of the women to death and fled into the jungle, where he and his son were killed by the Gonds. A close search was made after Jujhār's death for the treasures which he had buried in the forest or thrown into the wells; and in a very short time two million eight hundred thousand rupees of treasure were unearthed. "In all about ten million rupees were credited to the royal exchequer." Besides these gains the chief *zamindār* of Gondwānā consented to pay five lakhs of rupees in cash and goods to the imperial commanders. The fort of Jhansi was captured soon after.

Though the rebellion of Jujhār, the Bundelā chief, was suppressed, in 1639 Champat Rāi of Mahoba began to make incursions into the Mughul territory and this made the road to the Deccan very insecure. 'Abdullah Khān was sent against him. Champat Rāi defied the Mughul forces for a long time. 'Abdullah Khān was replaced by Bahādur Khān, and finally, through the intercession of Pahār Singh, son of Bīr Singh Deo, Champat Rāi offered his submission.

Rājā Bāsū of Maū Nūrpūr had served Jahāngīr faithfully and had received favours at his hands. His successor, Jagat Singh, had been similarly honoured and had been confirmed in his dignities by Shāh Jahān. Jagat Singh served with distinction in Bangash and Kābul, but his son, Rājrūp, began to show a refractory attitude. Jagat Singh, at his own request, was permitted to return home to bring his son back to the path of fealty. But Jagat Singh all along had been in sympathy with his son, and once back in the security of his own tribe, Jagat preferred rebellion to loyalty. A strong force was sent against him in 1641. He offered terms which were refused, and one of his forts being captured and another besieged, he was forced to submit. Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saksena has instituted a comparison between the rising of Bīr Singh Bundelā and Jagat Singh; this is neither fair to Jagat Singh nor true to facts. Jagat Singh deserved well of the Mughuls because of his past services, and important officers interceded with the emperor on his behalf. Bīr Singh was an upstart who had attained to his rank as a reward for the murder of Abu-'l-Fazl, and public opinion was generally against him. It was not mere cupidity but political and military considerations which impelled Shāh Jahān to extirpate the house of Bīr Singh, though the treatment meted out to the survivors cannot be justified.[2]

The rebellion of Khān Jahān Lodī gave much more trouble to Shāh Jahān than the Bundelā rising. Khān Jahān had been sent to replace Mahābat Khān during the latter's absence in the north towards the close of Jahāngīr's reign. When Khān Jahān took over charge of the Deccan, he placated the Nizām Shāh by surrendering the Bālāghāt to him for three hundred thousand rupees. On Jahāngīr's death he wavered between Nūr Jahān and Shāh Jahān, and by his discourtesy to the messenger sent by Shāh Jahān to secure his adherence, he gave the new emperor serious cause for resentment. Khān Jahān next moved from Burhānpur to Māndū and captured that fort; but he was deserted by his Rājput officers and made his submission to the emperor, who graciously pardoned him, confirmed him in the governorship of Berār and Khāndesh, and commissioned him to proceed to the Deccan to recover the lost territories. But Khān Jahān prevaricated and was removed to Mālwa. When later on Khān Jahān appeared at the court and received a very cold reception, he felt slighted and was also alarmed about his safety. Fearing that he would be arrested and disgraced, and conscious of his own guilty conduct in the Deccan, he secretly escaped from Āgra. His party was overtaken by the imperial forces near Dholpur. The Afghāns put up a stout fight, but they were outnumbered, lost courage, and fled from the field. Khān Jahān abandoned his entire camp and treasure, and crossing the Chambal with his two sons and four Afghān companions, he went to Gondwāna and then, passing through Berār, entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. On reaching Daulatābād, he was well received by Murtazā II (Nizām Shāh) who assigned him the *parganā* of Bir and advanced him money for his expenses. The presence of Khān Jahān in the Deccan gave new hope to Murtazā II and raised the fears of the Mughuls. Shāh Jahān was fully alive to the danger, and, to avoid jealous conflicts between the imperial officers, he crossed the Narmadā and decided to supervise the operations personally. During the campaign that followed, the Afghāns suffered heavily, though Mughul losses were equally great. Khān Jahān was driven from Bir. He fell back on Shivgāon and then pushed on to Daulatābād. The imperial armies ravaged the Nizām Khān's territory. Famine stalked the land and Murtazā, disillusioned about Khān Jahān, gave him the cold shoulder. Khān Jahān left Daulatābād with the intention of proceeding to the Punjab, but the imperial officers were vigilant and pursued him ruthlessly till he was driven out of Mālwa, and after very heavy losses fled towards the north-east and, after a hard fight, was compelled to fly to Kālinjar. He reached the river Sindh in utter misery, but, like a brave Afghān, he preferred death on the battlefield to rotting in prison or dangling from a scaffold. He turned back upon his pursuers and was overpowered and cut to pieces. His head was sent by 'Abdullah Khān to the court. For sixteen months Khān Jahān had held out to save his honour and his dignity. "His miscalculated action", says Dr. Saksena, "not only brought ruin on himself, but accelerated the downfall of the declining, almost moribund, kingdom of Ahmadnagar."

The Portuguese had secured the grant of the site of Hooghly in 1537[2a] and soon raised a flourishing and well-defended port at the entrance of the commercial highway of Bengal. Helped by the disturbed political condition of Bengal and the weakness and cupidity of the Mughul governors, they "became a rich and affluent community, enjoying almost independent jurisdiction." They secured the seas in league with the pirates of Chittagong and plundered and devastated the neighbouring towns; and "often penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, they carried away the entire population of villages on market days and on occasions when the inhabitants were assembled for celebration of marriages or some festival. With piracy and brigandage they combined religious fanaticism of the worst sort, and came to be universally feared and despised."

The Portuguese had been left alone by Jahāngīr. Shāh Jahān, however, started a ruthless campaign against them. Not only had they not helped him when he had gone to Bengal as a rebel prince; they had cooperated with Parvīz, and Manvel Tavers had played him false by seizing his boats and carrying away some of his female slaves. As Shāh Jahān's attention was occupied elsewhere, the retribution was delayed till 1632.

The struggle with the Portuguese was precipitated by two events. The first was the plunder of a village near Dacca in East Bengal (now called East Pakistan or Bānglā Desh) and assault on a Mughul lady by a Portuguese from the Magh territory in Eastern Bengal. The second was the complaint made to Qāsim Khān, the Governor of Dacca, by a Portuguese merchant at Sātgāon named Afonso. The latter "who had made a claim to certain land in Hooghly, applied to Qāsim Khān in 1632 and held out the promise of a rich booty if the settlement were taken, which would be an easy task." Qāsim Khān now formally proposed that the Portuguese should be suppressed and Shāh Jahān sanctioned an expedition against them. Qāsim Khān planned the campaign carefully and with 600 boats, 1400 horsemen, 90 elephants and a large force of infantry blocked the passage to Hooghly, both by land and sea. An attempt to bring about an amicable settlement through the Fathers of the Society of Jesus failed. The Portuguese were unwilling to carry out the demands of the Mughul commander and decided to fight. The Mughuls failed to capture the fort by assault and the Portuguese held out till the arrival of Afonso, the Portuguese; but with the coming of Mughul reinforcements, further resistance became impossible and the Portuguese left Hooghly in a body by boats and the place was occupied by the Mughul forces. The Portuguese suffered heavy losses. Ten thousand persons lost their lives and 14,400 Indians from Hooghly and the neighbouring *parganās* were set free. Severe punishment was meted out to those taken as prisoners; some were executed, others were imprisoned, and the rest were given the choice between death and conversion. Shāh Jahān's treatment was severe, but the Portuguese richly deserved their fate. Shāh Jahān has been accused of religious fanaticism, but he had cogent political, military, humanitarian and economic reasons for the policy he followed in extirpating the Portuguese pirates in Bengal. The innocent inhabitants of Bengal had suffered no end of miseries at their hands. Bernier gives a bad certificate both to Portuguese priests and laymen.[3]

Among the minor annexations of this period, "Little Tibet" may be mentioned. Jahāngīr's attempt to conquer it had failed. The ruler of "Little Tibet" had afforded asylum to the Chaks, the original rulers of Kāshmīr. In 1634 Abdāl, the ruler of Little Tibet, agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughuls and have the *khutba* read in Shāh Jahān's name. Four years later, he repudiated the treaty. When an army was sent against him, he submitted and paid an indemnity of one million rupees.

At the time of Shāh Jahān's accession Cooch Behār was ruled by Bīr Nārāyan, son of Parīkshit, and Kāmrup was in the nominal charge of a Mughul officer, Shaikh Zāhid. The Āhom ruler of Assam had continued to give offence to the empire by sheltering its runaway officers and subjects and by his interference in the domestic affairs of Kāmrup. Bīr Nārāyan began the fray. Aided by the Āhom king, he attacked Kāmrup, occupied Hājo, its capital, and drove out the Mughuls. Then Islām Khān, the new governor, drove away Bīr Nārāyan and regained the lost territory. The imperial forces then pushed into Assam, occupied the strong Āhom outpost of Kajli, and advanced successfully up to Samdhara. Here the Mughuls met with a stout resistance. They were pushed back from the fort and defeated with heavy losses at Duminsila in November, 1639. The fort of Kajli was lost. But both parties were anxious for peace and a treaty of friendship was concluded.

The petty chiefs of Jhārkhand were very head-strong and rebellious, and Shāh Jahān ordered 'Abdullah Khān to reduce their ring-leaders one by one. Pratāp, the *zamīndār* of Ujjainiya near Buxar, was the first to be dealt with. His fort of Bhojpur was reduced after a siege of six months and he was captured and executed. Next, Bohra Lachman of Ratanpur was forced to surrender.

Rājā Pratāp of Palamau had become haughty and behaved disrespectfully towards Shāyista Khān, the new governor. When Shāyista Khān reported the matter to the court, the emperor ordered him to drive away Pratāp and to "clear the country of the filth of his existence". In October, 1646, a large army was sent to Palamau; Pratāp submitted after some desultory fighting, paid an indemnity, and was granted a *manṣab*.

Bhagirath Bhil and Marvi Gond rebelled one after another. Both chiefs were defeated and their fortresses were occupied. An attempt was made in 1635 to subdue Garhwāl, but the imperial army met with a heavy disaster. In 1654, another attempt was made as a result of which the Rājā of Kumāūn submitted, and in 1659 Medhi Singh, son of the Rājā of Sirinagar (Dehradun district) came and offered his submission. The tribes on the north-west frontier, in spite of the presence of Abdāl and later on of his son, 'Abdul Qādir, were generally peaceful.

Towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign diplomatic relations with Persia had been broken owing to the occupation of Qandahār by the Persians; but the Shāh seems to have been anxious to revive them. After Jahāngīr's death, Shāh Jahān sent an embassy to Shāh Safi of Persia to offer condolence on the death of Shāh 'Abbās. Shāh Jahān in his letter reminded him of the old friendship between the two dynasties and stated that the late Shāh had treated him in the "days of his vicissitudes" as an uncle should treat a nephew. But in spite of the embassies, which were exchanged in a spirit of cordiality, Shāh Jahān had his eyes on Qandahār and was actively plotting to profit by the unrest that followed the death of Shāh 'Abbās and the youth and inexperience of the new Shāh.

The death of Shāh 'Abbās had, in fact, revived the hopes of vengeance which all anti-Persian rulers had been cherishing. An attempt was once more made to form an anti-Persian league, but Shāh Jahān, like Akbar, flirted both with Persia and her enemies.

He was anxious to get back Qandahār, which had considerable strategic importance for the Sindh frontier of the Mughul empire and was the meeting ground of trade-routes. It was said that 14,000 caravans passed through Qandahār every year. He may also have considered himself honour-bound to recapture a place which had been lost through his negligence and ambition. Equally keen was his old hereditary ambition to occupy the ancestral lands of the Mughuls. In the beginning Shāh Jahān wished to get back Qandahār by diplomatic efforts and to conserve his resources for the recovery of Transoxiana, with Persian co-operation if possible, and without it if necessary. It was not till he was disappointed in this direction that he openly approached Persia's enemies with the proposal for an alliance. The Shāh's differences with the governor of Qandahār gave Shāh Jahān the wished-for opportunity.

'Alī Mardān Khān, the Persian governor of Qandahār, had been in arrears with his revenues; he had naturally sought to taken advantage of the disturbed state of the country. He was summoned by the Shāh to appear at the court, but avoided doing so. On being dismissed from office, 'Alī Mardān sought the assistance from the Governor of Kābul and the commander of Ghaznī. In 1638 he surrendered Qandahār to the Mughuls and received from Shāh Jahān, as a reward for his treachery, one *lakh* of *tankas* for himself and two *lakhs* for his brother and the officers of his army. Elaborate preparations were now made by Shāh Jahān to hold the fort against the Persians. Bust and Zamindaar were also subdued. The Shāh was too busy at the time in the west to take any effective measures for the recapture of Qandahār. In a letter to the Shāh sent in 1638, Shāh Jahān justified the occupation of Qandahār, apologised for any misunderstandings that may have been caused by his action, and advised the Shāh to forget the incident. No diplomatic intercourse took place between the two empires till after the death of Shāh Safi.

Shāh Jahān later on sent an embassy to secure Persia's neutrality for his projected Central Asian campaign. There was a strong anti-Mughul party at the Persian court, but the Shāh also feared the Sunnī powers of Central Asia and preferred to remain a silent observer. When Nazr Muhammad Khān escaped to Persia, Shāh Jahān wrote to Shāh 'Abbas II explaining the causes which had led to the Mughul campaign and expressed the hope of ultimately conquering Samarqand and Bukhārā.

In December, 1648, the Shāh turned towards Qandahār. Mughul prestige was then very low owing to the disastrous failure of the

Mughul military venture in Central Asia. The Shāh also succeeded in securing Turkish neutrality during his eastern campaign. The Persian expedition started in winter as the Shāh was aware of the unpopularity of a winter campaign amongst the Indian troops. The fort of Qandahār was occupied by the Persians in February, 1649. Shāh Jahān sent three different expeditions against Qandahār in 1649, 1652 and 1653 but the Mughuls could not recapture the fort.

No diplomatic relations were maintained with Persia during the rest of Shāh Jahān's reign. At the outbreak of the war of succession in 1658, Murād and Dārā tried to enlist the support of the Shāh, who actually moved his troops to Qandahār. But the success of Aurangzīb was so rapid that the Shāh had to withdraw his troops. The following comments on the Qandahār expeditions by Sir Jadunath Sarkar are worthy of note: "These three futile sieges cost the Indian treasury over ten crores of rupees and ruined the Mughul prestige in the eyes of all Asia. The Persian king could rightly boast that the rulers of Delhi knew how to steal a fort by means of gold, but not how to conquer it by strength of arms. Throughout the rest of the reign, the rumour of a projected invasion from Persia used to throw the court of Delhi into the greatest alarm." Mughul failure against Qandahār is a sad commentary on the degeneration that had set in the Mughul army. Spoilt by a life of ease and luxury, and with its discipline undermined by the pettiness and the factious spirit of its commanders, the Mughul army had lost both strength and morale. Another cause of failure was the inefficient and ineffective artillery of the Mughuls. Above all, the meddling of Shāh Jahān and a divided command made the successful pursuit of the campaign an impossibility.[4]

Shāh Jahān's reign began with an unfortunate incident which openly disturbed Mughul relations with the rulers of Transoxiana, that had been amicable since the treaty of friendship between 'Abdullah and Akbar. Nazr Muhammad Khān, the restless brother of Imām Qulī of Bukhārā, who was governor of Balkh, attacked the province of Kābul. The Mughul troops offered a stout resistance, and on the approach of reinforcements Nazr Muhammad had to beat a hasty retreat. Imām Qulī hastened to offer apologies for his brother's conduct in a letter to Shāh Jahān. The latter sent Turbat Khān to Balkh in 1633 with a letter expressing regrets on the Khān's having delivered an unwarranted attack on a Sunnī power. Shāh Jahān, however, thanked him for the offer of help against the Persians. The letter was full of the sectarian bias which Shāh Jahān was trying to exploit in support of his designs against Persia.

Shortly after 'Alī Mardān's surrender of Qandahār, Shāh Jahān sent Prince Shujā' and Khān Dauran with a large body of troops to Kābul as a precautionary measure against a Persian attack. These movements frightened Nazr Muhammad Khān and he appealed for help to his brother, Imām Qulī. Central Asian historians insist that Shāh Jahān intended to capture Balkh as he was aware of the hostility between the two brothers, but Indian historians deny this charge. Shāh Jahān, on receiving a protest from Imām Qulī, wrote back to assure him of his peaceful intentions. "I had only come to Kābul for hunting", he wrote, "but if my brothers do not like it, I will go back."

Imām Qulī, who had lost his eyesight, abdicated, and Nazr Muhammad proceeded to Bukhārā. But the people of Bukhārā detested Nazr and a rebellion and a civil war followed. Shāh Jahān, taking advantage of this, captured Kahmard in 1645. Nazr, who was hard-pressed by the rebels, applied to Shāh Jahān for help. Prince Murād was sent to Balkh with a large army. The campaign opened well and Qunduz was captured in June, 1646. From there the imperial armies proceeded to Balkh. Nazr was alarmed; he shut himself up in the fort of Balkh and refused to meet Murād. But he ultimately fled to Persia and Balkh fell into the hands of the Mughuls.

Neither Murād nor the Indian troops took kindly to their new surroundings. Murād proved inefficient and was recalled by Shāh Jahān. Governing these provinces was, in fact, more difficult than conquering them; and the task was rendered still more difficult by the mutual jealousies of the Mughul commanders, the inveterate and sullen hostility of the people to the new and foreign regime, the unpopularity of 'Alī Mardān and the presence of the Hindus. Nazr returned with some Persian troops and concluded peace with Aurangzīb who had replaced Murād. The Mughuls had to retire to India in October, 1647, and the army suffered heavily on the homeward march.

Thus ended the wild dream of the Mughul emperors for the reconquest of their Central Asian homeland. It had brought nothing but disaster, famine and death both to the Indians and the Turānians. The losses of the empire could not be calculated in men and money alone. Its prestige in Central Asian affairs had vanished and the myth of its invincibility was shattered. The fear of a Mughul invasion of Turān, which had kept its rulers in wholesome fear, now completely disappeared. Shāh 'Abbās, as we have seen, took advantage of the situation and captured Qandahār. A wave of unrest swept through Afghānistān, and the north-west tribesmen could not be easily kept in hand now. We need not be surprised that with the failure of the Balkh campaign and the loss of Qandahār, the power of the Mughul emperors began to dwindle in Afghānistān, and the tribes got an opportunity to foment dissensions and intrigues for their own ends by playing off the Mughuls and the Persians against each other. The Abbdālis allied themselves with the Persians and the Ghilzais fell back on the Mughuls for support. This perpetual warfare encouraged the inherent lawless tendencies of the population, and "broke the thin web of administration, so ably cast by Akbar over Afghānistān." The Central Asian venture also coincided with a nationalist revival in Afghānistān, and the country gradually slipped into anarchy and confusion, which even the strong hand of Aurangzīb could not control. The healthy stream of the young Afghān recruits to the Mughul army also dried up; hereafter, it could only make drafts for its shock battalion on the Muslim man-power of Northern India and the Rajputs.

This disastrous expedition also had other far-reaching results. The famine and plague which it left behind in Central Asia ruined the prosperity of the people and weakened the Government. The age-long trade and commerce between India and Bukhārā and Samarqand suffered disastrously. The occupation of Qandahār by the Persians and the virtual state of war that followed it during the reign of Aurangzīb diverted trade and commerce from the northern passes to the ports of southern and western India to the great advantage of the Europeans and a corresponding loss to the Mughul treasury.

With Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne, the Deccan policy of the Mughuls entered a new phase; it became more vigorous and purposeful. Apart from political differences, the Deccan rulers had pronounced Shiahite leanings and were suspected of allegiance to the Shiah rulers of Persia. The death of Malik 'Ambar came as a blessing to the Mughuls. In 1630 his unworthy son, Fath Khān, the minister of Ahmadnagar, informed the Mughuls that in order to protect his own life he had placed his master, the Nizām Shāhī king, in confinement. Shāh Jahān in reply instructed him to "rid the world of such a worthless and wicked being." Fath Khān complied with this order and then placed a ten-year old minor prince, named Husain Shāh, on the throne. Shāh Jahān next asked Āsaf Khān to secure the submission of the Sultān of Bijāpur, who had not so far acknowledged the imperial authority, and in case of non-compliance, to conquer his kingdom. In 1631 Āsaf laid siege to Bijāpur but was compelled to raise it after twenty days for lack of provisions. The open country suffered terribly at the hands of the Mughuls.

The emperor left the Deccan for Āgra on 14 April, 1632. Āsaf was succeeded by Mahābat as the commander of the Deccan expedition. Mahābat laid siege to the fortress of Daulatābād. Fath Khān began to waver in his allegiance to the Mughuls and tried to postpone a decision. Finally the Khān Khānān won him over by a bribe of ten and a half lakhs and secured the surrender of the Daulatābād fort (1633). The nominal young king, Husain Shāh, was condemned to life-long imprisonment at Gwālior and the Nizām Shāhī kingdom came to an end. The Mughuls, however, failed to take the fortress of Parenda and retreated to Burhānpur on account of the rains.

Shāh Jahān's imperialistic designs could not be satisfied without crushing Bijāpur and Golconda. He called upon the rulers of these countries to acknowledge his suzerainty, to pay tribute as a mark of submission, and to abstain from interfering in the affairs of the now defunct kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Shāh Jahān himself arrived at Daulatābād on 2 March, 1636, and collected an army of 50,000 men for attacking Bijāpur and Golconda. Alarmed by these preparatory movements, 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh of Golconda formally recognised the suzerainty of Shāh Jahān. He promised to pay an annual tribute, to strike gold and silver coins in the emperor's name, and to have it read in the *khutba* (Friday sermon).

The king of Bijāpur did not, however, come down so low and would not barter away his independence. Three imperial armies marched into his kingdom from three sides. But the Bijāpuris fought with the valour of despair and ultimately, tired of war, both sides opened negotiations for peace, which was concluded on the following terms: 'Ādil Shāh acknowledged the overlordship of the emperor and was allowed to retain his ancestral kingdom. He got fifty *parganās* yielding an annual income of eighty *lakhs* of rupees from the territory of the late Ahmadnagar kingdom. A sum of twenty *lakhs* of rupees in cash and kind was demanded from him as annual tribute, and he was required to abstain from molesting the kingdom of Golconda, which was now under imperial protection. Shāhjī Bhonsle was not to be allowed to hold any office in the Bijāpur State unless he surrendered the Nizām Shāhī forts which he had occupied during the war.

The emperor set out for Māndū on 21 July, 1636; three days later he sent his eighteen-year old son Aurangzīb as the Viceroy of the Deccan. The Mughul Deccan at this time consisted of the four provinces of Khāndesh, Berār, Telingāna and the recently annexed Nizām Shāhī territory. The four provinces contained sixty-four hill forts and their total revenue was five crores of rupees. Thus the war of 1635-37 had "enriched the Mughul treasury with tribute amounting to two crores of rupees, and added to the empire a territory which, when cultivated, yielded a revenue of one crore."

After one year's successful government during which the territory of Baglan and Shāhjī's forts were acquired, Aurangzīb returned to Āgra in 1637. In 1644, he was dismissed from his post and deprived of his rank and *jāgīrs* by the emperor. In 1653, Aurangzīb was again sent across the Narmadā as the Subādār of the Deccan. During the nine years following his dismissal in May, 1644, the administration of the Deccan had collapsed; the revenue had fallen to such an extent that they were not even sufficient for the normal expenditure of the Government. Aurangzīb, on his return, was therefore faced with a serious financial situation. In order to meet the expenses of the administration he drew upon the cash reserves in the treasuries of the Deccan. He proposed to Shāh Jahān that he and his higher officers should be assigned *jāgīrs* in other provinces, and that the cash portion of his salary should be made a charge on the flourishing treasuries of Mālwa and Surāt. Shāh Jahān agreed to the first proposal, but did not grant Aurangzīb's request for monetary assistance. The *jāgīrdārs,* whose lands were thus taken by Aurangzīb, complained to Shāh Jahān, who angrily wrote back to Aurangzīb: "It is unworthy of a Mussalman and an act of injustice to take for yourself all the productive villages of a *parganā* and to assign to others only the less productive lands."

After improving the finances to some extent Aurangzīb devoted himself to promoting agriculture and to ameliorating the condition of the peasantry. In his measures in this direction, which have made his viceroyalty "memorable for ever in the history of land-settlement in the Deccan," he received valuable assistance from an able officer named Murshid Qulī Khān, the Dīwān of the "Bālāghāt." Murshid Qulī Khān divided the Deccan Province into two parts for fiscal purposes. Each part was to have its own Dīwān. He extended the system of Todar Mal to the Deccan and thus revived and revitalised the work of Malik 'Ambar. The normal life of the villages was restored by bringing together and rehabilitating the scattered *ryots.* A regular gradation of village and local officers was established. *Amīns* were appointed to measure the land and to prepare a record of holdings, distinguishing arable from waste land. New *muqaddams* (headmen) were appointed in the villages to look after the interests of the peasants and to help in collecting the revenue. Advances in cash were given to the poorer *ryots* for the purchase of agricultural implements. In backward and thinly populated areas Murshid Qulī retained the system of fixed payment per plough; while in other places he introduced the system of batai (*metaqar* system) for which there were three rates. The system of assessment by *jarib* was also introduced and came to be known during generations as "the *dhara* of Murshid Qulī Khān."

After this Aurangzīb decided to crush the independence of Bijāpur and Golconda. Their independence was more offensive to Mughul imperialism now than half a century earlier; and Aurangzīb, young and ambitious, wanted to pursue the imperial plans in the Deccan to their logical conclusion. The fact that the Deccan princes professed the *Shiah* creed and looked for patronage to the Shāh of Persia rather than to the emperor of Hindusthān gave him the necessary public support. The tribute from the Sultān of Golconda had always been in arrears and Aurangzīb demanded a certain part of the Sultān's kingdom in lieu of the arrears. The emperor also took offence at the conquest of Carnatic by the two kingdoms. A plausible excuse for war was found in the Golconda king's treatment of his officer, Mīr Jumla, who sought and secured imperial protection with the help of Aurangzīb while his family was detained by the Golconda ruler.

Aurangzīb reported these matters to Shāh Jahān and solicited his permission for attacking Golconda. Shāh Jahān reluctantly sanctioned the invasion in case Muhammad Amīn, son of Mīr Jumla, was still detained by Golconda. Aurangzīb declared war on Golconda without even giving Abu-'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh time to consider Shāh Jahān's letter.

Prince Muhammad Sultān, son of Aurangzīb, entered Hyderabad in January, 1656. Abu-'l-Hasan shut himself up in the fort of Golconda and Aurangzīb laid siege to it, fully determined to reduce the fort and to annex the kingdom. Abu-'l-Hasan, in despair, appealed to Shāh Jahān, who adopted a more accommodating attitude under the influence of Dārā and Jahānārā Begam. Aurangzīb, much against his wishes, was ordered to raise the siege and to evacuate the occupied territories. He had no alternative but to comply and raised the siege of Golconda on 9 April, 1656. A peace was immediately concluded. Prince Muhammad was married by proxy to Abu-'l-Hasan's daughter; Abu-'l-Hasan swore on the Qur'ān to obey the emperor and received in return a letter of pardon from Shāh Jahān along with rich robes of honour. Aurangzīb remitted ten *lakhs* out of the twenty-five *lakhs* of indemnity money, but the Sultān had to cede the district of Rāmgīr. Mīr Jumla was taken into imperial service and appointed prime minister in place of Sa'd-ullah Khān.

The conquest of Bijāpur next engaged Aurangzīb's attention. Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur died on 16 November, 1656, and was succeeded by his son, a youth of eighteen years. Aurangzīb solicited Shāh Jahān's permission for invading the kingdom on the ground that the new king was not the son of the dead ruler but a boy of obscure origin. The emperor granted him full powers to "settle the affairs of Bijāpur in any way he thought fit." But Shāh Jahān had merely suggested an invasion of Bijāpur while Aurangzīb was bent upon annexing the whole territory. Sir J. N. Sarkar has rightly remarked that the war thus sanctioned was wholly unrighteous. Bijāpur was not a vassal State; and the Mughul emperor had no legal right either to confirm or to question the succession of the Bijāpur king. The true reason for Mughul interference was the helplessness of its boy-king and the discord among his officers.

Mīr Jumla and Aurangzīb laid siege to Bidar. It was bravely defended, but submitted in April, 1657. The city of Kalyani was then besieged by the Mughuls in May, 1657. A heroic defence was offered by Dilāwar Khān, but he was at last compelled to capitulate. With Bidar and Kalyani in Mughul hands, the way was open for an attack on Bijāpur itself. At this favourable moment, when the prize was nearly in Aurangzīb's hands, Shāh Jahān sent an order for the cessation of hostilities. The Bijāpur agents had intrigued at the Delhi Court, and Dārā, who was jealous of his brother's success, brought about a change in the emperor's mind. His untimely intervention checked the Mughul advance, and peace was concluded in 1657. The Bijāpur Sultān surrendered Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda, and agreed to pay an indemnity of one and a half *crores,* of which Shāh Jahān subsequently remitted half a *crore.*

The disorders following the illness of Shāh Jahān and the war of succession saved the Deccan for the time being from the onslaught of the Mughuls. For about twenty years after his succession Aurangzīb's attention was concentrated on other affairs and the Deccan Sultānates were left alone to heal, as best they could, the wounds of the late war. But their recovery was slow and only partial. The rising power of the Marāthās and the growing demoralisation and corruption of the officers of the two kingdoms made the process of recovery difficult. It is hard to say how Aurangzīb's plan of annexing the two States would have affected the growth of Marāthā power or contributed to the stabilisation of Mughul rule in the Deccan. That Shāh Jahān's action in calling a halt to Aurangzīb's military campaign was inopportune and unwise, no one will deny.

Orthodox Muslim religious opinion, which began to take shape from the time of Jahāngīr, as is shown for example by the writings of the Mujaddid Alf-i Sāni and 'Abdul Haque Muhaddis-i Dehlavi, coloured the attitude of Shāh Jahān towards his non-Muslim subjects in general and his personal religious views in particular. As an orthodox Muslim he did much to restore the position of the Musalmans in the body politic. Shāh Jahān never gave up the basic policy of toleration and forbearance, which had stood the test of time. In his reign, some contemporary Muslim writers declare, the arrogance and boldness of the Hindus increased and in several places mosques were converted into temples and Muslims were converted to Hinduism; and there was a challenge even to the representation of Musalmans in the services, particularly in the revenue department. This awakened the fears of the Musalmans and Muslim public opinion was organised by Muslim divines. Shāh Jahān was unable to resist the pressure of Muslim opinion or the influence of the divines. The rising tide of Marāthā militant movement also alarmed Shāh Jahān and his officers. In religious matters he was more uncompromising than Akbar or Jahāngīr and his policy was comparatively more straight, firm, and bold than that of his predecessors. The deep conflict between the *Ahl-i-Shariat* or the orthodox and the followers of the mystic philosophy or the *Ahle-Tariqat* was demonstrated towards the end of his life over the question of succession, and was typified in the opposite personalities of Dārā Shukoh and Aurangzīb.[5]

Shāh Jahān's education had been carried on under liberal teachers of the *Sūfī* (mystic) school, but later on, he became more orthodox and less tolerant. He married no Hindu princess and was thus free from what Sharma calls "the mellowing influence" of the *harem,* an influence which had softened the fibre of the Mughuls and had made them complaisant and dependent on the Indian elements in the population. Shāh Jahān, like Fīrūz Shāh, started his reform of Muslim society by eradicating un-Islāmic practices. The *sijda* or prostration to the emperor was abolished and the *zaminbos* (kissing the ground) form of salutation was introduced. This, too, was later replaced by *chahar tasleem* (four salutations). This reorganisation of the Court ceremonial was intended to give it a Muslim atmosphere, and Muslim festivals were more regularly celebrated. Alms were distributed during the months of Rajab, Shaaban and Rabi'u-l-awwal. Offerings were sent to Mecca under a Mīr Hajj. In his letter to the ruler of Golconda, Shāh Jahān spoke of himself as the leader of the Sunnīs and the destroyer of all those who did not conform to his ideas of Islām. He also suppressed heretical practices among the Afghāns. But some of the older practices were preserved as being expedient and less harmful. The *jharoka* ceremony was continued, the *tulā dān* was observed, and astrologers were maintained at the court. Painting was patronised, but the wearing of the imperial likeness in the turban was discontinued.

It has been affirmed that Shāh Jahān ordered that only Muslims were to be recruited to the public services. This is not correct. In the tenth year of his reign, the percentage of Hindu *Manṣabdārs* was 16 as against 12 in the time of Jahāngīr. It was destined to rise still higher, but towards the end of the reign the percentage of Hindu *Manṣabdārs*, which had at one time touched 38, began to decline, first on account of the Marāthā wars and, secondly, owing to the clamour of the Musalmans.

Shāh Jahān did not reimpose the *jizya* but he revived the pilgrim-tax for a short while. He forbade the completion of certain temples and prevented the building of new temples. This policy was also reviewed later on. Certain temples were destroyed, but this was due to local prejudices and to the fact that some of them were utilised against the State. Prohibition of conversion to Hinduism and Christianity was justified as a defensive measure; inquiries made in Bhambar, an adjoining area, revealed that 4,000 Muslim women had been converted to Hinduism. Laws against blasphemy were made more stringent. On the whole, Shāh Jahān was more anxious than his predecessors to uphold Muslim religion and to exalt Muslim society, but his orthodoxy was neither militant nor narrow-minded. He tried to hold the balance between the policy initiated by Akbar, on the one hand, and the demands of the fanatical and orthodox Muslim divines, on the other.[6]

Shāh Jahān's last years were embittered by the war of succession among his four sons, and he dragged on his life in captivity for seven and a half years after Aurangzīb's accession. No sons of the same father and mother could have been more unlike each other in temperament, in outlook on life, in manners and in morals, than the four sons of Shāh Jahān. None of the great Mughul emperors attained to such grandeur and success as Shāh Jahān,[7] and none was destined to greater humiliation and suffering at the end of his reign.

Dārā, the eldest son, was most favoured by his father. He was 43 years of age when the war of succession started. Of comely appearance and dignified deportment, courteous in conversation and extremely liberal, he was steeped in Muslim mysticism and Hindu pantheism. His father had bestowed on him the unprecedented military rank of 60,000 *zat*, the command being greater than "even the combined commands of all the younger brothers." He had been allowed to rule his province as a viceroy through his agents, and the highest honours were showered not only on him but also on his sons and adherents. As a consequence, Dārā never acquired experience in the art of administration or of war. He established no contacts with the people or the nobility, and in the hour of trial he was deserted by the officers who mattered. Both Manucci and Bernier refer to Dārā's irascibility, stubbornness and vanity. He entertained, says Bernier, "too exalted an opinion of himself, and believed he could accomplish everything by the powers of his own mind." The jealousy of Dārā's brothers and the fear they entertained of him are voiced by the contemporary historian 'Āqil Khān Razi. "Dārā Shukoh was appointed by Shāh Jahān as his heir apparent. His Highness, on account of his arrogance and pride.... began to suppose, in fact to believe, that he was, by right and hereditary claim, the ruler of the extensive empire of Hindustān...and he made it his object to put an end to the existence of his brothers, who were co-heirs and partners in the kingdom and throne."[8] Flattery had made him vain; prosperity tended to make him ease-loving, and owing to the partiality shown to him by his father he became arrogant and over-confident.

Shāh Jahān fell ill with strangury in September, 1657. Despairing of his life, the emperor made his last will and commended Dārā as his heir apparent to the care of his officers. The news of his illness, which was at first kept a secret, reached the three brothers in their respective provinces—Shujā' in Bengal, Aurangzīb in the Deccan and Murād in Gujarāt. Shāh Jahān recovered slightly in November, but this made no difference to the march of events.

Of the three princes, Shujā' was the first to crown himself and to march towards Delhi from Bengal. Murād followed suit in December, and formed an alliance with Aurangzīb, who was more cautious in his moves. Sulaimān Shukoh, the eldest son of Dārā, was sent with Rājā Jay Singh against Shujā'; two other armies were also despatched, one to oppose Aurangzīb, and the other to oust Murād from Gujarāt.

Murād was a vain, pleasure-loving, and indolent prince who cared more for "the nourishment of the body" than for active life of the battlefield or diligent application to duty. He started his new career by killing 'Alī Naqī, his revenue minister, and sacking the city of Surāt in order to equip himself for the forthcoming struggle for the throne. After entering into a treaty of alliance with Aurangzīb by which Punjab, Afghānistān, Kāshmīr, Sindh and one-third of the war booty were promised to him, Murād started from Ahmadābād on 7 March, 1658, and joined Aurangzīb at Dīpālpur on 24 April.

Aurangzīb had from the beginning been very cool and cautious, and had no intention of rebelling against his father. But the conduct of Dārā and the hasty action of his other two brothers left him no alternative but to enter the arena and make a bid for the supreme power.[9]

Jasvant Singh, who had been sent south by Shāh Jahān and Dārā, was encamped at Dharmat, fourteen miles south-west of Ujjain. Here, on 5 May, the rival armies came face to face. In the fierce battle that followed, Aurangzīb won a decisive victory by his superior generalship and an efficient and scientific combination of artillery and cavalry. It was the omen of his irresistible march to power.

On the day following the battle the Princes reached Ujjain. They then marched on to Gwālior where they arrived in June. Here they learnt that Dārā had personally moved to Dholpur and obtained command over all the ferries of the river Chambal. Aurangzīb, with the help of a local *zamindār,* found a little-used ford at Bhanduli, 40 miles east of Dholpur; he crossed the river without any opposition and started on the road to Āgra. Dārā, foiled in his design of preventing his rivals from crossing the Chambal, had no alternative but to fall back. The two armies came face to face with one another at Sāmogarh, eight miles east of Āgra fort. Dārā was advised not to risk a personal defeat by taking charge of the army command, but he paid no heed to the advice. The battle commenced about noon on 8 June, 1658, in the fearful heat of the Indian sun. Dārā's Rājput officers fought with undaunted courage and nearly carried the day; but the faulty tactics of Dārā, the indiscipline of his army, and his bad generalship brought a final and irretrievable disaster to the imperial army. Dārā lost nearly 10,000 soldiers, innumerable horses and elephants, and 19 Muslim and Rājput officers of the highest rank. Beaten and humbled, he escaped to Āgra where he arrived at 9 p.m. and shut himself up in his house. When summoned by Shāh Jahān to see him, the heart-broken prince declined. "I cannot show my face to your Majesty in my present wretched plight", he replied; "permit me to go away with your farewell blessing on the long journey that is before me."

Dārā left Āgra for Delhi and the victors soon after arrived and encamped in the garden of Nūr Manzil outside Āgra. Shāh Jahān opened the gates of the Āgra fort after a siege of three days, Aurangzīb took possession of it, and then set out in pursuit of Dārā. By the time he reached Mathurā, he found that the pretensions of Murād had grown so high that, if unpunished, he would jeopardise Aurangzīb's chances of success. Murād was arrested and sent to Salimgarh; later on, he was confined as a State-prisoner in the fort of Gwālior. After three years' captivity Murād was tried for the murder of 'Alī Naqī on a complaint by his son and beheaded in the fort of Gwālior.

Dārā had marched on to Lahore when he heard of the capture of Āgra by Aurangzīb. There he assembled an army of 20,000 men and sent out parties to guard the ferries of the Sutlej. Aurangzīb sent an officer eastward to capture Allāhabād and another to the Punjab, while he himself stayed in Delhi for three weeks to organize the administration. He was formally crowned emperor at Delhi on 31 July, 1658.

The Mughul empire reached its greatest prosperity in the reign of Shāh Jahān. "The means employed by Shāh Jahān in these happy years", the author of *Lubbut Tawarikh* says, "to protect and nourish his people, his knowledge of what made for their welfare, his administration by honest and intelligent officers, the auditing of accounts, his care of the crown-lands and their tenants and encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue, together with his punishment and admonition of evil-doers, oppressors and malcontents—all tended to the prosperity of the empire." Muslim writers hold him up as an ideal Muslim monarch, and call him the pillar of the *Shar'iyat*, "the defender of religion, and the restorer of the waning fortunes of Islām." But contemporary European travellers, though testifying to the extent and the prosperity of his empire, "depict him as a despicable creature whose only concern in life was how to indulge in his bestial sensuality and monstrous wickedness." Elphinstone describes the age of Shāh Jahān as "the most prosperous ever known to India....together with a larger share of good government than often falls to the lot of Asiatic nations." V. A. Smith is extremely critical and unfair in his indictment of Shāh Jahān. "In affairs of state", he says, "Shāh Jahān was cruel, treacherous and unscrupulous. He had little skill as a military leader....His justice was merely the savage, unfeeling ferocity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, exercised without respect for persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion."

These deprecating remarks do scant justice to Shāh Jahān's qualities of head and heart.[10] Whatever his weaknesses as a prince, he proved a firm and capable ruler, who (so Bernier tells us) "reigned not so much as a king over his subjects but rather as a father over his family and children." As emperor he led a strenuous life; this is proved by the minute details of his daily routine recorded in contemporary Persian accounts. He personally supervised the minutest details of the administration and appointed men of the highest ability and uprightness of character as his ministers. The military campaigns were organised and the details were worked out by him personally with care and assiduity. Many abuses in the *manṣabdāri* and revenue system were removed by him, and never was security of life and property greater, nor justice more quick and fair, than in Shāh Jahān's reign. A loving father, a doting husband, a loyal friend, a capable ruler and wise statesman, Shāh Jahān deserved a better end. He was harsh and vindictive to his enemies, but kind and generous to his friends. He punished the unruly and recalcitrant with severity, amounting to cruelty, but he was affable, kind and forgiving to those who sought his friendship or forgiveness. His supreme endeavour was to eradicate lawlessness and rebellion, to guarantee security of life and property to his subjects, and to promote their material and moral welfare. Orthodox as a Musalman and anxious to fortify and strengthen the Muslim *millat,* he was never unfair to, or unmindful of, the interests of his non-Muslim subjects.[11] He loved pomp and show and considerably increased the royal retinue, the State-establishments and the magnificence of the court. The Peacock Throne, the Tāj Mahal, the Āgra Fort and numerous other works of architecture and art testify to his wealth as well as his aesthetic sense. He was an excellent calligraphist. His patronage of men of letters and of artisans and craftsmen was in keeping with the traditions of his family. Poets, philosophers, scholars, artisans—all flocked to his court and received his favours. He recognised merit and rewarded it generously. Poetry, music, painting, dancing, astronomy, mathematics and medicine flourished under the generous and intelligent patronage of the emperor. He was fond of Hindu music and patronised Hindu poets like Sundar Dās, Chintāmani and Kavīndra Āchārya. Amongst the royal musicians were Lāl Khān, son-in-law of the famous Tān Sen, Jagannāth, who received the title of Mahā-Kavi-Rāi, Sukh Sen and Sur Sen. Shāh Jahān's solicitude for the welfare of his subjects showed itself best in measures for famine relief in Gujarāt, Kāshmīr and the Punjab. Soup kitchen and alm-homes were established in Burhānpur, Ahmadābād and Surāt. At Burhānpur Rs. 5,000 were distributed amongst the poor every Monday. Taxes amounting to 70 lakhs were remitted. In

Kāshmīr, Rs. 1,00,000 were distributed amongst the poor besides the provision of Rs. 200 worth of cooked food daily. Ten free kitchens were established in the Punjab. His treatment of his rivals at the time of his accession, as we have seen, is a great blot on his character; his aggressive wars were a great drain on the imperial treasury. But in the features of Shāh Jahān the Mughul artists have succeeded in expressing that calmness and grandeur which so forcibly strikes us in the Tāj Mahal, the greatest Indian architectural achievement of all times.

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1. This is in accordance with the testimony of the Indian authors. There is, however, a story, recorded by some European travellers and in the annals of Persia, that Dāwar Bakhsh was not actually killed but managed to escape by substituting another man in his place. For details, Cf. B. P. Saksena, *History of Sharjahan of Delhi*, p. 62, f.n. 88 (Editor).
2. Op. cit. pp. 102-3. It is, however, difficult to justify the author's comment and observations for distinguishing the nature of the two rebellions.

2a. The date is given as c. 1579 by V. A. Smitr, *Oxford History of India*, (1919), p. 395.

3. For a more detailed account and a less favourable view of Shāh Jahān's conduct, cf. *CHI*, IV, pp. 190-192. The passage quoted is in p. 191.
4. For a detailed and critical discussion of the causes of the Mughul failure against Qandahār, cf. Saksena, op. cit. p. 235.
5. The view that Shāh Jahān "never gave up the basic policy of toleration and forbearance" is belied by the author's own statements that follow. Further, this discussion, on the basis of which the author makes the categorical statement, in the last para of this chapter, that Shāh Jahān "was never unfair to, or unmindful of, the interests of his non-Muslim subjects", is definitely opposed to well-authenticated facts if we remember, as we should, that the liberty to follow his own religion was regarded by every Hindu as his chief 'interest', more highly valued than any other privilege. The following passage in Dr. Saksena's book (every statement of which is substantiated by reference to authorities in the footnotes) is more in accordance with known historical facts:

   "The practice of desecrating and destroying Hindū temples, though it was revived in the reign of Jahāngīr, became systematic under Shāh Jahān. He first ordered, in January 1633, the demolition of the newly built temples in his whole Empire, especially at Benares, and this order was (in September-October) followed by a total prohibition for the erecting of new temples or the repairing of old ones........

   "Further, systematic efforts were made at the instance of the Emperor to convert the Hindūs both by persuasion and by force. The former included tempting offers of service and rewards. Shāh Mīr Lāhaurī and Muhibb 'Alī Sindhī were especially commissioned with this work of proselytisation. They presented new converts to the Emperor, who conferred on them titles and distinctions, or assigned special allowance to them. The Hindūs were strictly forbidden to influence or dissuade their relations from turning Musalmān. Two cases of conversion among the nobility are worth notice....

   "There are two instances on record in which government officials were transferred or dismissed on account of their religious convictions (concrete instances given)." (Saksena, op. cit. pp. 293-5).

   To the above statement may be added the fact that a pilgrim tax was imposed on the Hindus (Manrique's account, Vol. II. p. 147). (Editor).
6. The whole of this paragraph is a special pleading in favour of Shāh Jahān unsupported by facts and arguments. For example, no evidence is cited to prove that the Hindu temples were destroyed because "some of them were

utilised against the State." Again, one fails to understand how prohibition of conversion to Hinduism and Christianity may be justified as a defensive measure. The last two sentences of this para are somewhat self-contradictory, and, in any case, do not deserve serious consideration from the point of view of the justification of Shāh Jahān's religious policy.

7. This is true only in respect of the artistic achievements.
8. No evidence is cited to prove that it was a deliberate policy of Dārā to kill his brothers, nor is it easy to understand how 'they were co-heirs and partners in the kingdom.'
9. It is, at best, a gratuitous assumption. Sir Jadunath Sarkar does not take such a view in his monumental work on Aurangzīb.
10. For a moderate and reasonable view between these two extremes, cf. Saksena, op. cit., pp. 296 ff.
11. Cf. foot-note 5 above.

N.B.—The Editor alone is responsible for all the above foot-notes [Ed.].

CHAPTER VIII

AURANGZĪB (1658-1680)

I. FATE OF DĀRĀ

Muhiy-ud-dīn Muhammad Aurangzīb, the third son of Shāh Jahān and Mumtāz Mahall, gained two grand victories in the war of succession, the first, at Dharmat, fourteen miles south-west of Ujjain, on 15 April, 1658, and the second, at Sāmogarh, eight miles east of Āgra fort, on 29 May; and then, after capturing the fort of Āgra and imprisoning his father there, he ascended the throne at Delhi on 21 July, 1658, with the lofty title of Abu-'l Muzaffar Muhiy-ud-dīn Muhammad Aurangzīb Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh Ghāzī.

His father and ex-emperor, "the most magnificent of the Mughul emperors", had to pass the remainder of his life as a prisoner in the Āgra fort. Aurangzīb's youngest brother, Murād, had been arrested on 25 June, and confined as a state-prisoner in the fort of Gwālior. But, even then, the new emperor did not feel secure about his own position, as many of his enemies were still active to strike him.

From Sāmogarh, Dārā had proceeded to Delhi and thence to the Punjab where he expected more co-operation and assistance than in any other place, while his eldest son, Sulaimān Shukoh, after defeating his uncle Shujā' at Bahādurpur, five miles north-east of Banaras, on 14 February, 1658, and concluding a peace with him at Monghyr, was marching towards Āgra.

Had Dārā, instead of moving to the Punjab, marched eastward and, uniting with his son, advanced against Aurangzīb, he might have created an alarming situation for his brother. But that was not to be, and his wrong move ruined his cause. An astute general as Aurangzīb was, he guarded against the possible junction of the father and the son. The followers of Sulaimān found their path to the west blocked, and disheartened by the news of Dārā's discomfiture at Sāmogarh and his flight to the north-west, deserted in large number, making his position very precarious.

Reaching Lahore, Dārā raised his men to 20,000 and despatched some of them to guard the ferries at Talwandī and Rūpar on the Sutlej, as well as to keep him informed of the enemy's movements. But as he was wanting in requisite courage and also did not get time enough to rally proper opposition to his brother's forces, he fled from place to place as soon as he heard of the enemy's approach. The emperor had deputed Bahādur Khān to pursue him. Then he appointed Khalil-ullāh Khān, the governor of the Punjab, with orders to take up the pursuit more vigorously. When "Bahadur Khan crossed the Sutlej by surprise at Rupar....Dara's generals fell back from that river to Govindwal on the Beas. But when Aurangzib from Delhi reached the Sutlej, Dara fled from Lahore (18 August) to Multan, with his family and treasure, by boat. Once more Dara's courage failed before Aurangzib; he despaired of success and his despair infected his troops."[1] From Multan he fled from one place to another in Sind, all the while losing large number of his troops from desertions, and finally, he left this province at Badīn, proceeding over the Rann of Cutch towards Gujarāt. Meanwhile, the alarming news of Shujā''s advance towards Āgra had forced the emperor to turn back from the environs of Multan for Delhi.

After his coronation (21 July, 1658), Aurangzīb had assured his brother Shujā' of the possession of Bihār in addition to that of Bengal, but the latter, finding the deplorable plight of his father as well as of his brother, Murād, could not place reliance on his brother's promise, and when he heard of Aurangzīb's absence far away from the capital, he considered this a suitable opportunity to conquer as far as Āgra and release his father. Early in November, 1658, he marched out of Patna with an army of 25,000 cavalry and a park of artillery. Taking possession of the forts on the way, he reached Khajuhā, in the Fatehpur district, in Uttar Pradesh, on 30 December, 1659. Here his path was barred by Muhammad Sultān, the eldest son of the emperor.

Arriving at the environs of Delhi in November, 1658, Aurangzīb sent reinforcements to his son, and himself advanced to meet his brother at Khajuhā. On the night before the battle, Mahārājā Jasvant Singh, who was the commander of the emperor's right wing, all on a sudden, attacked and plundered the imperial camp and thereafter went back with his 14,000 Rājput followers to his own country. But the imperial position was saved by the emperor's wonderful coolness and tactful handling of the situation and Shujā''s hesitation to act in time.

In the encounter (5 January, 1659) the imperialists assembled 50,000 to 55,000 men whereas Shujā''s army numbered 23,000. The battle started at 8 a.m. by an offensive from Shujā'. The imperialists were driven to such an unfavourable position that they would have given way, but the cool courage, promptitude and superior tact of the emperor turned the impending defeat into a decisive victory, and Shujā‘ was compelled to take recourse to flight. His army also fled away, leaving their camp equipage and artillery as the victor's prize.

Aurangzīb sent Muhammad Sultān and Mīr Jumla in pursuit of Shujā‘ who fled to Monghyr, via Banaras and Patna, and thence to the Malda district through Sahibganj and Rajmahal.

After making Tāndā[2] his base of operations, Shujā‘ tried to check the advance of the imperialists and won over Muhammad Sultān, by offering him the hand of his daughter Gulrukh Bānu. He also succeeded in recovering Rajmahal and compelled Mīr Jumla to fall back from his position at Belghata, opposite Jangipur, towards Murshidabad. But when the information of the approach of another imperial army under Dāūd Khān, the governor of Bihār, to the assistance of Mīr Jumla, reached him, he left Rajmahal and came back to Tāndā (January, 1660). Sometime after, Muhammad Sultān deserted him and joined the imperialists but only to pass the rest of his life in imprisonment. Now all was over with Shujā‘. He had no other alternative but to take a precipitate flight to Dacca before Mīr Jumla's net could completely close round him. But even there, his position was not secure because of enmity of the local *zamīndārs.* As such, he was forced to leave Bengal and take shelter with the Magh Rājā of Arakan. Here he conspired to seize the throne of his benefactor and then to proceed to recover Bengal. But the plot having leaked out, he tried to take to his heels but was pursued and slain (February, 1661).

After great hardship, Dārā had arrived at Ahmadābād where, with the assistance of Shāh Navāz Khān, the governor of the province, he raised his army to 22,000 and marched towards Āgra. On the way, on receipt of an invitation from Jasvant Singh who promised to join him with his Rājput followers, he proceeded in the direction of Ajmer. But Jasvant Singh was meanwhile won over by the emperor, and Dārā had no alternative but to fight with his brother who had already arrived at the vicinity. At the pass of Deorāi, four miles south of Ajmer, he was once more defeated by Aurangzīb (March, 1659) and compelled to go back towards Ahmadābād. But unable to find refuge anywhere in Gujarāt, he crossed the Rann once again and entered the southern coast of Sind (May, 1659). Here, too, his position was miserable, as Aurangzīb's pursuing army and local officers closed his path from the north, east and south-east. Dārā moved towards the north-west, crossed the Indus and proceeded towards Persia, via the Bolān pass and Qandahār.

While on the way to Dādar, nine miles east of the Bolān pass, his beloved wife, Nādira Bānū, succumbed to terrible hardship and illness. Overwhelmed with grief, the bereaved prince sent her corpse to Lahore for burial, accompanied by his most faithful officer, Gul Muhammad, the soldiers still remaining with him. But to crown his misery, the ungrateful Malik Jīvan, the chieftain of Dādar, whom he had once saved from death sentence and whose hospitality he accepted, seized him along with his second son Sipihr Shukoh and two daughters, and delivered them to Aurangzīb's general Bahādur Khān.

Brought to Delhi, Dārā and Sipihr Shukoh were paraded through the streets with ignominy, and subsequently the former was tried by the court theologians on a charge of apostasy from Islām. He was found guilty and put to death (30 August, 1659).

Dārā's eldest son, Sulaimān Shukoh, who had taken refuge in Garhwāl, was captured and brought to Delhi in January, 1661. He was then sent as a state-prisoner to Gwālior where he was put to death (May, 1662) by overdoses of opium.

At the instigation of Aurangzīb, a complaint was instituted against Murād by the second son of 'Alī Naqī for the murder of his father, and the prince, having been declared guilty, was beheaded in the fort of Gwālior on 4 December, 1661. Thus, after removing his rivals one by one, Aurangzīb firmly secured his position, although the means to the end are open to severe criticism.

He had celebrated his coronation for the second time on 5 June, 1659, after his decisive victories against Shujā' and Dārā at Khajuhā and Deorāi, respectively. On this occasion, not only grand banquets and dazzling illuminations enlivened the function, but many officers and nobles were promoted and new appointments made.

II. AURANGZĪB AND NORTH INDIA

The long "reign of Aurangzīb is naturally divided into two equal parts of about 25 years each, the first of which he passed in Northern India and the second in the Deccan. During the earlier of these two periods the centre of interest lies unmistakably in the North.... because the most important developments, civil and military, concerned this region.... In the second half of the reign the situation is reversed: all the resources of the empire are concentrated in the Deccan; the Emperor, his court and family, the bulk of the army, and all his best officers live there for a quarter century, and Hindustān sinks back to a place of secondary importance.... the administration in Northern India naturally falls into decay at the withdrawal of the master's eye and the ablest officers; the people grow poorer; the upper classes decline in morals, intelligence and useful activity; finally, lawlessness breaks out in most parts",[3] indicating the beginning of that great anarchy which prevailed throughout the eighteenth century.

After his second coronation, the emperor gave his attention to alleviate the economic distress of the people. The prolonged war of succession and consequent disorder and confusion in the civil administration threatened the economic ruin of almost the whole of Northern India and grain was selling at exorbitant prices, beyond the reach of the ordinary people. The inland transit duties (*rāhdārī*) at every ford, ferry or provincial boundary, and the octroi (*pāndārī*) levied in large towns like Āgra, Delhi and Lahore, on articles of food and drink brought for sale from outside, enhanced the troubles as they not only hampered free movement of commodities within the country but also increased their prices. The emperor abolished both of them in the crown lands, and the assignees (*jāgīrdārs*) and landholders (*zamīndārs*) were asked to do so in their respective estates. By the abolition of *rāhdārī* alone, the government suffered a loss of twenty-five lakhs of rupees in revenue in the crown lands per annum. As a result of these measures, there was free movement of commodities from one place to another and their prices fell considerably. Many oppressive and burdensome *abwābs* (cesses) over and above the regular land revenue and customs duty were also abolished. Although forbidden again and again by various rulers like Fīrūz Tughluq, Akbar and Jahāngīr, they re-appeared every time after some intervals. The important *abwābs* or cesses were perquisites, gifts and subscriptions exacted by the officials in their own interest, fees and commissions realized for the State on various occasions, licence-tax for certain trades, duties on local sale of commodities and some special imposts on the Hindus, viz., the pilgrim's tax, a tax on the occasion of the birth of a male child, and a tax for throwing the bones of the dead into the Ganges. Although they were abolished by Aurangzīb and his actions showed his pious intention to do good to the people, his edicts could not be duly enforced in all regions, especially in far off places where the people suffered almost as before.

From 1661 to 1667 the emperor received embassies from many Muhammadan powers outside India which had trade relations with Mughul India, congratulating him on his victories over his rivals and accession to the throne. Such embassies came from the Sharīf of Mecca, the Safavī king of Persia, the kings of Balkh, Bukhārā, Kāshghar, the petty chieftains of Urganj (Khiva), Shahr-i-nau, the Turkish governors of Basra, Hadramaut or Southern Arabia to the north-east of Aden, Yaman and Mocha, the ruler of Barbary and the Christian king of Abyssinia. One embassy also came from Constantinople in 1690. Aurangzīb's "policy at the beginning was to dazzle the eyes of foreign princes by the lavish gift of presents to them and their envoys, and thus induce the outer Muslim world to forget his treatment of his father and brothers, or at least to show courtesy to the successful man of action and master of India's untold wealth, especially when he was so free with his money."[4]

Although Shāh 'Abbās II, the Safavī king of Persia, sent a grand complimentary embassy in 1661, his relation with Aurangzīb became strained later on, leading to a complete rift due to the former's overweening pride, and aggravated by the religious difference between the two sovereigns, Shāh 'Abbās II being a Shiah and Aurangzīb an orthodox Sunnī. Tarbiyat Khān, the Indian envoy, was rudely treated and humiliated at the Persian Court, and the Persian emperor threatened an invasion of the Mughul empire; though it did not materialize, Aurangzīb had to be very vigilant on the north-western frontier. With the death of Shāh 'Abbās II in 1667, the danger of Persian invasion disappeared, as during the rest of the reign of Aurangzīb, Persia was too weak to strike.

The relation between Aurangzīb and Shāh Jahān since the latter became a captive in the Āgra fort on 18 June, 1658, was very bitter. During the period of this captivity of the father, the son never visited Āgra and his treatment of the former was a pitiable instance of open disregard for decorum and canons of morality and justice. Shāh Jahān gradually realized the position into which he had been cast by the cruel hand of destiny. He was closely surrounded by the emperor's guards and his movements within the fort were watched with strict vigilance. Acrimonious letters were exchanged between the father and the son, and when the attempts of the former to correspond with Dārā and Shujā' were detected, they made his position worse still. His bonds of captivity were tightened and writing materials were withheld from him; whatever he desired to write, had to be written through government staff, and such correspondence passed through government agents. There were sordid wranglings between the father and the son over the crown jewelleries and those left by Dārā in the Āgra fort, and Aurangzīb took possession of them in spite of Shāh Jahān's remonstrances. The correspondence between them became so bitter that the father, without further complaint, at last resigned to the inevitable. The heart-rending news of the sad end of Dārā, Shujā‘, Murād and Sulaimān Shukoh gave him rude shocks, one after another, but he bore them with extraordinary patience. He spent his time in prayer, religious discourses, reading the *Qur'ān* and performance of all other duties according to the canons of Islām. It was a great solace to him to receive till the last moment of his life the loving care of his eldest daughter, Jahānārā, who shared with him all sorrows and miseries, consoling him with tenderness of a mother and daughter combined in one. Deprived of liberty, bereft of all powers and stricken down with bereavements, he only waited for deliverance from such a sad and gloomy existence, and at last it came on 22 January, 1666, at the age of seventy-four, after an illness continuing for about fifteen days.

During the first decade of Aurangzīb's reign there were a few disturbances in his empire, but they were local and not of much importance, and were easily put down. Champat Rāi of Bundelkhand, who had rebelled against the emperor, was hunted from place to place and eventually, unable to defend, he stabbed himself to death (1661). A disputed succession in Navānagar in Saurāshtra led to the intervention of the Mughul suzerain. The *faujdār* of Junāgarh after a desperate fight against the usurper Rāi Singh, killed him, and restored Rājā Chhatra Sāl, Jām of Navānagar, in his possession (A.D. 1663). Rāo Karan of Bikāner, who had defied the emperor's authority, was forced to submit and pardoned.

The territorial expansion of the Mughul empire, initiated and continued by the predecessors of Aurangzīb, went on during his regime also, and the early years of his reign witnessed the extension of the empire in various directions. In 1661, Dāūd Khān, the governor of Bihār, invaded Palāmau in South Bihār, then inhabited mostly by the Cheros, a Dravidian people, and conquered it. It was annexed to the *Sūba* of Bihār. In 1665, as the result of a mission from the Mughul governor of Kāshmīr, the ruler of little Tibet or Ladakh, out of fear, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughuls, built a mosque at his capital and minted coins in the name of the emperor.

A great military expedition was undertaken by the imperialists on the north-eastern side, in Assam. A branch of the Shān race, the Āhoms, who had been originally inhabitants of Upper Burma, migrated to Assam in the thirteenth century, conquering a part of the Brahmaputra valley. They went on expanding their kingdom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries till they held sway up to the Bar Nadī river on the north-west and the Kalāng river on the south-west. They were very hardy, worshipped demons and were feudally organized, but in the course of their stay in Assam, they began to be influenced by Indian civilization and the Hindu religion. By the conquest of Kuch Hājo, embracing the present districts of Goālpārā and Kāmrūp in Assam, in the early part of the seventeenth century, the eastern boundary of the Mughul empire had extended up to the Bar Nadī. Thus a conflict between the Mughuls and the Āhoms was almost inevitable, and as a matter of fact, much desultory fighting went on between them in the course of which the Āhoms raided the eastern frontier of the Mughul empire. At last, a peace was concluded in 1638, according to which the Bar Nadī was recognized as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

During the war of succession, taking advantage of the defenceless condition of the frontiers, the Āhoms as well as the Rājā of Cooch Behār sent expeditionary forces to occupy the Mughul district of Kāmrūp from the east and west, respectively. Afraid of attacks from two sides, and without any hope of reinforcement from Bengal, Mīr Lutf-ullah Shirāzī, the *faujdār* of Gauhāti, fled away to Dacca, leaving the district in a defenceless state. The Āhoms occupied Gauhāti, without any resistance, and much booty, including 140 horses, 40 pieces of canon and 200 matchlocks, fell into their hands. They plundered the whole district and drove away the troops of Cooch Behār, and thus the whole of Western Brahmaputra valley came into their possession (A.D. 1658).

After the civil war, the emperor appointed Mīr Jumla as viceroy of Bengal (June, 1660) with orders to punish the miscreants and recover the Mughul territories. Having completed necessary preparations, the viceroy started from Dacca early in November, 1661, with 12,000 cavalry, 30,000 infantry and a flotilla of more than three hundred war-vessels. At first he went to Cooch Behār, the capital of which was occupied without any resistance, as the Rājā and his officers had fled away in terror. After a successful campaign in this kingdom and annexing it to the Mughul empire, Mīr Jumla proceeded against Assam. Although his path lay through forests and innumerable streams, he marched forward bearing all hardships and captured many forts of the enemies, viz, Jogīguphā, Gauhāti, Srīghāt, Pāndu, Beltalā, Kājali, Sādharā and Simlā-garh. In a naval engagement he destroyed their navy and finally reached Garhgāon, the capital of the Āhom kingdom, on 17 March, 1662. The Āhom king, Jayadhwaj, had fled away, leaving his capital at the mercy of the invaders. Immense booty was captured by the imperialists in the course of the Assam campaign.

The Mughul general made necessary arrangements for keeping hold over the conquered territories during the ensuing monsoon. A strong garrison was maintained in the occupied Āhom capital and outposts were established for guarding the routes. As the river near Garhgāon was shallow, the Mughul fleet had to be anchored at Lakhau, about eighteen miles north-west of that town, while the general himself with the main army halted at Mathurāpur, a village on a high ground, seven miles south-east of Garhgāon. Such a separation of the land army and the navy became the cause of terrible sufferings of the imperialists.

The Āhoms still retained sufficient strength to give blows to their enemies. They resumed offensive and surprised the Mughul outposts by night attacks; even Garhgāon was not spared. During the rainy season the Mughul occupation of Assam was extremely precarious; the country was flooded, communications were cut off, the outposts isolated and the imperial army remained practically "in a state of siege". Communications between the Mughul army and the navy were also cut off by the enemies who concentrated their attacks on Garhgāon, which was repeatedly attacked and saved only by the exertions and gallantry of the Mughul soldiery.

To add to the misery of the Mughuls, a serious epidemic broke out at Mathurāpur, levying a heavy toll of lives in Mīr Jumla's camp. The disease spread to the whole of Assam and 230,000 of its inhabitants succumbed to it. The life at Mathurāpur being intolerable, the Mughul army came back to Garhgāon, leaving many of the sick who could not be carried for paucity of transport. But the refugees infected the army at Garhgāon, making the situation worse.

"Through all these dark months of alarm, suspense and even despair"[5] the Mughul navy at Lakhau successfully maintained its touch with Gauhāti and through it with the headquarters of Bengal. When the monsoon was over, Mīr Jumla with great difficulty succeeded in re-opening communication with the fleet and provisions were sent in large quantities under escort from Lakhau to Garhgāon. In place of famine, the Mughul camp was now in plenty.

Resuming operations against the enemies, the Mughul general marched to Tipām via Solāguri. But he was attacked with fainting fits which were soon followed by high fever and pleurisy. His troops refused to proceed further and enter the pestilential hills of Nāmrūp where Jayadhwaj, the Āhom king, had taken refuge. The situation of the latter, too, became very miserable by the desertion of many of his notables and he made overtures of peace to Mīr Jumla, who gladly received them, and a treaty was concluded between the two parties. By it, Jayadhwaj consented to send a daughter to the imperial harem, pay an annual tribute and a heavy war-indemnity including 20,000 *tolas* of gold, 120,000 *tolas* of silver,[5a] to give hostages for full payment of the indemnity, and to cede more than half of the province of Darrang.

Thus "judged as a military exploit, Mīr Jumla's invasion of Assam was a success."[6] It was no doubt gained at great hardships and immense loss of lives but the Mughul general shared all sufferings with the common soldiers and steered successfully through all adverse circumstances with uncommon perseverance and fortitude. He was attacked with a serious malady, consumption, which had developed from his pleurisy. Over-exertion and unhealthy climatic conditions of the country ruined his health beyond recovery, and when he was on his way to Dacca after his successful expedition, he expired on 31 March, 1663.

The Mughuls retained the conquests of Mīr Jumla till 1667 when the Āhom king, Chakradhwaj, after sending two detachments down the banks of the Brahmaputra, succeeded in capturing the Mughul forts one after another, in rapid succession. Even Gauhāti itself fell into his hands and its *faujdār* was taken prisoner. It became the headquarters of an Āhom viceroy. The Mughuls were thus driven back to the river Monās. For many years the attempts of the imperialists to recover their lost position failed, in spite of the appointment of Rājā Rām Singh, the son and successor of Mīrzā Rājā Jay Singh, with supreme command over the expeditionary forces in Assam and his stay at Rāngāmāti for several years. He was ultimately recalled in 1676. Although in 1679, the Mughuls recovered Gauhāti by bribery, the Āhom king, Gadādhar Singh, retook it in 1681, and thus Kāmrūp was finally lost to them.

In 1662 the rājā of Cooch Behār had reconquered his kingdom by expelling the Mughul army of occupation, but, in 1664, out of fear, he again offered his submission to the imperialists and paid an indemnity of five and a half lakhs of rupees to Shāyista Khān, the new Governor of Bengal. Later on, taking advantage of serious dissensions and disorders within the kingdom, the Mughuls conquered its southern and eastern portions, including the present districts of Rangpur and Western Kāmrūp.

One of the most brilliant achievements of Shāyista Khān as governor of Bengal was the conquest of Chittagong. The Fenny river formed the boundary between the Mughul empire and the Magh kingdom of Arakan but the Magh pirates, in conjunction with the Feringis or Portuguese adventurers and their half-caste off-springs, who used frequently to come to Bengal by the river-route, not only committed depredations and other heinous acts here, but also carried off the people, some of whom were employed in pillage or some other degrading pursuits, and sold others as slaves. The raids of these pirates rendered Deltaic Bengal desolate, causing serious damage to imperial prestige and heavy loss of revenue. Situated between Arakan and Bengal, Chittagong was a convenient base of operations of these miscreants, and it was of utmost necessity to bring it under the control of the imperial administration. With this end in view, Shāyista Khān built a new navy of three hundred war-vessels and made proper arrangements for the protection of Dacca against any possible attack by water. Next, in November, 1665, he captured the island of Sandwip. Meanwhile, he had been trying hard to win over the Feringis by liberal offers of service, and a serious quarrel between them and their Arakanese chiefs facilitated his design. All the Feringis of Chittagong fled with their family and property to the Mughul territory, where they were treated with liberality.

A strong expeditionary force was then sent from Dacca to Chittagong under Buzurg Ummed Khān, a son of Shāyista Khān, and admiral Ibn Husain. The imperial fleet consisted of 288 vessels of their own and about 40 vessels of the Feringis, as auxiliaries. It was planned that the land army and the navy should co-operate with each other. The Maghs were defeated in three naval engagements, and in the last of these, fought near the fort of Chittagong, the Arakanese navy suffered a heavy discomfiture; several ships were sunk and one hundred and thirty-five captured by the imperialists. The fort of Chittagong was then besieged and captured, the garrison having surrendered after the resistance of a day only (26 January, 1666).

The conquered territory was placed under direct imperial administration. The name of Chittagong was changed to Islāmābād and it became the headquarters of a Mughul *faujdār*. The most important benefits of the victory were the release of thousands of Bengal peasants who had been kidnapped and held there as serfs and the increase of cultivation in the areas so long rendered desolate by the oppressions of the Maghs and Feringis.

The north-western frontier had all along been a source of trouble to the Mughul empire. The various Afghān clans like the Afrīdīs, Yūsufzāīs and Khattaks living in that hilly region were notorious for highway robbery from time immemorial. Their lands being arid and less productive, they found it more profitable for their sustenance to plunder the inhabitants of the plains and rich traders who happened to pass through their country. Finding it too difficult to keep them under control by force of arms, the Mughul emperors bribed these hillmen with a view to maintaining peace and keeping the routes in the north-western frontier open to traffic. Aurangzīb paid the various border chiefs six lakhs of rupees annually, but even these bribes did not always succeed in maintaining peace in that hilly region where new leaders arose and used to plunder the Mughul territory. The trouble commenced early in 1667, when the Yūsufzāīs living in the Swāt and Bājaur valleys and the plain of northern Peshāwar, rose in arms under their leader Bhāgū who crowned a pretender under the title of Muhammad Shāh and crossed the Indus near Attock. Entering the Hazāra district he attacked the Mughul outposts there, while other Yūsufzāī bands ravaged the western Peshāwar and Attock districts, and then coming over to the south bank of the Indus at Hārūn, they attempted to hold the ferry there with a view to preventing the Mughul army from crossing into the tribal territory. But they were severely beaten back by Kāmil Khān, the commandant of Attock, and the Mughul territory on the south side of the Indus was thus cleared of the enemies (April, 1667). In the following month Shamsher Khān, another commander, crossed the Indus, and, marching into the Yūsufzāī country, gained several victories over them and destroyed many of their farms and homesteads. Muhammad Āmīn Khān who was next invested with the supreme command to punish these rebels, inflicted such severe blows on them that they remained quiet for some years.

In 1672 there was another rising in the frontier region. The Afrīdī Chieftain, Akmal Khān, crowned himself king and declared a holy war against the imperialists, inviting all the Pathāns to join him in this national struggle. The Khyber pass was closed and the rebels attacked Muhammad Āmīn Khān, then governor of Afghānistān, at ‘Alī Masjid, cutting him off from the stream from which he received his supply of water. Their severe assaults in the hilly region were too much for the Mughuls to bear and they were thrown into utter confusion. The imperialists suffered heavy discomfiture and immense losses in men and property. Muhammad Āmīn Khān and some of his high officers somehow succeeded in escaping to Peshāwar. Such a grand victory enhanced the fame and resources of Akmal Khān and lured more recruits to his banner. The rebellion spread in the entire frontier regions; the Khattak clan, also, joined the Afrīdīs, and Khūsh-hāl Khān, the poet and leader of the former, became the guiding spirit of this national struggle of the Pathāns.

The defeat of Āmīn Khān gave a rude shock to Aurangzīb who degraded him and sent Mahābat Khān as governor of Afghānistān. But the new governor avoided any risky action and entered into a secret understanding with the rebels not to molest each other; and so the Khyber pass remained closed as before. Highly displeased, the emperor sent Shujā'at Khān with a large force to punish the rebels but he was defeated and killed in the Karāpā pass on 22 February, 1674.

The situation became so alarming that the emperor himself proceeded to Hasan Abdāl, near Peshāwar, for directing the operations. Mahābat Khān was removed from the governorship and all possible actions were taken against the rebels. The emperor used both arms and diplomacy with much success. Many clans were bought over with presents, pensions and posts in the Mughul army, while the more refractory clans like the Ghorai, Ghilzāī, Shirānī and Yūsufzāīs were crushed by arms. The imperial commander, Uighur Khān, won repeated victories over the Afghāns and created awe and panic among them. The position of the Mughuls improved sufficiently by the end of 1675 and Aurangzīb left Hasan Abdāl for Delhi after his stay at the former place for a year and a half.

He appointed Amīr Khān, the son of Khalil-ullāh, governor of Kābul in 1677. This choice was most befitting. Amīr Khān, who had already distinguished himself by his capabilities, governed Afghānistān with singular tact, energy and efficiency till his death in 1698. By his diplomacy and conciliatory policy he succeeded in restoring order in the frontier and keeping the Khyber pass open to traffic. His success was to a great extent due to the tact and wise counsel of his wife.

His policy of paying subsidies to the tribal leaders and creating dissensions among the clans bore fruit, leading to the break-up of the confederacy under Akmal Khān, and on the death of the latter, the Afrīdīs submitted and came to terms with the emperor. But the unbending and high-spirited Khattak leader, Khūsh-hāl Khān, continued the struggle for many years more, undaunted by the inimical actions of the Bangashes, Yūsufzāīs and his own son Ashraf who had joined hands with the Mughuls. Alone did he fight for the cause of Pathān independence till he was betrayed by his son, culminating in his capture and imprisonment by his enemies. The war of Aurangzīb on the north-west frontier thus came to a successful end, though at a heavy cost. Sir Jadunath Sarkar is perfectly justified when he says: "Ruinous as the Afghān war was to imperial finances, its political effect was even more harmful. It made the employment of Afghāns in the ensuing Rājput war impossible, though Afghāns were just the class of soldiers who could have won victory for the imperialists in that rugged and barren country. Moreover, it relieved the pressure on Shivājī by draining the Deccan of the best Mughul troops for service on the N.W. frontier."[7] Taking advantage of this diversion of the imperial forces, the Marāthā king conquered Carnatic (1667) without any opposition.

III. ORTHODOXY AND BIGOTRY

No one can possibly underestimate the great influence exerted on the life and activities of Aurangzīb by the orthodox reform movement in Indian Islām started by Mujāddid Alf-i-Sānī Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī (1563-1624), the aims of which were regeneration and rejuvenation of Islām in strict accord with the *shar'iyat* and "the establishment of a true Islāmic State conforming to Islāmic ideas and practices in all its activities....".[7a] While a prince, Aurangzīb came into contact with Khvāja Muhammad M'asūm, son of Mujāddid Ahmad Sirhindī. He held him in high esteem and sought his advice on important matters of Muslim theology. After his accession to the throne also, he maintained his contact with the Khvāja and his son Muhammad Saifuddīn as well, and their influence had much to do in bringing him within the fold of the orthodox school and shaping his puritanic state policy.

Aurangzīb had claimed the throne as the champion of Sunnī orthodoxy against the liberal-minded Dārā whom he considered to be a heretic. It was neither his personal caprice nor any political or material gain that shaped his policy. As a zealous Sunnī Muslim, he believed in the Islāmic theory of Kingship according to which the ruler is to enforce strictly the Qur'ānic law in the administration of his empire, or in other words, as a pious Muslim, he considered it to be his duty to "exert himself in the path of God" i.e., to carry on *jīhād* (holy war) against infidels and convert his realm from *dār-ul-harb* (non-Muslim land) to *dār-ul-Islām* (realm of Islām). In pursuance of this ideal, he reversed the policy enunciated by Akbar, the Great, in regard to his non-Muslim subjects, who, in consequence, suffered from various social, political and economic disabilities and felt degraded because of the inferior position they held in the empire. Such discriminatory measures alienated the sympathy and good will of the vast majority of his non-Muslim subjects, eventually undermining the foundation on which rested the political fabric of the empire.

In 1659 he issued a number of ordinances for restoring the Muslim law of conduct according to the teaching of the *Qur'ān*. He discontinued the practice of inscribing the *kalima* (Muhammadan confession of faith) on the coins lest they were defiled by men of other faiths, and abolished the celebration of the new year's day (*naurūz*) of the Zoroastrian calendar—a custom followed by the Mughul emperors in imitation of the Persian kings. The cultivation of *bhāng* (*cannabis Indica*) was forbidden throughout the empire. Censors of public morals (*muhtasibs*) were appointed in all big cities to enforce the Qur'ānic law and put down the practices forbidden in it, like drinking of wine, gambling and illicit traffic of women. Their duties also included punishment of Muslims for heretical opinions, blasphemy, omission of obligatory prayers and Ramzān fast. In enforcing orthodoxy the emperor did not spare the Sūfis and Shiahs, where deemed necessary. Among the important sections of the Muslim population who suffered serious persecution for heresy was the Isma'īlia or Bohra community of Gujarāt.

In 1668 the emperor forbade music at his court and the court musicians and singers were pensioned off. The royal band was not, however, discontinued. The ceremony of weighing the emperor on his two birthdays, according to the lunar and solar calendars, against precious articles like gold and silver, and the practice of *Jharokā-darśan,* a custom according to which the Mughul emperors used to appear every morning at the outer balcony of their palace to receive the salute of the subjects, were discontinued, as these were un-Islāmic. The emperor also forbade the customary rejoicings on his birthdays and on the anniversary of his coronation.

Although every endeavour was made to enforce his regulations and elevate his subjects, it was not possible to achieve the desired result, as they were not yet prepared to follow his high ideals of puritanical morality. Drinking and gambling were so much deep-rooted in the country that it was simply impossible to stamp out these evils by a stroke of the pen. The orders regarding the courtesans and dancing girls either to get themselves married or leave the empire were also not effective. Similarly, the emperor's edict prohibiting the rite of *satī* or burning of a Hindu widow along with the dead body of her husband, could not be duly enforced owing to strong opposition of the people.

In a *farmān* granted to a priest of Banaras in 1659, Aurangzīb 'avowed that his religion forbade him to allow the building of new temples, but did not enjoin the destruction of old ones'. In 1664 he forbade old temples to be repaired, and on 9 April, 1669, an order was issued to the governors of the provinces "to demolish the schools and temples of the infidels and put down their teaching and religious practices strongly."[8] Besides innumerable temples throughout the empire, even the famous Hindu temples of Viśvanātha at Banaras, of Keshav Dev at Mathurā, and Somnāth at Pātan were destroyed. Even the loyal State of Jaipur was not spared, and sixty-six temples were razed to the ground at Amber.

An order was issued re-imposing the *jizya* tax on the Hindus from 2 April, 1679, "with the object of spreading Islām and overthrowing infidel practices."[9] It was a commutation tax, i.e., the price of indulgence, and had to be paid by an assessee in person with marks of humility. For its assessment and collection the non-Muslim population was roughly divided into three grades; the first grade having an income above 10,000 *dirhams* had to pay 48 *dirhams*, the second, whose income was from 200 to 10,000 *dirhams* paid 24 *dirhams*, and the third, i.e., those whose income fell below 200 *dirhams* paid 12 *dirhams* a year, the value of a *dirham* being a little more than a quarter of a rupee. It appears that the *jizya* hit the poor non-Muslim population most, as the rate of taxation in their case was heavy in proportion to their income. Women, children below fourteen, slaves, beggars and paupers were exempted from this tax. Of the monks, the heads of wealthy monasteries only had to pay; government officials were, however, exempted from this tax.

Aurangzīb ignored all protests and remained adamant in realizing the *jizya*. He felt gratified when many Hindus, unable to pay it, embraced Islām.

Various other measures were adopted to put pressure on the Hindus with a view to increasing the number of converts to Islām. By an edict in April, 1665, the customs duty on the commodities brought in for sale was fixed at 2½ per cent. *ad valorem* for Muslim merchants and 5 per cent. for the Hindu merchants. In May, 1667, this duty in the case of Muslim traders was abolished, whereas it was retained at the old rate of 5 per cent. on the Hindus. The emperor offered rewards and posts in the public service, liberation from imprisonment and even succession to property under dispute in favour of those who would embrace Islām. In 1671 an order was passed for the dismissal of all Hindu head-clerks and accountants, and replacing them by Muslims, but due to paucity of qualified Muhammadans the emperor, later on, allowed half of these posts to be held by the Hindus. In 1668 all Hindu religious fairs were prohibited, and in March 1695 another order was passed forbidding the Hindus, except the Rājputs, to ride in *pālkīs* (palanquins), on elephants and good horses; they were also forbidden to carry arms.[9a]

All these discriminatory measures of the emperor produced far-reaching and disastrous consequences, impairing the stability of the empire. The affected Hindu community became highly discontented, and opposition to the destruction of their holy temples was offered in Rājasthān, Bundelkhand, Mālwa and Khāndesh, and many converted mosques were demolished or the call to prayer was stopped. In certain places the *jizya* collectors were assaulted and driven out.

IV. REACTION AGAINST BIGOTRY

The first great Hindu reaction against the emperor's policy of persecution occurred in the district of Mathurā. Early in 1669, the sturdy Jāt peasantry under their leader Gokla of Tilpat took up arms against the imperialists and killed 'Abd-un-Nabī, the oppressive *faujdār* of Mathurā. They then sacked the *parganā* of Sādābād and created disorder and confusion in the neighbouring district of Āgra also. A strong reinforcement under Ra'dandāz Khān was of no avail and the emperor himself proceeded to the disturbed area. Gokla mustered 20,000 men and fought valiantly but was at last overpowered by Hasan 'Alī Khān, the Mughul commandant of Mathurā. The Jāt leader was put to death and the members of his family were converted to Islām.

In 1672 the formidable rising of the Satnāmīs took place in the districts of Nārnaul and Mewāt. The Satnāmīs were a peaceful sect, believing in the unity of God, mostly employed in agriculture. They were honest, industrious and formed a brotherhood, calling themselves Satnāmīs, Satnām meaning good name. As they used to shave their head and face including eye-brows, they were popularly called *Mundiyās*. A petty quarrel near Nārnaul between a Satnāmī cultivator and a Mughul foot-soldier of the local revenue collector led to the outbreak. The high-handedness of the soldier was too much for them to bear and the wrangling soon developed into a religious war against the Mughuls. The Satnāmīs defeated the imperialists on several occasions and took possession of the town and district of Nārnaul. When these alarming news reached the emperor, he sent there a large force under Ra'dandāz Khān, equipped with artillery. The Satnāmīs fought with courage and determination but could not succeed against the well-organized and well-equipped Mughul force. Two thousand men of this sect fell fighting on the field and many of them were killed during the pursuit. The rebellion was thus crushed and the affected areas brought under control.

Aurangzīb's policy of intolerance and religious persecution roused the Sikhs to take up arms against him. He passed an order for the demolition of the Sikh temples and expulsion of the Sikh Guru's agents from the cities. Tegh Bahādur, the Sikh Guru, offered open opposition and encouraged the Hindus of Kāshmir in their resistance against forcible conversion to Islām. But he was siezed and taken to Delhi where he was imprisoned. On his refusal to embrace Islām, he was put to death after torture for five days (December, 1675).

The Sikhs were thus turned into bitter enemies of the Mughul government. Govinda Singh, the next Guru and the only son of Tegh Bahādur, was determined to avenge his father's cruel murder. He devoted his time and energy in transforming the Sikhs into a military community and instituted the custom of baptism wth a new oath. Those who accepted this baptism were known as the *Khālsa* (pure) and the members were required to put on a distinctive dress, keeping five things on their person, viz., *Kesh* (hair), *Kangha* (comb), *Kripān* (sword), *Kachha* (underwear) and *Kara* (iron bangle). They were to give up all restrictions about caste, food and drink. "The Sikhs felt themselves to be a chosen people, the Lord's elect. Everything was, therefore, ready for converting the sect into a military body obedient to its chief to the death,.... and ever ready to surrender the individual conscience to that of the guru."[10]

In the hilly regions of the northern Punjab, Guru Govinda fought against the local Muslim chiefs and Hindu rājās who had been asked to co-operate with the imperial forces in suppressing him, and won some victories over them. His stronghold at Ānandapur was besieged five times, and at last he had to leave it to take refuge in the plains, hotly pursued by the imperialists. His four sons were slain and he had no alternative but to proceed to the Deccan through Bikāner. He came back to Northern India after the death of Aurangzīb and joined Bahādur Shāh in the war of succession with his brothers. He also accompanied Bahādur Shāh to the Deccan and, while encamped at Nānder on the Godāvarī, he was murdered by an Afghān follower (1708).

He was the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs. Before his death, his instruction to his followers was to get themselves organized into a military democracy, without having any more need of a Guru.

V. FIGHT WITH THE RAJPUTS

Aurangzīb was on the look-out for a suitable opportunity to establish direct control over Mārwār, one of the most powerful Hindu States in Northern India. The reasons behind his motive were that it occupied a position of strategic importance, as through it lay the shortest military and commercial routes from the Mughul capital to the rich cities and ports of Gujarāt, and, secondly, such a powerful State was not only a menace to the safety of the empire but it might also offer stubborn opposition to his cherished religious policy. Its Mahārājā, Jasovanta Singh Rāthor, who had fought against Aurangzīb in the battle of Dharmāt and committed treachery against him prior to that of Khajuhā, was afterwards appointed by the emperor in responsible positions. Since the death of Rājā Jay Singh of Amber in 1667, he occupied the foremost place among the Hindu peers in the Mughul court. While commanding the Mughul frontier posts in the Khyber pass and the Peshāwar district, he died at Jāmrūd on 10 December, 1678, without an heir. This offered Aurangzīb an opportunity to give effect to his contemplated design. On hearing of the Mahārājā's death, he took steps to seize Mārwār and place it under direct rule of the Mughul government. He himself went to Ajmer to supervise the actions. As the State was then without a head and many Rāthor officers and troops were in Afghānistān, no resistance could be offered, and Mārwār was easily brought under imperial control. The emperor then went back to Delhi (2 April, 1679), and on that very day re-imposed the *jizya* on the Hindus. Meanwhile, he learnt that the two widowed queens of Jasovanta had given birth to two posthumous sons, but he remained adamant in his purpose without any thought of legitimate succession. Indra Singh Rāthor, the chieftain of Nāgaur and grand-nephew of Jasovanta Singh, was recognized as the Mahārājā of Mārwār on payment of a succession fee of thirty-six lakhs of rupees, and as he had no local support, the Mughul generals and other officers in occupation of the country were kept there for his assistance.

Towards the end of June, the family of Jasovanta Singh, including the surviving son Ajit Singh, reached Delhi, the other child having died a few weeks after birth. The rights of Ajit Singh had been urged before the emperor more than once. According to one opinion, Aurangzīb ordered that the child should be brought up in the royal harem till he would come of age when his rights would be duly recognized; and according to another version, "the throne of Jodhpur was offered to Ajit on condition of his turning Muslim. Such a proposal would be quite in keeping with Aurangzīb's past policy, as he had lately given the zamīndārīs of Jogigarh, Deogarh, and

Mau to those among rival claimants who had agreed to accept Islām."[11] In 1703, also, we find the same policy pursued by the emperor when he offered the Marāthā throne to the captive Marāthā prince Shāhū.[12] This extraordinary proposal was too much for the loyal Rāthors who made up their mind to rescue Ajit even at the cost of their lives. At such a critical juncture, they were fortunate in having a leader of rare ability like Durgā Dās, the son of Jasovanta's minister Askaran, and "the flower of Rājput chivalry." He was a man of undaunted heroism, inflexible determination, unswerving loyalty, and combined in himself all the requisite qualities of an efficient general.

Aurangzīb sent a strong force to seize Ajit and the Rānīs. While the Mughuls besieged the mansion of Jasovanta in Delhi, a band of brave Rāthors opposed them with all their might, and another party under Durgā Dās stealthily came out of the mansion with Ajit and his mothers in male attire and rode away towards Mārwār. Although he was overtaken by the imperialists at a distance of nine miles, a band of Rājputs under Ranchhor Dās Jodhā opposed them to the last man and, overcoming all opposition, Durgā Dās and his party reached Mārwār. Ajit was kept in a safe place of hiding. Baffled in his attempt to seize Jasovanta's son, Aurangzīb took a milkman's baby in his harem and proclaimed him to be true Ajit. Durgā Dās's protege was declared fictitious and Indra Singh was removed for his incapacity; but Mārwār was far from subdued. The Rāthors had taken up arms against Mughul oppression, and Aurangzīb again went to Ajmer (25 September, 1679), despatching his son, prince Akbar, with a large army against the Rāthors. Success attended Mughul arms and all the great towns including Jodhpur were plundered and temples destroyed.

Mahārānā Rāj Singh of Mewār realized the gravity of the situation, and could well understand that his State would be the next victim of imperial aggression. He had been asked to pay the *jizya* tax for his entire State and this was as humiliating as vexatious. Added to these was also his deep concern for the safety of Mārwār whose queen and mother of Ajit was a Mewār princess. But ere he could strike, the Mughul general, Hasan 'Alī Khān, with seven thousand chosen troops attacked Mewār. Unable to defend the plains, the Mahārānā deserted them and retired with his men to the hills. The Mughul army occupied his capital Udaipur and the fort of Chitor, and destroyed the temples there. Pursuing the Mahārānā, Hasan 'Alī defeated him and inflicted heavy losses on him (22 January, 1680).

The emperor who had been guiding the military operations then left Udaipur and returned to Ajmer, leaving prince Akbar in Mewār and another force in Mārwār. But the Mughul troops in Mewār and Mārwār were too far to combine for any united action, if need be Moreover, the troops under prince Akbar were too small for the territories to be controlled. The Rājputs carried on guerilla warfare, raiding the Mughul outposts, cutting off their supplies and thus creating terror among the Mughuls. Even Akbar's camp near Chitor was once surprised at night. After this the Mahārānā proceeded to the Bednor district, threatened Akbar's communications with Ajmer and defeated him; the losses suffered by the imperialists on this occasion were very heavy. These reverses infuriated the emperor who transferred the prince to Mārwār for his slackness and incapacity, placing prince A'zam in charge of Chitor. A grand plan was made to enter into the hills of Mewār from three directions under the leadership of three princes, A'zam, Mua'zzam and Akbar, but it did not eventually succeed, as the princes could not act up to the plan. As Akbar could not fare better in Mārwār than in Mewār, he despaired of success. Disgusted with censures from his father and removed from Mewār, and finding no other means of improving his situation, he hailed the invitation of the Rājputs in wresting the crown of Delhi from his father with their assistance. Both Durgā Dās and Mahārānā Rāj Singh assured him of their support but the death of the Mahārānā (22 October, 1680) delayed the project for some time. Jay Singh, the son and successor of Rāj Singh, also agreed to lend his support to the prince who, on 1 January, 1681, proclaimed himself emperor of Delhi, and on the following day, marched with his Rāthor and Śiśodiā allies against his father who was then at Ajmer. Aurangzīb had great affection for this son and was rudely shocked by his conduct. He had then a meagre force with him, and had Akbar arrived at Ajmer in haste without whiling away his time in pleasure, the emperor's position would have been extremely critical. But a fortnight's delay, which was solely due to his carefree movements, was fully utilized by Aurangzīb in calling reinforcements and strengthening his position. Meanwhile, despite paucity of his men, he had gone out of Ajmer and taken up his stand at a place ten miles south of it.

As Akbar advanced nearer his father, desertions followed from his camp in large number, but 30,000 Rājputs remained faithful to him. Arriving at a distance of three miles from his father's camp, he halted there for the night for a battle on the next morning. During the night the shrewd emperor took to diplomacy for winning over the prince's adherents. Tahavvur Khān was the right-hand man of Akbar, but the father-in-law of the former then held a high office under Aurangzīb, who had a letter written by him to his son-in-law, promising him pardon, in the event of his coming over to the side of the imperialists, but in case of his non-compliance, his family then held as hostages in the imperial camp, would be materially injured. Highly perturbed, Tahavvur Khān secretly left his tent to meet the emperor but was slain by the imperial attendants.

Meantime, the emperor had written a false letter to his rebellious son, commending him for bringing the principal Rājputs with him, according to his (emperor's) plan, so as to have them crushed between the imperial army and those of the prince in the next day's battle. As intended, the letter was dropped near the Rājput camp, and it upset Durgā Dās when he read it. He went to Akbar for an explanation, but when informed that the prince was asleep, he sent men to call Tahavvur Khān only to learn that the latter had already left for the imperial camp. Believing treachery on the part of the prince, the Rājputs fell on his camp, looted as much as they could and hurried towards Mewār. After this, most of his other troops also deserted him and joined the emperor. When Akbar awoke and found himself in a helpless condition, he retreated hurriedly towards Mewār with some members of his family and the treasure he could carry.

As soon as the real matter came to light, Durgā Dās lent his helping hand to the prince and took him under his protection. Evading the Mughul pursuers, he escorted Akbar successfully through Rājasthān, Khāndesh, and Baglāna to the shelter of the Marāthā king, Shambhujī.

Aurangzīb's plan of action in Mewār was considerably affected by the prince's flight to the Deccan, and he was eager to patch up a peace with the Mahārānā for personal supervision of strong military operations against his son in the Deccan. On the other hand, the Mahārānā also earnestly desired peace, specially because of extensive devastation of his cornfields by his enemies, threatening the whole population to starvation. He visited prince Muhammad A'zam (14 June, 1681) and concluded a treaty with him. According to its terms, Mewār was restored to Jay Singh with the title of Rānā and a *manṣab* of 5,000. He had to cede the *parganās* of Mandal, Pur and Bednor to the Mughuls in lieu of the *jizya* imposed on his kingdom. But Aurangzīb's war with Mārwār continued for about twenty-seven years more. After the treaty with Jay Singh, the emperor sent a powerful force under prince A'zam to pursue Akbar and he himself proceeded hurriedly towards the Deccan, reaching Burhānpur on 13 November, 1681, and Aurangābād on 22 March, 1682.

VI. AURANGZĪB AND SHIVĀJĪ

During the first half of his reign, as the emperor had been busy in the north, he left the administration and military operations of the Deccan in the hands of his viceroys. The two States of Bijāpur and Golconda were then in process of decay, but on account of paucity of fighting forces in the Deccan, absence of firm determination and a strong and vigorous policy on the part of the Mughul viceroys, as also lack of mutual co-operation and support of their officers, these States could not be annexed to the empire till the emperor's personal presence there in the second half of his reign.

The third kingdom in the Deccan was that of the Marāthās created by the zeal and untiring efforts of their leader Shivājī, whose father, Shāhjī Bhonsle, originally a small *jāgīrdār* under the Sultān of Ahmadnagar, became later on a king-maker there, but after his defeat by the imperialists in 1636, entered the service of the 'Ādil Shāhī Sultān as a leading Hindu general.

A detailed account of Shivājī will be given in the next Chapter. Imbued with an uncommon spirit of adventure and love of independence from his early life, Shivājī moved freely among the sturdy people of the Māvals or western belt of the Poona district, "hardened himself to a life of privation and strenuous exertion", and after gathering recruits from these healthy and brave men, he commenced his activities for the building up of an independent kingdom.

The continued illness of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh from 1646 to his death in 1656 afforded Shivājī a good opportunity to carry out his designs and he captured, one by one, several Bijāpur forts, viz., Torna, Kondhānā (Sinhgarh), Rohirā, Chākan, and Purandar and built the fort of Rāigarh, three miles from Torna. He also surprised Shambhūjī Mohite and took possession of Supa, south-east of Poona. The year 1656 saw his conquest of the State of Jāvlī in the Mahābaleśwar range and this acquisition not only opened his path for further conquests in the south and south-west but also secured him the service of many Māvle infantrymen from it. Here he acquired also a vast accumulated treasure which immensely increased his financial resources. Two miles west of Jāvlī, he constructed a new fort for the protection of this area and named it Pratāpgarh. These were followed up by his important exploits in north Konkan where the rich towns of Kalyān and Bhiwāndī and the fort of Māhulī came into his possession, and in this way he got a firm footing in northern Konkan. "By the year 1659 he had extended his dominions in the uplands or *Desh* to the southern limit of the Satara district, and in Konkan from Mahuli to near Mahad."[13]

The Bijāpur government sent Afzal Khān in 1659 to capture the Marāthā leader dead or alive, but Afzal Khān himself was slain and the Bijāpur army sustained severe losses. This wonderful feat not only enhanced the self-reliance of the Marāthā chief but also increased his power and prestige, and rudely shocked the 'Ādil Shāhī Sultānate. Next he took possession of South Konkan and the Kolhāpur district.

But next year (1660), he was besieged in the fort of Panhāla by the Bijāpur general, Sīdī Jauhar, and compelled to evacuate it.

Taking advantage of the Mughul invasion of Bijāpur and the diversion of the imperial forces, Shivājī had raided Mughul territories in the districts of Ahmadnagar and Junnar (1657) and even plundered the wealthy city of Junnar. Aurangzīb, who was then viceroy of the Deccan, took prompt action against him. He was surprised and routed, and Marāthā villages ravaged. When Bijāpur concluded peace with the imperialists, Shivājī, too, submitted to them. Although Aurangzīb forgave him for the time being, he could not place reliance on his adversary's plighted words and waited for an opportunity to strike him after the war of succession.

After his accession to the throne, Aurangzīb sent Shāyista Khān as viceroy of the Deccan with instruction to crush Shivājī. Commencing his campaign early in 1660, the new viceroy took possession of Poona, the fort of Chākan, Kalyān and north Konkan in the course of about a year and a half, but the Marāthā chief gave him a serious blow by a surprise night attack on his residence in Poona on 5 April, 1663, wounding him and slaying, among others, one of his sons and six women of his harem. In January, 1664, Shivājī sacked Surat, a very wealthy port in the Mughul empire, and returned with a rich booty exceeding one crore of rupees in value.

Highly perturbed, Aurangzīb transferred Shāyista Khān to Bengal and sent Jay Singh of Amber, one of the greatest generals and diplomats of the age, with Dilir Khān, an efficient general, to put down Shivājī and chastise 'Ālī 'Ādil Shāh II for his evasion of the conditions of the treaty of 1657 and his secret aid to the Marāthā chief. By his wonderful tact and skilful handling of the situation, Jay Singh succeeded in securing the support and ungrudging assistance of those whom Shivājī had antagonized in one way or the other, and thus creating a ring of enemies around the latter, the

Mughul viceroy and generalissimo of the Deccan made Shivājī's position extremely precarious. Next, the fort of Purandar, where the families of the Marāthā officers had been kept, was besieged, while another Mughul detachment was sent to plunder and burn the villages of Mahārāshtra.

At last, finding it very difficult to defend the fortress any longer, Shivājī personally visited Jay Singh and concluded the treaty of Purandar with him (12 June, 1665), whereby he ceded twenty-three of his forts to the imperialists, retaining twelve only for himself, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughul emperor and promised to serve him loyally in the Deccan. The Marāthā chief served the imperialists with complete loyalty during their invasion of Bijāpur shortly afterwards.[14]

On Jay Singh's advice and assurance of safety, Shivājī paid a visit to the emperor in his court at Āgra on 12 May, 1666. There he was ranked as a *manṣabdār* of 5,000 only, and feeling highly humiliated at this, he made a loud protest in the open court accusing the emperor of breach of faith, and swooned. For this unusual conduct, he was kept under guard and forbidden to attend the court. It was after three months of captivity at Āgra that eluding the vigilance of the guards, he managed to escape with his son in two baskets of sweetmeats (19 August, 1666) and reached Rāigarh in the guise of a mendicant on 12 September.[15]

After his successful termination of war with the Marāthā chief, Jay Singh had proceeded against Bijāpur and conquered, one by one, many of 'Ādil Shāhī forts. In spite of harassments by the guerilla tactics of the Bijāpur army, he advanced within twelve miles of the fort of Bijāpur, but was unable to capture it by a *coup de main,* on account of timely and energetic actions of the 'Ādil Shāhī Sultān by strengthening its defences and taking other measures to the detriment of the imperialists. Consequently, Jay Singh decided to retreat and this he had to do against severe harassments by his enemies, besides two severe battles with them. He returned to his headquarters at Aurangābād incurring heavy losses and without achieving anything. His irate master censured and recalled him to court. His disgrace and recall were also partly due to the suspicion of the emperor about his secret aid to the escape of Shivājī from his confinement at Āgra. Broken-hearted at this humiliation and disappointment, the unlucky general died on the way at Burhānpur on 28 August, 1667.

For more than three years after his return to Rāigarh, Shivājī did not take up any offensive against the Mughuls, and a formal peace was effected in 1668 with the emperor who conferred on him the title of *Rājā.* But in 1670, he renewed his military operations against the imperialists and captured the fort of Sinhgarh which was followed up by his seizure of Kalyān and other places of north Konkan. The quarrel between Shāh 'Ālam, the Mughul viceroy of the Deccan, and his general Dilir Khān rendered it difficult for the imperialists to oppose the Marāthā chief effectively, and the latter moved on with his plundering raids from place to place. He sacked Surat for the second time in October, 1670, and carried away rich booty in cash and kind. Next, he conducted most daring raids on Aurangābād and the Mughul provinces of Baglāna, Khāndesh and Berār, and captured Sālher, an important fort on the borders of Khāndesh and Gujarāt.

The emperor was much worried by his daring successes and, recalling Shāh 'Ālam, appointed Bahādur Khān as viceroy of the Deccan (1672). But during the five years of his viceroyalty Bahādur Khān could not improve the position of the Mughuls there. Shivājī achieved success after success. He conquered Jāwhar and Rāmnagar, the two States in the Kolī country, south of Surat, and levied *chauth* (blackmail, one-fourth of land revenue) in various places of the Deccan. Confusion and disorder in the Bijāpur kingdom, following the death of 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II in December, 1672, and the Afghān risings in the north-west frontier, necessitating the transfer of the best Mughul troops from the Deccan, gave the Marāthā chief opportunities for successful military operations. From 1672 to 1678, the Mughul generals carried on desultory fightings with him without any tangible result. On 6 June, 1674, he performed his formal coronation ceremony at Rāigarh with great pomp and grandeur, spending a huge sum of money on the occasion.

In 1677 he concluded an alliance with Golconda, and conquered Gingee and Vellore with a vast territory in the Madras, Carnatic and the Mysore plateaus which greatly augmented his power, prestige and financial resources. His successful career came to an end with his death in April, 1680, but the spirit he had infused into the people of Mahārāshtra survived his death, and Aurangzīb could not cope with them even after his strenuous efforts for a quarter of a century with his headquarters in the Deccan.

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1. J. N. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib,* 3rd edn. Calcutta, 1962, p. 72.
2. Four miles west of the old fort of Gaur.
3. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. III, Calcutta, 1916, pp. 1-3.

4. Ibid, p.115.
5. Ibid, p.196.

5a. Ibid, Ch. XXXI, Section 18. According to *CHI*, 420,000 tolas of silver (IV.235). This statement in *CHI* is also by J. N. Sarkar. As this was published (probably also written) later, it may be taken as his later view and a more correct one. (Ed.)

6. Sarkar, p. 203.
7. Ibid, pp.281-282.

7a. Mohammad Yasin, *A Social History of Islāmic India,* (1605-1748), Lakhnau, (1958), p.150.

8. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. IV, p.241.
9. Ibid., p.242.

9a. For a detailed account of Aurangzīb's bigotry, cf. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. III, Ch. XXXIV, Sections 9-17 and Appendix V.

10. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. III, p. 358. For a detailed account, cf. Ch. XI.
11. Ibid.. p.374.
12. *CHI*. IV, p.247.
13. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1930, p. 42.
14. For further details, cf. next Chapter.
15. For discussion on this date, cf. next Chapter.

CHAPTER IX

SHIVĀJĪ

I. THE RISE OF THE BHOSLES

The origin of the Bhosle (also called Bhonsle) clan of the Marāthā caste and even the derivation of their name are shrouded in mystery. They claimed descent from the Śiśodīa Rāṇās of Chitor and Udaipur, and possibly a branch of their family migrated to the south after the kingdom of Chitor had been devastated by Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī early in the fourteenth century.[1] So far as the Marāthā history is concerned, the Yādavas of Devagiri, later named Daulatābād, the Bhosles of Verul and the Nimbālkars of Phaltan near Palara, are the three Marāthā families which are connected with the rise of Shivājī. Of these, the Yādavas were the descendants of the renowned rulers of Devagiri who were subjugated by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī of Delhi towards the end of the thirteenth century. The descendants of this ruling Yādava family took service with the Nizām Shāhīs of Ahmadnagar. This city was invaded and captured by the Emperor Akbar in 1600, and the Nizām Shāhī kingdom was on the point of extinction, when an able organizer named Malik 'Ambar, an Abyssinian minister of that State, came to its rescue. 'Ambar made friends with the Hindus and, using their best talent and co-operation both for war and administration, he improved the revenues of that kingdom and successfully opposed the Mughul advance for a quarter of a century. In this grand political struggle Shivājī's father, Shāhjī, and grandfather, Malojī, were closely associated with Malik 'Ambar, so that they gradually realized their strength and asserted their power in the course of time.

Lukhjī Jādhava of Devagiri had a clever daughter named Jijā Bāi, who was married in 1605 to Maloji Bhosle's son, Shāhjī, a brave soldier of fortune, who long exerted himself in upholding the falling fortunes of the Nizām Shāhī against the Mughul onslaught.[2]

Marāthā history in its initial stages is, thus, an unbroken struggle of three generations of the Mughul emperors striving to put down the three generations of the Bhosle family. In this trial of strength, Malojī and his son, Shāhjī, prepared the ground, of which Shivājī, the offspring of Shāhjī and Jijā Bāi, took advantage. The three emperors, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb, attempted to subjugate the Deccan and the Bhosles stood forth to defend it, although the parties were unevenly matched, the Bhosles being poor in resources compared with the might of the emperors. Malojī and Shāhjī acquired lands under the Nizām Shāhī regime, rendering service in return. The Bhosles soon made themselves indispensable to the rulers of the Nizām Shāhī State. 'Ambar patronized them and used their services in keeping the Mughuls at bay. In the battle of Bhatvadi near Ahmadnagar in 1624 Malik 'Ambar inflicted a crushing defeat upon the combined armies of Delhi and Bijāpur. Shāhjī, who took part in this battle, won distinction and gained valuable experience. Thereafter for several years Shāhjī ably defended the Nizām Shāhī State against the all-powerful Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān, after years of war, succeeded in 1636 in extinguishing the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and expelling Shāhjī from his homeland. The latter sought service under the Sultān of Bijāpur on condition that he should no longer live in Mahārāshtra.

Shāhjī's later life was spent in the regions once ruled by the Hindu sovereigns of Vijayanagara which had been devastated by the Muslims in 1565. Later on, when Shāhjī established his position at Bangalore and Kanakagiri, he had to deal with the various Hindu chieftains of the old Vijayanagara State. Here he imbibed the tradition of Hindu independence and resistance to Muslim aggression. Shāhjī's wife, Jijā Bāi, carried in her vein a similar tradition of her Yādava ancestors. Thus their son Shivājī was fired from early days with the same spirit of independence. Shāhjī died in 1664 in Bijāpur service by an accident while hunting.

II. SHIVĀJĪ'S EARLY LIFE

Shivājī was born on 6 April, 1627, in the fort of Shivner near Junnar.[3] His mother Jijā Bāi gave birth to six sons, of whom the eldest, Sambhājī, and the youngest, Shivājī, alone grew up to old age. Shāhjī and his father-in-law, Lukhjī, often faced each other in open battles, as the latter deserted his master Nizām Shāh and joined the Mughul emperor. But the spirited lady, like a pious wife, elected to follow her husband's fortunes and refused to go to her father's home for her delivery, when picked up by him after a battle on a high road in her advanced pregnancy. In that sad plight she took her residence in fort Shivner, then under her husband's jurisdiction. In this fort was Shivājī born. Her eldest son, Sambhājī, lived with his father and shared his labour in Bijāpur service. Shāhjī thereafter deserted Jijā Bāi and married a second wife, Tukābāi, of the Mohite family of Supa. She gave birth to a son named Ekojī or Vyankojī, who later became the founder of the kingdom of Tanjore. When hard pressed by the emperor

Shāh Jahān in 1636, Shāhjī had to flee for life after entrusting the management of his paternal *jāgīr* of Poona and the care of his wife Jijā Bāi and her young son Shivājī to his trusted agent Dādājī Kondadev, a clever officer in Bijāpur, who discharged the duty of guardianship most creditably.

The early life of Shivājī was full of peril and adventure. For the first nine years of his life, a period of war conducted by his father against the Mughul emperor, the young boy and his mother had to wander from place to place in imminent danger of being captured and punished. Shāh Jahān's officers succeeded in capturing Jijā Bāi, but she cleverly managed to have her son concealed in an out of the way village. Later, she was released on payment of a large fine. It was in 1636 when a formal treaty was concluded that the son and the mother found a safe and settled residence at Poona where Dādājī built them a commodious house, *Lāl Mahāl*, as it later came to be known in history. Here Shivājī lived for some ten years, until they removed to their newly built fort Rāigarh, which became his first capital for the original *jāgīr*. Twenty years later, about 1667, Rāigarh became the formal residence of Shivājī, where his coronation took place.

The common education of those days was imparted to Shivājī as soon as he came into a settled life. He was taught reading, writing and arithmetic,[3a] and heard portions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* expounded to him by the family preceptors. He was fond of *Harikīrtana* and devotional music, and attended the sermons of Sant Tukārām, then living and preaching in the vicinity of Poona. Shivājī received his best education, not through books and classes as in the present day, but in the wide world, by personal contact and practical experience. Intense love of religion was a trait he developed by the sight of Muslim atrocities and the reports he heard about them. He later introduced compulsory recitations of the war chapters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by all his fort garrisons.

Shivājī's success in life was, however, mainly due to hard and incessant knocks he had to share with his mother in his early days. Proud of her Kshatriya extraction, with vivid memories of her royal ancestors of Devagiri and their splendour, chastened by years of suffering ever since her marriage and now practically deserted by the husband, this spirited lady developed in her son a spirit of defiance and self-assertion and became to him a veritable guardian angel. All her life's ambition and solace now entirely centered in this boy's well-being and good fortune. Shāhjī had defied a powerful emperor for years; why may not the son imitate the same course?

The mother and the boy constantly talked of wild plans which the shrewd Dādājī wholeheartedly supported. In addition, he imparted to Shivājī his own tact and circumspection gained during the course of his management of the Poona *jāgīr*, which in itself supplied a ready field for experiment. Dādājī was not merely a clerk or a competent accountant. A strict disciplinarian and taskmaster, he was, in addition, a noble character, well versed in the politics of the day with a buoyant spirit for organizing national resources and a hatred for foreign domination with its persecution of the Hindus. He had long served the Bhosle family through weal and woe as their trusted friend and adviser. He was imbued with a deep love for the peasantry and felt a keen anxiety for ameliorating their lot.

Thus the young Shivājī looked up to these two, his mother and the guardian, for guidance in life. The secluded hilly regions of the Māvals (the western valleys of Poona) offered him plenty of outdoor occupation and opportunity for adventure. Constant exposure to rain, sun and cold and the rough life in the midst of wild nature hardened the young boy's body and mind. Riding, wrestling, spear-games, swordsmanship, swimming through torrential streams, became his main occupation and he developed from his early childhood an intimate comradeship with man and nature away from the temptations of vice and luxury of court life. He made friends with companions of his age and wandered with them through hills and dales, organizing measures for defence. The art of disguise was in those days highly perfected for purposes of protection and the needs of life. Shivājī himself could dexterously imitate the voices of birds and beasts. He could quickly cover long distances on foot or riding, eluding pursuit and enduring privations. His rambles were intensive and deliberate for acquainting himself with secret paths, recesses and strongholds of the long Sahyādri range of the Deccan plateau. With eyes and ears ever alert, he gained first-hand knowledge of the sentiments of the people, their joys and sorrows, their occupations and resources, their needs and comforts.

Dādājī's first concern was to make Shivājī a real master of the people. He gave him useful hints as to how he should appear properly attired and behave among assemblages of village *panchāyats* and on public occasions. Dādājī proclaimed to the people that they were to look up to Shivājī for all their needs as well as for the redress of their grievances.

III. THE FIRST EXPERIMENT IN SWARĀJ

The *jāgīr* entrusted by Shāhjī to the care of Jijā Bāī and Dādājī extended over the regions known as the Māvals mentioned above, namely the valleys to the west of Poona, roughly extending from Junnar to Wai. Dādājī raised a local militia for guarding the lives and property of the inhabitants and, along with Shivājī, toured the villages making inquiries and deciding disputes on the spot. The land revenue system, initiated by Akbar under the directions of Todarmal, had been already adopted in the Deccan by Malik 'Ambar and now Dādājī adopted it for the territories of the *jāgīr*. Dādājī took measures to destroy wild animals that damaged the crops; fresh lands were brought under cultivation; gardening and tree-planting were specially encouraged. All this work of development which greatly enhanced the welfare of the people and were carried out in Shivājī's presence and in his name proved for him a valuable preparation in practical methods of government in his future life. It fostered a sense of emulation and self-help among the people, eliminated their usual lethargy and despair, and instilled into them a bright new hope. Friends and comrades of varied capacities quickly flocked round the new boy-master to share his labours, willing to make any sacrifice that might be demanded. Shivājī's vision expanded. He began to dream of grand prospects outside the limits of his *jāgīr*. He held secret consultations with his comrades in arms, planning to make fresh acquisitions, repairing buildings, garrisons and forts, raising funds by daring night attacks on private and public treasures. Buried wealth was cleverly traced and carried away. It became a strong belief throughout the land that Goddess Bhavānī appeared before the young hero and communicated to him the exact location of secret hoards. Earnest work earned quick results.

Shivājī possessed a persuasive tongue with which he at once won peoples' hearts. He was alert and foremost in jumping into a risk and facing the consequences. He held secret conferences with his companions and anxiously deliberated on the liberation of his homeland from Muslim control so as to put an end to the wanton persecution of the Hindus. Shivājī's court historian thus summarizes his sentiments:

"Why should we remain content with what the Muslim rulers choose to give us? We are Hindus. This whole country is ours by right, and is yet occupied and held by foreigners. They desecrate our temples, break holy idols, plunder our wealth, convert us forcibly to their religion, carry away our women folk and children, slay the cows and inflict a thousand wrongs upon us. We will suffer this treatment no more. We possess strength in our arms. Let us draw the sword in defence of our sacred religion, liberate our country and acquire new lands and wealth by our own effort. Are we not as brave and capable as our ancestors of yore? Let us undertake this holy mission and God will surely help us. All human efforts are so helped. There is no such thing as good luck and ill luck. We are the captains of our fortunes and the makers of our freedom."[4]

The pious Jijā Bāi blessed these sentiments. She daily witnessed how complete darkness prevailed under Muslim government, where there was no law, no justice; the officials acted as they pleased. Violation of women's honour, murders and forcible conversions were the order of the day. News of demolition of temples, cow-slaughter and other atrocities poured upon the ears of that lady so constantly that she used to exclaim: "Can we not remedy this evil? Will not my son have the strength to come forth boldly to resist it?" The Nizām Shāh had openly murdered Jijā Bāi's father, his brothers and sons. Bājājī Nimbālkar, the ruler of Phaltan, a scion of the old Paramāra race, was forcibly converted by the Sultān of Bijāpur. The Hindus could not lead an honourable life. This spectacle moved the lady and her son to righteous indignation. An intense feeling of revolt took possession of their minds. Shivājī prayed for strength, dreamt bright visions and entered upon a wild career full of hope and promise without caring for consequences. He possessed an inborn capacity of judging the character of men almost at first sight. He mixed with all kinds of men and picked up suitable helpmates, and converted to his views even those who were leading evil lives. His sympathy and selflessness and his earnest endeavour to serve his land appealed to all, so that within a few years the contrast became glaring between the improved conditions of his paternal *jāgīr* and the disorder prevailing in the Muslim-ruled region outside. Soon a compact, well-knit geographical unit of a small *swarājya* came into being in which law and order prevailed, duties of officials were clearly defined, justice quickly rendered, honest work well rewarded and where life and wealth were perfectly secure. All this had profound effect upon the ruling class and even Shivājī's father in far-off Bangalore.

IV. FIRST CONFLICT

Shāhjī was employed by 'Ādil Shāh in the conquest of the Karnātak regions, which once formed part of the Vijayanagara empire. Shāhjī thus became the helpless instrument for conquering the Hindus and pouring the wealth of Hindu shrines into the Muslim coffers of Bijāpur. Stories of this fresh spoliation reached the ears of Jijā Bāi and Shivājī and caused them extreme distress. In the meantime, the activities of Shivājī and Dādājī in the Māval lands enraged the ruling authorities of Bijāpur and induced them to take prompt measures to put down the revolt. Shāhjī felt extreme annoyance at the turn the affairs were taking both in his own sphere at Bangalore and in the Deccan. Jijā Bāi and Dādājī had Shivājī married about the year 1640 to a girl from the Nimbālkar family, named Saibai. Soon after this event, the atmosphere became tense for Shāhjī as mentioned above. His own position as a loyal servant of Bijāpur and his son's revolt could not go together. Very probably, Shāhjī was called upon to account for the impropriety and asked to restrain his son. As Shivājī was yet too young to appear as the author of the mischief, the mother and the regent Dādājī were held mainly responsible for the reported disloyalty and sedition. In such circumstances, Shāhjī invited to Bangalore, for a personal deliberation, Jijā Bāi and Dādājī under the plea that he was anxious to see his newly wedded daughter-in-law and his young son. The party was away from home for nearly two years (1642-43), when the whole family and establishment of Shāhjī met together at Bangalore. Shāhjī, one may gather, discussed the situation fully and freely. Jijā Bāi, finding it awkward to put forth any decided plan of action, employed her sojourn, it seems, in visiting the famous shrines of the south and avoided discussion. She certainly felt no regret for the revolt her son was organizing in the interest of national honour. The authorities of Bijāpur fully knew what was going on. 'Ādil Shāh commanded Shāhjī to pay a personal visit to his court at Bijāpur with all his family and there receive the Government's decision on the course to be followed in future. Shāhjī therefore paid a visit to Bijāpur about the year 1643, and spent some time there in answering charges preferred against himself and his management of the Poona *jāgīr*. The defiance attributed to Shivājī in not making the prescribed bow when he attended the *Darbār,* appears to have occurred at this time. It was also during this visit that Shivājī is said to have restrained a butcher slaughtering a cow in a public thoroughfare. Small though in itself, the incident reveals the audacious and uncompromising trait in Shivājī's character. When he perceived a vital wrong being perpetrated, he at once punished the wrong-doer, reckless of consequences. At Bijāpur, Shivājī retaliated the outrage on a cow and would perhaps have been imprisoned had he not managed to run away unnoticed to his homeland. He lost no time upon his return in forming an independent State of his own wherein full political and religious freedom would prevail without molestation from the Muslim overlords. While at Bangalore the subject was doubtless fully discussed and again also at Bijāpur, with what outcome we have no means of knowing. It seems there was no way for a compromise. The father and the son probably formed an understanding between them how best to ward off the danger apprehended from the Bijāpur atrocities. The father would answer that he was not responsible for what his son did and that he was powerless to punish him. This was indeed the reality. At heart, Shāhjī probably approved the way the son was following and even encouraged him by lending him some trained loyal officials from Bangalore to organize a proper government for the *jāgīr*. Elephants, infantry, cavalry with flags and insignia of royalty, in addition to the treasure for immediate need, were, say Parmānand and Sabhāsad, despatched from Bangalore by Shāhjī for his son's use. Shyamrāo Nīlakanth Peshwā, Sonopant Dabir and other officials of Shāhjī's trust were sent for duty in Mahārāshtra.

How money was collected for this venture and how ingeniously the plan was put into execution by gradual steps and careful forethought must now be told. Seven years of efficient management of the Māval *jāgīr* now began to yield fruit in the shape of a regular substantial income, which Shivājī utilized in maintaining infantry, repairing and garrisoning forts and improving the administrative machinery. Already a band of young enthusiastic comrades flocked around him to share his labours and execute his commands. One such was Kanhoji Jedhe,[5] Deshmukh of Kari, a leading and respectable chieftain in the employ of Bijāpur and well known to the Bhosles for a long time. With Kanhoji's help, Shivājī, after his return from Bijāpur, easily acquired possession of all the twelve Māval forts, west of Poona, along with fort Rohida and fort Sinhgarh which he strongly garrisoned. He immediately started building a new fort which he named Rāigarh and made it the principal seat of his government. These activities during the two years 1644-1645 could no longer be concealed from the knowledge of the Shāh of Bijāpur, who took immediate steps to restrain Dādājī and disgrace Shāhjī. The Shāh called upon Kanhoji Jedhe to remain faithful on pain of death.

Shivājī replied to the Shāh's challenge, saying that he was not disloyal; he was merely putting his turbulent lands in a state of defence and bringing peace so essential for the development of this hilly country. Shivājī was, however, busy, running from place to place, securing recruits for his plan, forming friendships, encouraging, persuading, threatening and coercing people so that they soon began to talk of him as a heaven-sent leader. In 1646 the Shāh of Bijāpur was attacked by paralysis which kept him bed-ridden throughout the remaining decade of his life, an incident which directly favoured the task of Shivājī.

V. INDEPENDENCE TAKES SHAPE

Shivājī's guardian, Dādāji Kondadev, died in 1647 and left Shivājī entirely to his own resources. He now set about his work with greater vigour and allowed no break in his undertaking. He soon managed to capture two strong forts near Poona, Chākan in the north and Purandar in the east, both of great strategic importance. The guardian of Purandar was one Nilopant Sarnaik, a long-standing friend of the Bhosle family whose shelter Shivājī sought during the rains of 1648. When, during the Divāli celebration of that year Shivājī and his family were admitted into the fort as friendly guests, Shivājī managed to persuade his host and his brothers to accept him as their master, resigning their traditional service to Bijāpur. This illustrates to what different artifices Shivājī had recourse in accomplishing his object.

Next, Shivājī one dark night surprised Sambhāji Mohite of Supa, an important wealthy mart, south-east of Poona. Sambhājī Mohite's sister, Tukābāi, was the second wife of Shāhjī and so Shivājī's step-mother. Sambhāji offered but little resistance. He was captured and despatched to Bangalore, as an undesirable neighbour.

Shivājī had now two main objects in view,—first, to secure the utmost welfare of the people in his charge, and secondly, to have well-guarded frontiers which he could easily hold. He was careful not to attempt any expansion at the sacrifice of security. He proclaimed his independence in a curious fashion. He began to use a new seal on all official papers issued by him with a significant motto, which ran thus:[6] "This seal of Shiva, son of Shāh, shines forth for the welfare of the people and is meant to command increasing respect from the universe like the first phase of the moon." This seal is found attached to papers dating 1648 onward, so that one may conclude that this novel plan of Shivājī began to take shape about that year.

Similarly papers are found in which Shivājī's title *Chhatrapati* and the seals of his ministers thereon are mentioned.[6a] This proves that a small cohesive independent State with ministers and officials charged with definite duties came into being some time before 1653, although the final shape took many years to be completed and was announced only at the time of his formal coronation.

A serious danger, however, threatened the whole project. Bijāpur could not take all this lying down. In 1648 the Ādil Shāhī forces led by Mustafā Khān, under whom served Shāhjī, were fighting before the fort of Gingee. One night, the chief commander Mustafā suddenly raided Shāhjī's camp and made him a captive under the orders of the Shāh. He was then sent to Bijāpur for trial and threatened with death if he did not restrain his son Shivājī from the wicked course he was following. Shāhjī was then called upon to restore Sinhgarh and Bangalore, the former held by Shivājī and the latter by his elder son Sambhājī. This was the move the king of Bijāpur adopted to crush Shāhjī and his two rebellious sons. The father accordingly wrote to Shivājī to give back Sinhgarh and save his life. The elder son Sambhājī also was similarly approached in regard to Bangalore. At the same time, Bijāpur forces arrived at both these places to put down the rebellious brothers and take charge of the two important posts. The two brothers fought valiantly at both places and maintained their positions, inflicting severe losses upon the opponents. But Shāhjī was a prisoner in Bijāpur upon whom the Sultān could easily wreak his vengeance. Shāhjī wrote pressing Shivājī to save his life by restoring Sinhgarh. Jijā Bāi interceded with Shivājī for saving her husband's life and reluctantly the latter yielded and gave back the fort to Bijāpur.[7]

In the heart of the Māval country there ruled an ancient Deshmukh family named Moré in Satara District with their seat of authority in Jāvlī in the Mahābaleśvar range. Proud of their allegiance to Bijāpur, the Morés moved heaven and earth to put down this new Bhosle upstart, of a low origin in their estimation. So the inevitable clash came as Shivājī could not allow such an inimical rival to remain as his neighbour. For years, Shivājī used all his arts of persuasion and amity, as he had done in other cases before, in persuading the Morés to fall in with his plan of national uplift. Failing to conciliate them, Shivājī ultimately made up his mind to teach the Morés a lesson such as others could never forget. Early in 1656 Shivājī attacked Jāvlī and immediately captured it after killing its main defender Hanumant Rāo. Some members of their family ran to different places for safety. Shivājī negotiated with them, but failing in his endeavours to win them over, he in a short time killed three more of their large family, Yasvant Rāo and his sons Krishnajī and Bājī.[8] The Bijāpur authorities could not save them. One member alone named Pratāp Rāo escaped to Bijāpur where he was taken under shelter and whence he continued for some time to cause pin-pricks to Shivājī's rising career. The short work which Shivājī did with the Morés conveyed a wholesome lesson to all who would not willingly accept his plan. Here was a born leader to whom it was wise to submit. Such a belief engendered by this episode of the Morés and soon widely proclaimed outside, strengthened Shivājī's hands in all his future plans and projects, now mostly undertaken against foreign powers. No Marāthā clansman dared hereafter to stand in opposition to Shivājī. A small compact little kingdom soon came into being, comprising roughly the present districts of Poona and Satara. Written evidence gives 1653 as the time of the completion of this first phase of Shivājī's *swarājya*. To protect this new conquest of Jāvlī, Shivājī erected a new fort and named it Pratāpgarh, which can now be sighted from the present hill station of Mahābaleśvar.

VI. AFZAL KHĀN OVERCOME

Shivājī quickly followed up his conquest of Jāvlī by descending into north Konkan and capturing Kalyān, its chief city, a wealthy mart of Ādil Shāhi's west coast regions. He also seized by means of accurate planning a large treasure which was on its way from Kalyān to Bijāpur. In the course of this affair a young fair Muslim lady, the daughter-in-law of the Governor, fell into the hands of Shivājī's officers and was presented by them for Shivājī's acceptance as a trophy of the war. Shivājī disapproved this wicked action of his subordinates, reprimanded them severely, and allowed the lady to return to her home, duly protected by his own escort. This unprecedented generosity, rare in the Muslim annals of India, enhanced Shivājī's reputation far and wide as the great respecter of the fair sex.

Having arranged the administration of north Konkan, Shivājī rapidly turned to the south, inspecting Dabhol, Shringarpur, Prabhavali, Rajapur, Kudal and other places on the coast with a view to fortifying it as a line of defence for his projected dominion. A few years later he erected the strong naval forts, a marvel of giant work even today, of Suvarnadurg, Vijayadurg, Sindhudurg (Malvan), and lastly Kolaba, and created a powerful navy with shipbuilding yards and arsenals for purposes both of defence and trade. Shivājī's ingenuity in this respect presents a striking contrast to the unpardonable neglect of the Mughul emperors for the naval defence of India. They paid no attention to what the Europeans were doing by establishing fortified factories on both the west and east coasts which ultimately proved so dangerous to the existence of the empire. Shivājī borrowed the plan from the Europeans, made friends with them and utilized their skill for his own purpose.

A turning point occurred in the politics of India about the year 1656-57. Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh died on 4 November, 1656, with the result that his State began to decline and was attacked by Aurangzīb in 1657. At Āgra, Emperor Shāh Jahān was suddenly taken ill, giving rise to a fratricidal war, in which out of his four sons, Aurangzīb became victorious and proclaimed himself Emperor at Delhi in July, 1658. In view of these changes Shivājī manoeuvred his course with courage and fortitude as the sequel will show.

The widowed queen of Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh decided to take vigorous measures to put down Shivājī's power by capturing him alive or dead. For this purpose she selected an intrepid soldier of her court and a declared enemy of Shivājī's family. She called Afzal Khān to her presence, promised him ample reward, supplied him with a strong well-equipped force and commanded him to employ all possible means to bring Shivājī, dead or alive, to Bijāpur. Afzal Khān, leaving his headquarters in September, 1659, came sweeping against Shivājī, pulling down Hindu shrines on the way and plundering the prosperous regions of Shivājī's domains. Shivājī received full details of the Khān's atrocities through his spies and, unable to encounter the Khān in an open contest, took his residence at his new fort of Pratāpgarh in the midst of hills and planned to overcome his opponent by some subtle stratagem.

The Khān, learning that Shivājī had gone to Pratāpgarh, pitched his camp at Wai, about 25 miles east of the latter's position. Agents of the two moved freely between them for some time negotiating for a personal meeting between the two for a solution. After several discussions, the Khān, confident of his strength, agreed to meet Shivājī below the fort of Pratāpgarh in a specially erected tent with a decorated canopy. The meeting took place on the afternoon of Thursday, 10 November, 1659. The Khān possessed a powerful body and felt confident of overcoming in a personal grip his small slim Marāthā antagonist, twenty years his junior in age. Shivājī similarly took all precautions for meeting any eventuality. He wore an iron cuirass of chains under his vest, a metal cap over his skull, concealed under the turban with a long white flowing robe overall, having broad sleeves, covering a dagger in one hand and tiger-claws on the other. After receiving his mother's blessings, Shivājī boldly set forth on his dangerous venture to meet his antagonist. As he walked in, the Khān rose and, in his first embrace, gripped him tightly in his left arm and stabbed him with a dagger in the right hand. With great presence of mind, Shivājī saved the blow, ripping open the Khān's bowels with the tiger-claws and instantly bringing him to the ground. The whole affair was finished in a moment. As the bearers picked up the Khān's body to carry it away in his palanquin, they were quickly disabled by Shivājī's men, who severed the Khān's head and exhibited it from a high mast of the topmost bastion of the fort. It was by then the dusk of the evening, and concealed Marāthā parties, at a given signal, rushed out of the woods and routed the Khān's armies both in the wild passes of the hills and in the plain of Wai.[9]

The tragic episode caused favourable repercussions for Shivājī far and near. Bijāpur now lay practically prostrate before him, and he at once became a power to be reckoned with. The fort of Panhāla in the heart of Mahārāshtra became now Shivājī's objective, as it was the last strong post belonging to Bijāpur in his onward march. It took Shivājī some years more to come into possession of this renowned fortress.

VII. SHĀYISTA KHĀN AND PLUNDER OF SURAT

Shortly after getting rid of Afzal Khān, Shivājī had to face a new danger. A new figure had come to occupy the Mughul throne at Delhi, who took prompt measures to put down ruthlessly the rising power of this Marāthā rebel. Aurangzīb nominated his uncle, Shāyista Khān, to the Government of Deccan and sent him well-equipped to annihilate Shivājī while it was not yet too late. Afzal Khān was finished in November, 1659, and in the following January, Shāyista Khān arrived at Aurangabad and, quickly advancing seized Poona, making Shivājī's palace his own residence. He also captured Kalyān and north Konkan which Shivājī had possessed a short while before. The Khān's strength was irresistible, being fully backed by the whole might of the Mughul empire. For three long years, Shivājī was so hunted out in all directions that he became a homeless wanderer and was at a loss how to get out of this almost hopeless situation. In this darkest hour Shivājī's innate ingenuity alone saved him and he succeeded in turning the whole game against the Khān. He employed secret agents to obtain minute details about the arrangements and disposition of the Khān's camp and hit upon a bold plan of a surprise attack at night. With about fifty clever and intrepid followers, he entered the Mughul general's harem on the evening of 15 April, 1663. After midnight, when the guards and the Khān's family were asleep and enveloped in darkness, Shivājī and his companions attacked the inmates in their beds, cutting and hacking indiscriminately. The noise and confusion that resulted was indescribable; several were killed and wounded; the Khān himself, it was later discovered, escaped with only his forefinger lost. One of his sons, forty attendants, and six women were killed. The incident proved eminently successful for Shivājī's purpose. Without undergoing a large-scale fighting, he struck terror into the heart of his opponents. The mortified emperor at once transferred the Khān to Bengal and the Mughul hold slackened in the Deccan. Shivājī, now breathing freely, resumed his onward career without check.

For a time after the departure of Shāyista Khān, Shivājī roamed fearlessly as an invincible conqueror. His spies wandered far and wide, bringing news of treasures and wealth of cities and of the weak links in the Mughul Government. His head spy, Bahirji Nāik, reported to Shivājī that of all the rich Mughul possessions Surat was the most undefended and contained enormous wealth. It was the richest port of western India and was highly prized by the emperor as an important port which was used by pilgrims to Mecca. Shivājī established a secret camp near Nasik with specially selected five thousand stalwarts; and without disclosing his destination he left the base on 1 January, 1664, and proceeded north through the coastal regions. He suddenly appeared at Surat and planted his flag at its eastern gate. On the previous day he had issued a warning to the local Governor and the richest merchants to pay a certain amount which he demanded or stand the consequences of his wrath for non-compliance. The warning was not heeded and, in addition, the Governor contrived a foul attempt on Shivājī's life on the third day of his arrival. In retaliation, Shivājī let loose hell upon the hapless town, burning and sacking in every possible way. Houses were dug up and set on fire, chests were broken open and heaps of money carried away. He took care to inflict no wanton cruelty upon innocent inhabitants. Possession of wealth was the only crime which he punished. On 9 January, hearing that Mughul armies were coming upon him from Burhānpur, Shivājī hurriedly returned with such booty as could be easily conveyed. No estimate of value of what he carried away is recorded. Possibly Shivājī himself never made an exact calculation, but the plunder must certainly have been in the neighbourhood of a crore of rupees, possibly double that amount. It was taken straight to Rāigarh and utilised to fortify that giant structure of his future capital.

Immediately on his return from Surat, Shivājī learned the sad news of his father's death near Harihar in the present Mysore territory. This made Jijā Bāi altogether disconsolate, and Shivājī was at great pains in dissuading her from undertaking the self-immolation of a *satī.*

Shivājī's sack of Sūrat was the severest blow to Aurangzīb and a direct affront to his power and prestige. The emperor lost his peace of mind and at once decided to send a fresh expedition against Shivājī and annihilate him for good.

VIII. SHIVĀJĪ SUBMITS TO JAY SINGH

Aurangzīb placed this new expedition under Mirzā Rājā Jay Singh with Dilir Khān to assist and probably to spy. The famous Italian traveller Manucci, then residing at Delhi, was pressed into service and accompanied the General as an officer of artillery. A splendidly equipped force commanded by Jay Singh left the base in December, 1664, and arrived at Poona in March following, when Shivājī, entirely unaware of these moves of the emperor, was engaged in consolidating his southern possessions and conducting a war against Bijāpur, where he had just overcome Khavās Khān and Bājī Ghorpāde who had come against him on behalf of that State. He killed Bājī Ghorpāde and, early in 1665, led a large naval expedition with fighting ships of large calibre on the Malabar coast and secured plunder from ports like Bassur. In February, he visited Karwar and while engaged in his devotions to the deity of Gokarn he learned of the terrible attack upon his homelands by Mirzā Rājā Jay Singh. Shivājī at once proceeded to Rāigarh and set about devising measures against this new danger.

Jay Singh carried out his undertaking with all the vigour and loyalty he was capable of. He secured implicit obedience and ungrudging help from all the chiefs and powers whom Shivājī had overawed, and he actively supported those who had suffered from Shivājī's aggression, like the sons of Afzal Khān. So Shivājī found himself paralysed in all directions, unable any longer to oppose the formidable tactics now employed against him.[9a] Jay Singh established a complete hold on the north Poona regions and besieged Purandar with such vigour that Shivājī could no longer conduct any operations in open. Complete surrender was his only recourse with only such grace as the Mughul Generalissimo would choose to grant. Shivājī made approaches to Jay Singh and appealed to his religious sentiment. But the latter turned a deaf ear to all his entreaties and declined even to receive his visit, until all his possessions were conquered.

In this situation Shivājī, with an anxious heart, held constant deliberations with his mother and advisers and decided to throw himself upon Jay Singh's mercy. He lost no time and fearlessly proceeded unarmed to Jay Singh's quarters below fort Purandar on

11 June, 1665, just after his (Shivājī's) valiant captain, Murar Bājī, and many of his brave Māval soldiers had lost their lives in defending that fort against overwhelming forces led by Dilir Khān. Shivājī was well received on arrival and after a formal talk, was directed to meet Dilir Khān. Shivājī then called on the Khān as he was conducting the siege and won his sympathy by his extreme humility and sweetness of manner. The three then met for consultation and a treaty was concluded on 12 June settling the terms of Shivājī's submission. He agreed to hand over twenty-three of his important forts, keeping twelve minor ones for himself and to serve the emperor loyally, fully co-operating in the war against Bijāpur which Jay Singh was now to undertake; Shivājī's son, Shambhūjī, was to be created a *panjhazāri manṣabdār* with a suitable *jāgīr*. Jay Singh advised Shivājī to win the emperor's favour by a personal visit to his capital and receive his pardon. Jay Singh thus hoped to bring about a permanent reconciliation between the two, a vain hope as it proved eventually.

Shivājī personally handed over to Jay Singh's son, Kirāt Singh, at Sinhgarh the keys of that fort. In the following November, Shivājī joined Jay Singh with his force and co-operated in the war upon Bijāpur; but for various reasons the war ended in failure.

Jay Singh made full reports to his master on his transactions with Shivājī and explained how it was impossible to put him down with their force and how it was advantageous to win him over and turn him into a serviceable ally. With this view he requested the emperor to receive Shivājī in a personal audience and employ his services in defending the Marāthā country which had never been fully conquered. Aurangzīb, although not very sanguine on the outcome of such a visit, agreed to Jay Singh's proposal and invited Shivājī to his presence on a solemn promise that no harm would befall him. During the early months of 1666 the subject was hotly debated between Shivājī and his counsellors; there was a strong sentiment that he should not undertake the risk of just walking into the lion's den. The treaty of Purandar was almost a stage-managed affair; it meant no humiliation to Shivājī, as he was neither openly beaten nor his power extinguished. Jay Singh strongly advised Shivājī to go and meet the emperor and induce him personally to adopt a conciliatory policy towards the Hindus after the manner of his great ancestor Akbar.

In view of the antecedents of Aurangzīb, Shivājī did not hope to be able to convert the emperor to his views, but there were other weighty considerations which impelled him to undertake the venture. Such a visit would enable him to obtain a first hand impression about the inherent strength of the empire, to study men and matters on the spot and thus to make it feasible for him to carry into effect his life's mission of a Hindu *pādshāhī*. He meditated on the subject anxiously in his own mind and spent days in consultation with his mother and advisers. He was constantly in touch with Jay Singh who sent solemn oaths about his safety and so did his son Rām Singh who served at the court. The decision was taken and communicated through Jay Singh to the emperor who paid a lakh of rupees for the expenses of Shivājī's journey and assured that Shivājī would be accorded the honours of a *Shāhzāda* during his absence from home. On Monday, 5 March, 1666, Shivājī took his departure from Rāigarh accompanied by some of his intimate helpmates and a retinue of about 300 souls all told.

IX. THE WONDERFUL ESCAPE

The emperor, proud of his victory over Shivājī, was to celebrate his accession at Āgra on 12 May, 1666, taking his seat on the peacock throne, as his father Shāh Jahān had died in the preceding January. Shivājī was to be received in a full *durbar* on that occasion. He arrived at Āgra by slow marches in time. The *Diwān-i-Am* of Āgra presented that day a unique spectacle; all the Mughul splendour was displayed. Through some mistake Shivājī was rather late in arriving at the *durbar* and was led to the emperor's presence when he had repaired to the *Diwān-i-khās*. The Prime Minister, Asad Khān, led Shivājī with his son to the presence. Both made their obeisance and offered the customary *nazar* whereupon they were taken back and asked to stand in the third row of the nobles. Shivājī noticing this affront burst out in a sort of open defiance complaining of the breach of the terms that were agreed upon. The emperor noticed Shivājī's demeanour and sent Rām Singh to pacify him. In the meantime, Shivājī left his place and moved to a corner, vehemently protesting and imprecating, a scene unprecedented in the imperial court. The emperor closed the *durbar* and asked Shivājī to be taken away. It was evident that Shivājī had committed a gross offence by defying the emperor so publicly. A strict guard was placed on his residence in Rām Singh's garden, and his movements were restricted.

Both parties now began to exercise their ingenuity to end the deadlock and smoothen matters. What was possible for the emperor to do? One of these three alternatives—(1) to put Shivājī to death; (2) convert him to Islām and employ him in imperial service; or (3) to conciliate and send him back. The emperor asked for Jay Singh's advice, and after long deliberation, decided upon the first course—how best to accomplish it without incurring public blame or the Rājput hostility being the only question that he revolved in his mind. With this object, it was decided to remove Shivājī to a new residence, more secluded, where his end could be accomplished without a public scandal. During all this time Shivājī, too, exercised his brain to the utmost in finding some means of escape, fully gauging the emperor's intentions. From 12 May to 18 August, Shivājī remained in confinement at Āgra, devising ways for extricating himself and his son out of the situation. Ultimately, he hazarded a contrivance and succeeded in effecting his escape. After pretending illness for some time, he sent away most of his followers with instructions to shift for themselves. He and his son, on the afternoon of 19 August, squeezed themselves in two separate baskets of sweetmeats hanging from an elastic bamboo on the shoulders of porters, and were carried away without being detected by the guards on duty.

In the darkness of the evening Shivājī proceeded towards Mathurā in the north, eluding the search parties that were set in motion after his escape had been detected about noon the next day, thus gaining a clear start of about 18 hours. "Instead of moving due south-west from Agra, through Mālwa and Khāndesh or Gujrāt, he travelled *northwards* to Mathurā, then *eastwards* to Allahābād, and finally south-westwards through Bundelkhand, Gondwānā, and Golkondā, describing a curve east of the public highway to the Deccan, in returning to Rajgarh," and appeared before his mother at Rāigarh in the garb of a wandering mendicant on 12 September, that is 25 days after he had left Āgra.[10] It was the most thrilling exploit of all his wonderful deeds, which has for ever added a super-natural glow to his unique personality. It immediately resounded throughout the country, making Shivājī an all-India figure, divinely endowed with extraordinary powers. The incident simultaneously exposed the emperor's craft, still further adding to his evil repute for cunning and cruelty. Shivājī's reputation, on the other hand, reached its zenith for having outwitted the cleverest and mightiest of the emperors.

Aurangzīb felt extremely mortified at Shivājī's escape and rued the event to the end of his days. He cited this to his sons as an instance wherein a trifling negligence led to incalculable harm. He suspected Jay Singh and Rām Singh of being privy to Shivājī's plans and disgraced them both. He appointed his son Mu'azzam, to the Government of the Deccan with Jaswant Singh to assist him.

Jay Singh was recalled and he died at Burhānpur on his return journey.

For some time after his return Shivājī took no active or aggressive measures and spent a year or two in reorganizing his resources. The new governor, Mu'azzam, adopted a policy of conciliation and gave no provocation to Shivājī. A formal peace was arranged, the emperor conferred the title of 'Rājā' on Shivājī, and on his behalf the young Shambhūjī was sent to the Mughul camp at Aurangabad, serving there on behalf of his father in consonance with the treaty of Purandar. It seems Shambhūjī at this time tasted the pleasures of luxury and vice, which later ruined his career.

Shivājī also effected a peaceful understanding with Bijāpur and Golconda, both purchasing his goodwill by agreeing to pay him the stipulated annual amounts of *chauth.* Thus Shivājī was accepted as an independent ruler in Mahārāshtra.

X. A FRESH WAVE OF FANATICISM

Shivājī spent two years in comparative quiet and would have possibly continued inoffensive, had not a fresh impulse of fanaticism seized the emperor once more to which reference has been made above (pp. 233-36). On 9 April, 1669, he issued general orders for demolishing all Hindu schools and temples and putting down all their religious teaching and practices. All Hindu fairs and ceremonies were forcibly banned. The famous temple of Kāśī Viśveśvar was pulled down in 1669 and that of Keshab Rai in 1670, the news of which flashed like lightning throughout India. New grand mosques arose on the sites of both the temples which stand to this day, visible for miles as one travels to Banaras and Mathurā. Shivājī and Jijā Bāi received these reports with sorrow and consternation and stood forth boldly to resist the emperor in retaliation. As Sinhgarh was the key fort of Deccan politics personally handed back by Shivājī five years ago, he now attacked it openly, killed its guardian, the Hindu Udaibhān, and wrested it from the Mughul possession, although in the venture Shivājī lost his best comrade, Tanajī Malusare, whose heroism Mahārāshtra commemorates to this day. This capture of Sinhgarh was effected in February, 1670, and was quickly followed up by Shivājī's seizure of the Mughul territories of Kalyān and other places of north Konkan. In April, Shivājī collected a large plunder by raiding several important Mughul towns. He declared he was taking revenge for the emperor's attack on the Hindu religion. Once more he turned his attention to Surat and plundered it for full three days in October, 1670. He continued such devastation upon the Mughul dominions for full three years.

In this new phase, war continued and severe fighting took place between Shivājī and the emperor's veteran commanders, Dāud Khān, Ikhlās Khān, Mahābat Khān and others. It was round Salher that a great contest raged, as it was a key fort on the borders of Khāndesh and Gujarāt which commanded important routes of communication. Shivājī captured this fort in 1671 and the Mughuls put in heroic efforts to wrest it back, causing a heavy toll of dead and injured and an immense sacrifice on both sides. In this fight for Salher the Marāthās fought artillery duels on a large scale, and Shivājī's Prime Minister, Moropant Pingle, earned a unique name for valour, which bards have permanently commemorated.

One must pass over minor episodes in Shivājī's career—his renewed war against Bijāpur, his capture of the fort of Panhāla in 1673 and so on, which rendered the three years' period (1670-1673) one of severe strain and labour for Shivājī. Such a strain, however, called forth the best qualities of Marāthā character—spirit of sacrifice and co-operation, and a sense of national unity, which Shivājī's unique leadership evoked in his followers and which for a time made the Marāthā name respected all over India. This is Shivājī's greatest achievement.

XI. THE GRAND CORONATION

Thus, after thirty years of hard struggle Shivājī now reached a stage in which it became possible to legalize his position as an independent sovereign ruler—a complete master of his homeland. Such a consummation was devoutly wished for a long time and a formal ceremony was considered the best means of proclaiming its realization and, at the same time of reviving an ancient tradition. The neighbouring powers looked upon Shivājī as an upstart, a vagabond, and a plunderer. He was prevented from exercising authority on equal terms with neighbouring powers, or exacting revenue from his own subjects as a legal master. For more than twenty years he owned a separate kingdom and exercised power over it, but this *de facto* position required a formal announcement.

There was, however, some difficulty. Shivājī had to prove that he was a Kshatriya and therefore entitled to be formally crowned. It was discovered that the Rānās of Udaipur preserved the old Kshatriya tradition and the Banaras Brāhmaṇas performed coronation rites for them in Vedic chants. Shivājī sent a strong deputation to Udaipur and secured evidence that his own house was descended from the Śiśodīa clan of Udaipur; he also obtained sanction from the Banaras Pandits for his formal coronation. One learned priest of the Bhaṭṭ family of Banaras named Viśveśvara alias Gaga took a rational view of the subject, declared that Shivājī had proved by his action that he was a Kshatriya and himself came to Rāigarh to conduct the coronation rites for him.

Grand preparations were made. Guests gathered in large number—agents of foreign States, local magistrates, priests, and friends. A gorgeous throne of octagonal shape with profuse decorations was constructed and suitable edifice befitting a capital town had been completed. Saturday, June 16, 1674, was fixed as the auspicious day for the ceremony, although minor rites had started long before.

An elaborate programme was drawn up and punctually carried out. The prescribed rites according to ancient tradition were gone through with Vedic incantations befitting a Kshatriya hero. Shivājī was weighed in gold and the amount of 16,000 *hons* (equal to about 140 lbs. weight of his body) was distributed in charity. The English ambassador, Oxenden, who attended the ceremony at Rāigarh with presents from the East India Company, has left a detailed description of what he saw and heard. It is, perhaps, the most authentic account available of that event.

The cost of the ceremony together with the construction of the throne is estimated by Sabhāsad at Rs. five crores. This probably includes the cost of the fortifications and buildings of the capital, as well as its tanks and the streets, of which one notices the ruins today. The ceremony alone cost about 50 lakhs and was attended by some fifty thousand people, all being fed with sumptuous meals for some weeks. Jijā Bāi fortunately lived long enough to see this signal fulfilment of her life's cherished ambition—an independent Mahārāshtra. She died just eleven days after the grand function.

It is instructive to notice the permanent marks of royalty assumed by Shivājī on this occasion in order to announce the formation of his sovereign State. The erection of forts and the organization of an armed force and the navy are the usual requisites of an established kingdom and need not be mentioned. But the royal insignia and the particular titles he devised as marks of the Marāthā ruler together with the cabinet of eight ministers nominated by him require some explanation:

(1) *Kshatriya-Kulāvataṁsa* (Head of the Kshatriya Kula),

(2) *Siṁhāsanādhīśvara* (Lord of the Throne),

(3) *Mahārāja* (Emperor),

(4) *Chhatrapati* (Lord of the Umbrella),

are the four Sanskrit titles which Shivājī assumed at the time of his coronation. In addition, Shivājī introduced a new era of his own dating from his coronation, and on that account received the appellation "founder of an era" (*Śaka-Kartā*).

Another significant measure instituted by Shivājī was his cabinet of eight ministers, each with a department of his own. Most of these ministers were appointed long ago as Shivājī's *Swarājya* began to take shape. The whole scheme was completed and announced at the time of his coronation with regulations and duties properly defined.

The eight ministers were:

(1) *Peshwa* (Prime Minister), Moro Trimal Pingle.

(2) *Muzmudar* (Amātya) Revenue Minister, Rām Chandra Nilkanth.

(3) *Surnis* (Sachiv) Finance Minister, Ānāji Datto.

(4) *Waqenavis* (Mantrī) Home Minister, Dattaji Trimbak.

(5) *Sarnaubat* (Senāpati) Commander-in-chief, Hambir Rāo Mohite.

(6) *Dabir* (Sumant) Foreign Mnister, Rām Chandra Trimbak.

(7) *Nyāyādhīś* (The Chief Judge) Rāoji Niraji.

(8) *Panditrāo* (Minister for Religion) Raghunāth Pandit.

The salary of the Prime Minister was 15,000 *hons* a year, and of the rest ten thousand—*a hon* being worth about Rupees three and a half. This works out the Premier's salary at Rs. 4,375 per month in the coin of those days, quite a substantial amount if the purchasing power of money at that time is taken into account. The salary for a minister was Rs. 3,000 per month.

Shivājī appears to have borrowed this departmental division from ancient Hindu scriptures which have prescribed it. Shivājī was an autocrat and allowed no definite independent powers to his ministers.

The Hindu character of Shivājī's *Swarājya* was clearly marked. He excluded all foreign elements. Instead of Urdu and Persian which were the court languages for centuries past, Shivājī introduced Marāthī and coined Sanskrit technical terms for administrative purposes. Thus came into being the famous *Rāja-Vyava-*

hāra-Kośa, a dictionary of official terms. This was composed by a panel of experts under the supervision of Raghunāth Pandit Hanumante. The elaborate Sanskrit introduction to this dictionary is worthy of serious study. Similarly, forms of address in official and private correspondence, office regulations, seals for Government documents and similar innovations were brought into force so as to complete the scheme of this new kingdom.

This coronation ceremony marks a distinct stage in the life of Shivājī. While it gave him a new and reliable status, it increased his responsibilities in no small measure and involved him into fresh risks. While the Hindu world in general rejoiced in his achievements, there were others who became bitter in their enmity towards him. The Mughul emperor in particular started a virulent campaign to put down this new rival striving to uproot his kingdom. The year of the Coronation itself did not pass off peacefully. Bahādur Khān pressed Shivājī from the east. To counteract this move, Shivājī carried fire and sword through the Koli country of north Konkan, Baglan and Khāndesh. He also turned his attention to the Portuguese of Goa and captured their important post of Ponda. Nearer home, he captured the Bijāpuri fort of Satara and established the seat of his guru, Rāmdās, in the neighbouring fort of Parli, thereafter known as Sajjangarh.

XII. THE LAST GREAT VENTURE IN KARNATAK

With all the splendour and demonstration of Shivājī's coronation and the lofty titles of full sovereignty assumed by him, his actual dominion was hardly more than two hundred miles in length and far less in breadth. Even the whole Marāthā country had not come under his control. The Siddis of Janjira and the Portuguese were his constant enemies on the west coast. The Mughul pressure from the north was increasing. Even his brother Ekoji in the south had imitated him and announced his sovereignty at Tanjore in a similar coronation ceremony. Expansion of his dominion thus became a necessity for Shivājī. He was the regenerator of the Hindu religion, but all the peninsular lands of South India, essentially Hindu in character, had been long under Muslim rule. The emperor had barred his way effectively in the north. So the south alone remained free for his ambition. There were other considerations which equally influenced his march southward.

The south was loosely held by the two States of Bijāpur and Golconda. During Shāhji's days the rulers of these tried to extend their sway throughout the southern region, but their scheme had collapsed and when Shivājī appeared on the scene as the defender of the Hindus, these southern lands began lustfully to look up to him for a helping hand. The situation rapidly changed when in 1672 the rulers of both Bijāpur and Golconda died, leaving disputed successions and inevitable anarchy behind. Bijāpur, all along a Shiah State, fell under the Sunnī Pāthān power of Bahlol Khān who would rather sell the State to Aurangzīb and his nominee Dilir Khān than let it fall into the hands of Shivājī. The condition of Golconda was even worse. There ʻAbdullah Qutb Shāh held a precarious headship with the help of two astute, clever, Hindu ministers Mādanna and his brother Ākkanna. There was no Muslim chief strong enough to preserve order in the State and save it from the greed of the Mughul emperor. The two Hindu ministers therefore came forth boldly to uphold Qutb Shāh and for several years so ably managed the administration that its revenues improved and it began to enjoy peace and prosperity. This Hindu regeneration of Golconda excited the extreme ire of Aurangzīb at a moment when Shivājī's coronation had exasperated him beyond measure. Finding their position untenable, the two Hindu ministers decided to make a common cause with Shivājī as the only means of self-preservation.

There was another complication contributing to this fresh move. It was a grievous sight for an acclaimed hero like Shivājī to find his own step-brother Ekoji, ruler of Tanjore, holding himself a bond-slave of Bijāpur and working openly against Shivājī's work of Hindu uplift. Ekoji's wise and capable minister, Raghunāth Pānt Hanumante, tried his utmost to dissuade Ekoji from the evil course he was following. He had with him a number of Muslim counsellors always working in the interest of the Pathān ruler of Bijāpur and preventing Ekoji from making a common cause with Shivājī. On this point Ekoji and Raghunāth Pānt fell out so severely that the latter resigned his post in disgust, refused to be a party to the wicked policy of his master, and left Tanjore for seeking fortune elsewhere. He first visited Bijāpur and, dissatisfied with the policies that he found developing in that State, went to Golconda. There he made friends with the ministers Mādanna and Ākkanna and concerted a grand scheme both of preserving the Muslim status of the Qutb Shāh and extending the cause of Hindu regeneration in the south with the help of Shivājī. The east coast regions sorely needed some power to give them peace and order. The scheme of conquest launched by Muhammad ʻĀdil Shāh had broken down after his death. The Nāyakas of Tanjore and Madura and other minor rulers were looking askance for some one to give them protection. Here was an opportunity for Ekoji to stand forth boldly for co-operation with his brother and extend his pro-Hindu campaign to the south, which had been begun in Mahārāshtra. But Ekoji did not respond and Raghunāth Pānt felt the urge and seized the opportunity. He induced 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh to receive a visit from Shivājī and make an alliance of defence and offence with him for carrying out the conquest of the southern lands in co-operation.

This was in the year 1676 when the whole politics of the peninsula was in a fluid state. Having secured willing assent to his scheme from the men in power at Golconda, Raghunāth repaired to Rāigarh and there discussed with Shivājī the pros and cons of this new venture. It was heartily welcomed by Shivājī who found in the Pandit just the sort of a co-operator that he needed in order to extend his *Swarājya* to regions outside Mahārāshtra.

Shivājī welcomed Raghunāth Pānt's proposal enthusiastically as it afforded a new channel for national uplift and the regeneration of the decaying Hindu prestige. Messengers hurried between Rāigarh and Golconda arranging the details of the forthcoming visit. Adequate preparations were quickly made to put the grand project into shape and the machinery set in motion with definite duties assigned to the various agents. The Hindus of the south became enthused with the prospective liberation from Muslim domination. Hanumante returned to Golconda immediately.

Shivājī left Rāigarh at the beginning of January, 1677, having already despatched strong parties of armed forces to subjugate local Muslim chiefs who were suspected of working against the main scheme. A ceremonial visit of a Hindu potentate to a Muslim capital was a unique event in the annals of India and Shivājī knew how to influence the Muslim world with his beneficence and sobriety. He enforced strict discipline and orderliness upon his followers, all carefully selected and tutored in advance. He reached Haidarabad early in February, and left it early in March, 1677. A most enthusiastic reception with plenty of entertainment and hospitality was extended to him. Shivājī had several ceremonial and private visits and frank talks with the Sultān. An agreement was concluded between them for jointly resisting the Mughul advance and dividing the new conquests between them half and half. Shivājī agreed to pay to the Shāh a yearly tribute of 6 lakhs of *hons*.

From Haidarabad, Shivājī proceeded to the eastern regions with Qutb Shāhī contingents, paying devotions to the several shrines on the way. Shivājī appeared before Gingee, then held by a Bijāpuri captain, who surrendered the fort after receiving suitable provision for him. Shivājī constructed new fortifications for Gingee, the remnants of which we see at this day. He then advanced against Vellore which was captured after a year's effort. Shivājī then journeyed to the south where deputations met him from the French of Pondicherry and the Nāyaka of Madura. He then arrived at Tirumalvadi on the Coleroon, about ten miles north of Tanjore, where his brother Ekoji ruled.

Here Ekoji came on a visit to Shivājī in July and lived with him for a week. Ekoji did not show any inclination to fall in with Shivājī's views or accept his demand for a half share in the paternal acquisitions. Although a gentle, benevolent character, Ekoji was entirely guided by Muslim advisers who had then sympathies for Bijāpur, and Shivājī's work of national uplift in no way appealed to Ekoji. Suspecting he might come into trouble Ekoji escaped under cover of darkness one night and returned to Tanjore without obtaining a formal leave. Thereupon Shivājī sent his agents to Tanjore to explain matters and, finding that the subject could not be quickly finished, Shivājī left matters in the hands of his *Senāpati* Hambir Rāo Mohite with strong forces, and his representative Raghunāth Pānt, and himself returned to Mahārāshtra where his presence was urgently needed. On the way, he seized most of Ekoji's possessions in the Mysore plateau.

Ekoji at Tanjore decided to try his luck in an open fight and attacked Hambir Rāo Mohite at Valigandpuram on 16 November, when in a severe engagement, he was routed, losing heavily in life and property. When Shivājī learned of this result he at once wrote a long conciliatory letter to his brother explaining how foolishly he brought that trouble upon himself, and how it would be wise for him to retrace his steps. Ekoji's wife, Dipābāi, was a shrewd, wise lady who brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers and induced Ekoji to entrust his administration to Raghunāth Pānt. The Muslim advisers were dismissed. As Shivājī died soon after, all the grand results planned and expected of this extensive Karnātak venture fell to the ground. The only benefit that accrued from it to the Marāthā nation was that during Shambhūji's and Rājārām's reigns these Karnātak conquests of Shivājī proved of immense benefit. When Aurangzīb conquered the Marāthā lands, Shivājī's son, Rājārām, found a hospitable shelter at Gingee and the Mughul danger was warded off.

XIII. SHAMBHŪJĪ'S DEFECTION AND DEATH OF SHIVĀJĪ

This Karnātak expedition proved to be Shivājī's last great achievement. Thereafter his health and the state of affairs both deteriorated. Dilir Khān began to exert severe pressure upon the Marāthā dominions. Shivājī's son, Shambhūjī, now aged twenty-two (b. 1657), had been misbehaving for some time and was kept under close supervision for a time at Shringarpur near Sangameshwar (Konkan). He was also sent to Sajjangarh to be reclaimed under Rāmdās's care. He, however, succumbed to the temptations, secretly offered to him by Dilir Khān, of some splendid prospects under the Mughul Government. Without sufficient forethought or regard for consequences, Shambhūjī suddenly escaped from Panhālā on 13 December, 1678, along with his wife Yesubāi, and was enthusiastically welcomed by Dilir Khān near Pandharpur. They together attacked Bhupālgarh, east of Satara, where, Shambhūjī knew, Shivājī had deposited valuable treasure and a number of Marāthā families for safety. They captured the fort in April, 1679, and committed a fearful slaughter of inmates that fell into their hands. From Bhupālgarh they proceeded to Bijāpur which was saved from falling into the Mughul hands mainly through the timely help rendered by Shivājī. Discomfited before Bijāpur, Dilir Khān and Shambhūjī turned their steps towards Panhālā. In the meantime Shivājī had employed secret agents to induce Shambhūjī to return. At Tikota, a few miles west of Bijāpur, Dilir Khān perpetrated severe atrocities by plundering and slaughtering innocent population, including women and children. A similar scene was repeated at the next mart of Athni, when the suffering people appealed to Shambhūjī for protection. Shambhūjī made strong protests to the Khān which he resented and a severe rupture came about between them. Some of Shambhūjī's friends in the Khān's camp warned him that the Khān intended a foul game against him of handing him over into the emperor's hands as a prisoner. This terrified Shambhūjī so much that he left the Mughul camp at night with Yesubāi in male attire. As he was proceeding to Bijāpur, Shivājī's agents met him and brought him to Panhālā, where he arrived on 4 December after an absence of nearly a year.

The year 1679 strained Shivājī's nerve in another direction also. Aurangzīb issued a fresh order reimposing the *jizya* on all the Hindu population of India from 2 April. It was an open challenge as much to Shivājī as to the many Rājput chiefs of North India. The latter in resentment started a dreadful war against the emperor, which in the long run he was at severe pains to bring to an end (pp. 238-41). Shivājī also wrote a letter to Aurangzīb making a strong protest, couched in vigorous terms, against the unwise measure and the wrongs which it imposed upon the innocent population. He wrote: "God is the Lord of all men and not of the Muhammadans only. Islām and Hinduism are only different pigments used by the Divine Painter to picture the human species."[11]

Unfortunately, Shivājī did not live long enough to follow up the noble words with a suitable action. And now approached the saddest moment of Shivājī's life. He well knew Shambhūjī did not possess the capacity to preserve what he had secured in a lifetime of tremendous labour and activity. He could not, however, reclaim his son. Upon the latter's arrival at Panhālā Shivājī visited him and gently tried to impress upon his mind what responsibility rested on him in his prospective inheritance. He employed a large staff to prepare accurate lists of all his property and possessions—of every item, trivial or costly. But Shambhūjī did not rise to the occasion and his conduct immeasurably distressed his father's last days.

Greatly disappointed in mind and much emaciated in body, Shivājī kept strong guards to watch Shambhūjī at Panhālā and repaired to his *guru* at Sajjangarh to seek solace. But what could Rāmdās do to relieve the Rājā's misery? The two lived and discussed together for a month. In February, 1680, Shivājī proceeded to Rāigarh where the sacred thread ceremony of his son Rājārām was performed in March. A week later, on 23 March, Shivājī had an attack of fever from which he never recovered. He expired at noon on Sunday, 4 April, 1680 (on the previous day, according to some). Out of his eight wives married mostly on political grounds, Puttabāi became *Satī*. One Sakwarbāi long survived him keeping company to Yesubāi (Shambhūjī's wife) in the emperor's imprisonment. Soyrābāi was put to death by Shambhūjī. The others had predeceased their husband.

XIV. CONCLUSION

What the earnest endeavour of one man can achieve in this wicked world is illustrated in Shivājī's life narrated so far. It has not been possible, within the limited space, to give a more detailed account of all the varied activities and achievements of that unique personality. Only the main incidents and their prominent features could be attempted. But even these will doubtless prove the divine gift of genius which Shivājī possessed and which baffles analysis.

"On more than one occasion he so recklessly plunged into a venture that he had burnt his boats and made retreat impossible for himself. Today, after the lapse of three centuries from his birth, even the most severe critic is bound to admit that though Shivājī's dynasty is extinct and his State has crumbled into dust, yet he set an example of innate Hindu capacity and left a name which would continue to fire the spirit of man and shine forth as an ideal for ages yet unborn."[12]

We have now before us for study records and eulogies referring to Shivājī from the pen of those who came in direct contact with him—poet Parmānand, Rāmchandra Pānt Amātya, Raghunāth Pānt Pandit Hanumante, and not a few European traders and travellers who visited him in India in one connection or another. The Amātya has left a piece of writing elaborately describing the polity and personality of Shivājī, a unique production in Marāthī. Saint Rāmdās often gives vivid pen pictures which appear to pertain to no other person but Shivājī, whose valour, circumspection, selflessness, and devotion to religion are now attested to and scattered throughout his writings. Krishnāji Anant Sabhāsad, a member of Shivājī's court, composed an elaborate faithful account of Shivājī's life and achievements, which is of inestimable value.[13]

Did Shivājī aim at a Hindu Empire for India? A look at Shivājī's whole life closely discloses his intense regard for religion. He indeed cared more for religious emancipation of his land than mere political dominion. Rāmdās has exquisitely described this spirit of Shivājī in his work *Ānandvana-Bhuvan.* The religious persecution practised by Muhammed 'Ādīl Shāh and Aurangzīb moved Shivājī intensely and influenced all his actions. He at the same time realized that religious freedom could not be obtained without political power, and to that extent he exerted himself in freeing his homeland from Muslim control. As a result of his visit to the emperor's court he was perhaps convinced of the hollowness of the Mughul empire, and thereafter exerted himself in bringing India under Hindu control. The imposition of *chauth* on lands outside his immediate sway was a means to that end. His coronation ceremony and the grand title he assumed suggest his intention of establishing a Hindu empire, certainly by degrees according to his means. His expedition to the Karnātak was a clear move towards a Hindu India, in which he roped in Qutb Shāh of Haidarabad. He had all but engulfed the State of Bijāpur also. His public protest against the imposition of *jizya* explains his attitude in unmistakable terms. If he had been vouchsafed a little longer span of life, he could have brought about the deposition of Aurangzīb, so clearly emphasized a little later by his son Shambhūjī in his Sanskrit letter to Rām Singh. 'This kingdom belongs to Gods and Brāhmans', 'Hindustan is essentially a land of the Hindus', and similar phrases scattered throughout Sanskrit and Marāthi literature are sentiments actuated by Shivājī's endeavour, so closely followed after him by the Peshwās also. Mahadaji Sindhia indeed felt the glory of having achieved some of these dreams when he attained supreme power at the court of Delhi.

At the same time Shivājī was never actuated by a hatred of the Muslims. He was no bigot and allowed equal freedom to all faiths. He was served as zealously by the Muslims as by the Hindus. The Muslim saint, Bābā Yākut of Kelsi, was treated as his *guru*. Mulla Haidar was his confidential secretary. Ibrāhim Khān, Daulat Khān and Sidi Misri were his naval commanders. A large Muslim population lived under him in equal contentment with their brother Hindus. He respected the personal honour of a Muslim as his own. He built a mosque opposite his palace at Rāigarh for the use of his Muslim subjects. Shivājī's ideals were broad and philanthropic, embracing the highest good of all. He respected all holy men equally. Wherever he travelled in his expeditions, it was his particular passion to contact the holy men and preachers of the various localities; he valued their blessing to which he attributed his success. While he intensely respected Rāmdās, it cannot be maintained that in political affairs he was influenced by that *guru*. They were both exalted characters and worked in different spheres in their own ways. Rāmdās was a great practical teacher; he did not meddle in politics.

Shivājī's administrative measures were a marvel of his time and far in advance of his age. He strictly prohibited grants of land in lieu of military or other service, thereby avoiding the patent evils of the *jāgīr* system. While the Mughul administration continued blindly on the same old model built up by Akbar, Shivājī had created innovations in almost every branch. His division of official work among eight ministers, his system of forts for the defence of his realm, his organization of the navy, his army regulations including those for discipline and plunder, his compilation of the *Rāja-Vyavahāra-kośa,* his imposition of the system of *chauth* are all measures of his own creation, utterly unlike what was then in vogue. Shivājī lavished money like water on repairing old forts and constructing new ones, about 250 in all, which particularly suited the geographical situation of the Marāthā region. Each fort was a self-sufficient unit with plenty of water supply and cornland enclosed, so that when besieged, each fort could stand defence by a small garrison for any length of time. The sonorous and significant names given to these forts reveal Shivājī's ingenuity even in this detail and remind us even today what their use and grandeur must have been at that time.

The annual revenue of Shivājī's dominions has been roughly calculated at seven crores of rupees, possibly much less in actual realization. It may be roughly put down that all the peninsular lands, south of the river Tāpti, either wholly or partially owed allegiance to Shivājī.

Many writers, particularly the western, represent Shivājī as a plunderer and a rebel, conveying thereby that he was no steady or confirmed ruler, but a pest to the society. This is entirely a wrong view. Every patriot striving to free his land from foreign domination is bound to be a rebel until his position becomes stabilized. Shivājī never committed wanton atrocities during his raids and never harassed innocent population. He subjected Muslim lands to plunder and devastation only when he was at war with those powers. Shivājī's plunder had the nature of a war levy of our modern days.

Glowing tributes have been paid to Shivājī's character as a national hero alike by foreign biographers and his own countrymen, both of his own day and during recent times of advanced historical research. The French envoy, Germain, who visited Shivājī near Tanjore, wrote in July, 1677:

"The camp of Shivājī was without pomp, without women; there were no baggages, only two tents of simple cloth, coarse and very scanty, one for him and the other for his prime minister."

But what his formidable antagonist, emperor Aurangzīb, himself wrote upon hearing of Shivājī's death is no small praise; he said:

"He was a great captain and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years and nevertheless his State has been increasing."

Insistence on order, obedience and strictest discipline were the main characteristics of Shivājī's rule. Bernier, Tavernier, Khāfi Khān, Grant-Duff, Elphinstone, Temple, Acworth, W.S.M. Edwards, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and other scholars and writers have all given Shivājī glowing tributes regarding him as unequalled by any hero in recent Indian history. He was not only the maker of the Marāthā nation but the greatest constructive genius of medieval India. No Bacon had appeared in India to point out a new way to human advancement. Even Rāmdās did not dream of a new path. Shivājī alone understood how to organize his national resources. He called the Marāthā race to a new life of valour and self-reliance, of honour and hope. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say that he is the creator of the Marāthā nation, as Sir Jadunath had aptly put it, "the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced." Jadunath further observes:

> "He called the Marāthā race to a new life. He raised the Marāthās into an independent self-reliant people, conscious of their oneness and high destiny, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his race. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence, protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth. Shivājī has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage; that it can put forth new leaves and branches. It can again lift up its head to the skies."[14]

1. For an elaborate account of the political and social conditions of Maharashtra and the rise of the Bhosles, see G.S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas,* 1957, Vol. I, pp. 17-92.
2. Highly eulogistic accounts appear to have been recorded in Sanskrit about the exploits of Maloji and Shahji, after Shivaji's reputation had been fully established. Vide *Sanads* and *Letters,* pp. 211-215, and the unique Sanskrit composition known as Sambhājī's *dān-patra.* Paramananda follows in the same strain in his *Śiva Bhārat.*
3. Most of the old records support this date corresponding to 2, *Vaiśākh Śuddha, Raktākshī Samvatsara Śaka* 1549. However, on the basis of some epigraphical and astrological evidence, some scholars favour the date 19 February, 1630. Recently Setu Madhavrao Pagadi has suggested that Shivājī was born on 25 April, 1628. J. N. Sarkar accepts Monday, 10 April, 1627 (*Shivaji and His Times,* Ch. II, Section 3, which also discusses other dates).

3a. According to J. N. Sarkar he was illiterate (op. cit. Ch. XVI, Section 9).

4. Cf. Sardesai, op.cit., Vol. I, p.97, (First Edition).
5. The well-known *'Jedhe Chronology'* was discovered among the old papers of this family. Kanhoji Jedhe was asked by Shāhjī to help Shivājī. See G.S. Sardesai, op.cit., p.89.
6. Cf. G.S. Sardesai, op. cit., pp. 104-5 for a slightly different version.

6a. *Ibid.*

7. Cf. *Śiva Bhārat,* Ch. XVI, 45.
8. (Editor's Note).

The oldest and contemporary account of the capture of Javli, written by Shivājī's courtier, Krishnajī Anant Sabhāsad, differs materially from the version given in the text which is based on the accounts of later writers. The conclusion arrived at by Sir Jadunath Sarkar after a comparison of all available texts, seems to be more in consonance with facts. His reconstruction of the episode may be summed up as follows:

The ruler of Javli was a boy of sixteen and the State was ruled by the Diwān, Hanumant Rāo Moré. An agent of Shivājī met the latter on a false pretext and treacherously slew him at a private meeting. He escaped unscathed and quickly brought Shivājī to the scene with a vast army. Javli was captured after six hours' fighting, and several members of the Moré family were taken prisoner, but the boy king Krishnajī, with his younger brother Bājī, took refuge in Raigarh, a fort belonging to Javli. Shivājī invested the fort and gained possession of it by negotiations. The boy king and his brother were carried away by Shivājī to Poona and there the former was beheaded. The younger boy escaped and later, in 1665, joined Jay Singh for war against Shivājī.

Sir Jadunath's comments on this episode are also worth quoting: "The acquisition of Javli was the result of deliberate murder and organised treachery on the part of Shivājī. His power was then in its infancy; and he could not afford to be scrupulous in the choice of the means of strengthening himself. In exactly similar circumstances, Sher Shāh, his historic parallel, used similar treachery in gaining forts in South Bihār as the first step to a throne.

"The only redeeming feature of this dark episode in his (Shivājī's) life is that the crime was not aggravated by hypocrisy. All his old Hindu biographers are agreed that it was an act of premeditated murder for personal gain ...... Even Shivaji never pretended that the murder of the three Mores was prompted by a desire to found a 'Hindu swaraj', or to remove from his path a treacherous enemy who had repeatedly abused his generous leniency.

"This last touch of infamy it has been left to the present generation to add .... the twentieth century admirers of the national hero." J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, Third Edition, pp. 44-45. (The last para has been omitted in the Sixth Edition (1961)).

(In spite of his great respect for the author of this chapter, G.S. Sardesai, the Editor feels obliged to add this note as a corrective to the impression that might be otherwise left on the mind of the readers).

9. Opinions differ on the vital point, viz. who struck the first blow, Afzal Khān or Shivājī, and on this depends the answer to the vexed and much-discussed question whether the slaying of Afzal Khān was a treacherous murder or an act of self-defence on the part of Shivājī. On this also, the opinion of Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., pp. 72-3), supporting the version given in the text, seems to be a fair one (Editor).

9a. It appears from some newly discovered documents that Shivājī had been receiving help from the Portuguese of Goa in his struggle against the Mughuls, but Jay Singh succeeded in winning over the Portuguese who no longer dared help Shivājī openly. This might have been a contributing factor to the submission of Shivājī. Cf. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, XXI, pp. 187-8.

10. This is the latest view on the route followed by Shivājī during his escape and the date of his arrival at Rāigarh. According to the older view, based on Marathi records, which was endorsed by both J. N. Sarkar in the earlier editions of his book *Shivaji and His Times* and G. S. Sardesai, the author of this Chapter, in his draft written long ago, Shivājī passed through Mathurā, Allahabad, Vārānasi, Gayā and, even Jagannāth Purī, and returned to Rāigarh on 20 November, 1666 (*Shivaji and His Times,* Third Edition, 1929, pp. 153-56). The view given above in the text is quoted from the sixth edition of this book published in 1961, pp. 149-53. It is based on a spy's report received at Delhi on 14 November, 1666, to the effect that Shivājī had reached his home "25 days after escaping from Agra", thus fixing the date of his arrival at Rāigarh on 12 September. Relying on this, and in consideration of the short duration of the journey, J. N. Sarkar has revised his old views and discussed the whole question in detail in an Appendix to Chapter VI of the sixth edition of his book (pp. 157-9).

In his *New History of the Marathas,* Vol. I, published in 1946, Sardesai states that Shivājī, after leaving Mathurā, travelled through the country of the Gonds on to Golconda and Bijāpur and reached Rāigarh "on 12 September, 1666, or on the 25th day after leaving Agra". But, evidently, through oversight, he gives the date of Shivājī's flight from Āgra on 17 August, instead of 19 August (Vol. I, pp. 178-80), which is given by Sarkar and others, on independent grounds, and is in agreement with the interval of twenty-five days between the date of the flight from Āgra and arrival at Rāigarh.

11. For the full text of the letter, cf. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, Vol. III, Ch. XXXIV, Appendix VI.

12. J. N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji* (New Ed.), pp. 103-4 and 113.

13. The estimate of Shivājī which follows may appear to many as somewhat exaggerated, particularly as there is no reference to many of the statements on which the observations are based. Unfortunately the eminent writer of this chapter passed away before the Editor had any opportunity of discussing the subject with him. The Editor, out of regard for the late lamented scholar, G. S. Sardesai, who wrote this chapter, thought it best to leave it as it is, particularly as it follows more or less the views expressed by him in his scholarly work, *New History of the Marathas,* Vol. I, published in 1946.

    For a more proper estimate of Shivājī, reference may be made to J. N. Sarkar's two books mentioned above.

14. J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times,* Chapter XVI, Section 9.

CHAPTER X

AURANGZĪB (1681-1707)

I. THE DECCAN

After Shivājī's funeral, his younger son Rājārām, a boy of ten, was crowned at Rāigarh by his mother Soyrā Bāi with the help of a party at the capital. But another party in the State was against this succession and Shambhūjī, the eldest son of Shivājī and step-brother of Rājārām, succeeded in securing the throne of his father, overcoming all opposition (18 June, 1680). Rājārām and his mother were imprisoned, but the latter was subsequently put to death.

Shambhūjī continued his father's policy of raiding the Mughul territories in the Deccan, and in the winter of 1680-81, he plundered north Khāndesh and the suburbs of Burhānpur. An attempt was also made in November, 1681, to capture the fort of Ahmadnagar, but it did not succeed. He had given shelter to prince Akbar and promised him Marāthā aid in capturing the throne of Delhi. Such was the Mughul-Marāthā relation on the eve of Aurangzīb's arrival in the Deccan. Reaching there, the emperor made an extensive plan to invade Mahārāshtra from different directions and launched a vigorous offensive with a view to giving it a stunning blow. Sayyid Hasan 'Ālī was sent to north Konkan, Shihāb-ud-dīn Khān with Dalpat Rāi to Nāsik on the western frontier, Rūh-ullah Khān and prince Shāh 'Ālam to Ahmadnagar district to guard that side against any possible Marāthā attack; and prince A'zam was directed to proceed towards Bijāpur to cut off any assistance coming to the Marāthās from that direction. But in spite of all these, the emperor could not gain anything substantial in 1682, and all the detachments had to be recalled in April, 1683.

Thus, even after a year of his arrival in the Deccan, the emperor could not achieve anything decisive. He was rudely shocked by the unfilial conduct of his son Akbar whom he had loved so dearly. "In truth, he was at this time passing through a domestic and mental crisis; his faith in his family had been totally shaken and he did not know whom to trust or where he would be safe. Hence his policy for some time after was hesitating, suspicious, watchful and seemingly capricious or self-contradictory."[1] But Shambhūjī's invasion of the Portuguese territory at this time and conclusion of a treaty with the Mughuls gave Aurangzīb a temporary respite to think of another offensive against the Marāthās.

In the meantime prince Akbar, who had been highly disappointed at the vain expectation of aid from the Marāthā King, decided to proceed to the Portuguese territory and thence to sail to Persia for refuge. After leaving his residence at Pāli, he went to Bāndā in Sāvantvādi and then to Bicholim, about ten miles north of Goa. Purchasing a ship he embarked at Vingurlā (November, 1683), but Durgā Dās and Kavi-Kalash, Shambhūjī's prime minister, persuaded him to come back, holding out fresh hopes of support from the Marāthā King. He wasted another year (1684) in the Ratnagiri district, making repeated requests to Kavi-Kalash to meet him and decide on future actions. The internal condition of the Marāthā kingdom was then extremely gloomy. Neglecting his duties Shambhūjī was indulging in luxury of low tastes, and the government was greatly distracted by the jealousy of the Marāthā nobility against Kavi-Kalash, who was a Brāhman of Kanauj in northern India and hated as a foreigner at the Marāthā Court. Added to these, there were rebellions in the State and desertions of officers. In these circumstances, it was not possible for prince Akbar to secure necessary Marāthā assistance to fight against his father.

Taking advantage of confusion in the Marāthā kingdom, Aurangzīb started another offensive against it in September, 1683. The Sīdī of Janjīra was asked to watch the movements of Akbar and prince Shāh 'Ālam was despatched at the head of a grand army to lead the main attack on the Marāthā territory and penetrate into Sāvantvādī and South Konkan. Another detachment under Shihāb-ud-dīn was posted at Poona from which he raided Nizāmpur in the Kolāba district. Prince A'zam was sent to Nāsik for guarding the road to Bāglāna and Khāndesh, while Khān Jahān proceeded from Bīdar to Akalkot to prevent any possible aid coming to the Marāthās from Golconda and Bijāpur, and the emperor himself went to Ahmadnagar.

Entering the Belgaum district Shāh 'Ālam captured some forts, cities and a large quantity of booty. Then he crossed the Rāmghāt pass, twenty-six miles west of Belgaum, and proceeded into the plains of Sāvantvādī. After arrival at Bicholim he demolished the mansions and gardens of Shambhūjī and Akbar, and planned to occupy Goa by treachery, but this was a serious blunder, as it caused rupture with the Portuguese who stopped supply of grain to the prince by sea. The invading army then moved northwards, sacking and burning the towns and villages, and turning south again, they returned to the north of Goa. Their progress was stopped by famine, and so the prince was compelled to return to the Rāmghāt pass where one-third of his men and a large number of horses, elephants and camels perished through pestilence. Harassed by the enemies from different directions the prince reached Ahmadnagar on 18 May, 1684, and judged by the net result of his campaign the achievement was not at all worthy of serious notice.

But the Mughuls achieved much better results in other quarters. The Marāthās were defeated on several occasions and much of their territory occupied. Many Marāthā captains joined the imperialists, and two wives and one daughter of Shambhūjī were captured and confined in the fort of Bahādurgarh. After making a vain dash into the Mughul territory in June, 1686, and finding no ray of hope in future, prince Akbar hired a ship at Rājapur and sailed for Persia in February, 1687, reaching the Persian Court at Isfāhān in January, 1688. After thus sending him out of the Indian territory, Durgā Dās returned to Mārwār.

During the regime of Sikandar ʻĀdil Shāh (1672-1686), the last of the ʻĀdil Shāhī Sultāns, the Bijāpur kingdom suffered seriously from various troubles, viz, maladministration and internecine quarrels among the nobles, which paved the way for its final extinction. Taking advantage of the rivalry between the Deccani party led by Khavāss Khān and the Afghān party led by Buhlūl Khān and eventual disorder in the kingdom, the imperialists, on the request of the Deccani party, then out of power, took up their side, and invading Bijāpur took possession of Naldurg and Gulbarga (1677).

The condition of Bijāpur steadily deteriorated from day to day. On the death of Buhlūl Khān on 23 December, 1677, Sīdī Masʻūd, another influential Bijāpur noble, became prime minister and regent with the assistance of the Mughuls. He made peace with them who imposed terms, suiting their purpose, viz., Bijāpur should be guided by the orders of the emperor; it must not form any alliance with Shivājī; and Sikandar's sister, Shahr Bānū, popularly known as Pādishāh Bībī, should be sent to the Mughul court to be married to a son of the emperor (prince Aʻzam).

But Masʻūd could not improve the dilapidated condition of the kingdom. On the other hand, by a secret alliance with Shivājī, he provoked the wrath of the imperialists who invaded Bijāpur, conquered some of its territories and made extensive raids on it, sacking and committing excesses. Such was the pitiable condition of the ʿĀdil Shāhī kingdom before the arrival of the emperor in the Deccan.

Convinced of the assistance that the Marāthās had been getting from Bijāpur, the emperor despatched a strong force against it under prince Aʿzam (1682). But he could achieve very little to his credit; he raided the frontier and occupied the fort of Dhārūr, about one hundred and forty miles north of Bijāpur fort. His feeble campaign was confined to the region north of the river Nīrā and he was recalled to court (June, 1683).

Finding it impossible to set right the bankruptcy, chronic anarchy and other troubles in the kingdom, Masʿūd left the court in disgust in November, 1683, and sent his formal resignation from his fort of Adonī early in 1684. Āqā Khusrav, who stepped into his position, died in October of the same year. Surrounded by dangers from within and without, specially of Mughul aggression, Sikandar ʿĀdil Shāh took vigorous steps for the defence of Bijāpur and entrusted this important task to his brave general and new prime minister, Sharza Khān.

Aurangzīb, who had been bent upon annexing this decadent State, wrote to ʿĀdil Shāh, calling upon him "as a vassal, to supply provisions to the imperial army promptly, allow the Mughal troops a free passage through his territory, supply a contingent of 5 or 6 thousand cavalry for the emperor's war with the Marathas, abstain from helping or harbouring Shambhūji, and expel Sharza Khan from his country!"[2] In the meantime the Mughuls had been appropriating parts of Bijāpur kingdom and establishing their outposts in them. Mangalvide and Sāngola with their environs were occupied in May, 1684. But the emperor's grim determination to swallow the whole of this State led him to follow a more vigorous policy. Thus a serious rupture with ʿĀdil Shāh seemed imminent. The latter sent a spirited reply to the emperor and acrimonious letters passed between them for some time, the interval being utilized by both the parties for their necessary preparations for the ensuing conflict. On the request of ʿĀdil Shāh, Abu-'l Hasan, the Sultān of Golconda, promised to help Bijāpur and a Marāthā contingent from Shambhūjī reached it on 21 February, 1685. The Mughul siege of Bijāpur fort commenced on 1 April, 1685, and prince Aʿzam reached there with a large army on 14 June to take over the supreme command of the entire operation. The Bijāpur army defended their capital with all their valour and strength and whenever possible, they went out to attack the besiegers, and also succeeded in bringing provisions and reinforcements from outside. In this distress of ʿĀdil Shāh aid came to him from the Sultān of Golconda, Shambhūjī for the second time, and ex-minister Mas'ūd who had established himself as a semi-independent ruler at Adonī.

Prince A'zam proceeded close to the fort on 29 June, and within a month, he had to wage three severe battles with the Bijāpur army. For paucity of provisions a famine broke out in his camp but he continued the siege with determination in spite of his father's direction to return. The emperor then sent him all possible relief in regard to provisions, money and munitions with a strong escort under Ghāzī-ud-dīn Fīrūz Jang. But even after a siege of fifteen months, the fort could not be captured, and discord and jealousy among the officers hampered the progress of the siege-operation. Realizing the absolute necessity of his personal presence for the successful prosecution of the siege, the emperor went to the Rasūlpur suburb, west of the fort, on 3 July, 1686. The fort was closely beleaguered, and the siege was pressed in right earnest. The emperor himself worked hard in supervising the operations and infusing fresh spirit into his men.

On the other hand, the garrison was suffering badly from shortage of provisions causing the death of many men and animals. There was no possibility of succour from any quarters and the future of 'Ādil Shāhī monarchy was extremely gloomy. The garrison lost heart and it shrank to 2,000 men only. It was therefore not worth while to resist any more and Sultān Sikandar surrendered on 12 September, 1686. He left the throne of his ancestors and went to the emperor in his camp at Rasūlpur where he was well received. He was enrolled as a Mughul peer with the title of *Khān,* and an annual pension of one lakh of rupees.

Aurangzīb entered the evacuated city of Bijāpur on 19 September and erased the pictures and Shiah inscriptions on the walls of the palace and the 'Relic Shrine' (*Āsār-i-sharīf*). The kingdom was annexed to the Mughul empire and all the 'Ādil Shāhī officers were taken over into its (Mughul) service.

Sikandar was at first confined in the fort of Daulatābād and then carried with the camp of Aurangzīb as a captive. He died a premature death on 3 April, 1700.

Golconda was no less an attraction for the Mughul imperialistic design than Bijāpur. For about thirty years after the accession of Aurangzīb to the throne it enjoyed immunity from attack from the imperialists, as it "had not been so openly hostile to the empire as Bijāpur,"[2a] and the Mughuls were pre-occupied with the

'Ādil Shāhī Kingdom and Marāthās. But on the accession of Abu-'l Hasan, the last ruler of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty, in 1672, various factors contributed in helping the emperor's policy of aggrandizement towards this State. Abu-'l Hasan spent his time in the company of courtesans and dancing girls, and the whole administration was practically run by the Brāhman Prime Minister Mādanna and his brother Ākkanna. The predominance of the Hindu influence in the court of Golconda and its alliance with the Marāthās were highly offensive in the eyes of the emperor. Although compared with Bijāpur, Qutb Shāh paid his tributes more regularly, he was also long in arrears. The incident which hastened open rupture was the interception of his letter to his agent in the imperial camp in which he had accused the emperor for his attack on Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh "a helpless orphan", and promised to send an army of 40,000 under Khalil-ullāh Khān to the assistance of Bijāpur. Offended at this, Aurangzīb sent Shāh 'Ālam with a large army to launch an attack on Hyderābād (July, 1685), but this army was held up at Mālkhed by the Qutb Shāhī force for more than two months. In October there was a change in the situation owing to the defection of Mīr Muhammad Ibrāhīm, the commander-in-chief of Golconda, who had been bribed by the Mughuls. This defection not only disheartened his army who fled back to Hyderābād but also made the defence of the latter well-nigh impossible, and the Sultān fled post-haste to the fort of Golconda. Shāh 'Ālam took possession of Hyderābād. Feeling helpless, Qutb Shāh submitted and was pardoned by the emperor on the following conditions:—(a) the Sultān must dismiss Mādanna and Ākkanna, (b) he must cede Mālkhed and Serum to the emperor, and (c) pay one crore and twenty lakhs of rupees in settlement of previous dues and also an annual tribute of two lakhs of *hūns.*

But this peace did not last long. Qutb Shāh put off the dismissal of Mādanna and Ākkanna and at this, the discontented Muslim nobles, headed by Shaikh Minhāj and two widows of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, caused the murder of both of them in the streets of Golconda; their houses were plundered and the members of their families ruined.

Aurangzīb was not at all willing to allow Golconda to remain independent, however submissive it might be. On the fall of Bijāpur (12 September, 1686) he was free to resume his operations against it, and on 28 January, 1687, he reached the vicinity of Golconda. After occupying Hyderābād, the Mughul army laid regular siege to the fort of Golconda (7 February, 1687) in which the

Sultān had taken refuge. Encamped north-west of the fort, the emperor personally supervised the operations.

But the emperor's arms were paralysed, though temporarily, by bitter personal jealousies in the imperial camp. Shāh 'Ālam's softness to save Abu-'l Hasan from utter humiliation on the one hand, and his eagerness to deprive his brother A'zam of the credit of capturing Golconda on the other, led him to indulge in secret negotiations with Qutb Shāh's agents. The matter, however, leaked out and the irate father imprisoned his son with his family and confiscated his property. Moreover many Shiahs and orthodox Sunnīs as well were not in favour of this war "between Muslims." But nothing could deviate the emperor from his strong determination and he pushed on the siege in all earnestness, in spite of heavy rainfall, tempest, famine, pestilence, repeated sorties of the enemies and their incessant fire from the walls of the fort. Three mines were carried under the bastions of the fort and filled with gunpowder, but when fired, the first one was misdirected and took the life of 1,100 imperialists, the second produced the same disastrous effect, and the third, when fired, did not explode, as the enemies having discovered it, had filled it with water. The garrison defended with undaunted heroism and the investment continued without any ray of hope. The emperor issued a proclamation, annexing the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, and posted his own officers in all parts of it with a view to stopping supply of provisions or any other form of relief to the garrison. Despite this, it was not possible to attain success and at last, the imperialists took recourse to bribery. Having been seduced, 'Abdullah Pānī, surnamed Sardār Khān, an Afghān officer in the fort, opened the postern gate on 21 September, 1687, at 3 o'clock in the morning, allowing the Mughuls to enter into the fort. The only officer who opposed the imperialists was 'Abdur-Razzāq Lārī, surnamed Mustafā Khān, who had refused with scorn all the alluring offers of the emperor and fought with uncommon bravery till he was covered with seventy wounds.

Abu-'l Hasan met his fate with calmness, consoled the members of his family and then left his palace for good. He was taken by prince A'zam to the emperor who, after accusing him for his corrupt government and favouring the Brāhmans, sent him as a State-prisoner to the fortress of Daulatābād with an annual pension of 50,000 rupees. The booty acquired by the emperor at Golconda amounted to about seven crores of rupees in cash, besides other valuables like gold, silver and jewels, and the State was annexed to the Mughul empire.

Aurangzīb then took steps to conquer the unoccupied territories and forts of Bijāpur and Golconda and brought in his possession Sāgar, Adonī, Karnūl, Rāichūr, Serā, Bangalore, Bankāpur, Belgaum, Wandiwāsh and Conjeevaram in the course of a year.

According to historians like Elphinstone[3] and Smith[4] the annihilation of the Sultānates of Bijāpur and Golconda without first crushing the Marāthā power with their assistance was impolitic on the part of the emperor. They are of opinion that it "freed the Marāthā Chiefs from any fear of local rivalry" which Aurangzīb might have used profitably against the Marāthās. "But", says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "this criticism misses the cardinal fact of Deccan politics in the 17th century. From the day when the emperor Akbar launched forth into a policy of conquest south of the Vindhyas to the day when Aurangzīb rode in triumph into the fallen capital of the last of the Qutb-Shahis, the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda could never for a moment forget that the sleepless aim of the Mughal Emperor was their final extinction and the annexation of all their territories.... A union of hearts between Bijapur or Golkonda and the Mughal empire was a psychological impossibility."[5] He holds further that it would not have been possible for the two decadent Sultānates to check the Marāthās, who had organized themselves into a powerful national State, more effectively than the emperor himself could do.[6] The views of Sir Jadunath Sarkar reflect more correctly the real situation in the Deccan than those of Elphinstone and Smith and may be accepted in all fairness.

During the period when the emperor was seriously engaged in utilizing the full military resources of the empire against Bijāpur and Golconda, Shambhūjī did not make any well-thought-out plan to overcome the Mughul menace that hung so heavily on him and other Deccani powers.

While he was plunged into drinking and merry-making at Sangameshwar, twenty miles north-east of Ratnagiri city, without even due care for his own safety, he was surprised and captured by Muqarrab Khān, a Mughul Officer, on 1 February, 1689. His Prime Minister Kavi-Kalash and twenty-five chief followers with their wives and daughters were also taken prisoners. Dressed as buffoons, Shambhūjī and Kavi-Kalash were brought to the imperial camp at Bahādurgarh in a long procession with drums and trumpets. The emperor offered to spare the life of Shambhūjī if he would surrender his forts, let him know where he had hidden his treasures and disclose the names of the imperial officers who were in league with him. Publicly insulted and degraded, and driven to despair, he disdainfully rejected the offer of life, abused Aurangzīb and asked for one of his "daughters to be given to him as the price of his friendship."[7] After severe torture for more than three weeks, both Shambhūjī and Kavi-Kalash were put to a cruel and painful death on 11 March, 1689.

On the capture of Shambhūjī, his younger brother Rājārām was enthroned at Rāigarh on 8 February. The imperialists soon laid siege to it, but Rājārām managed to escape out of it in the guise of a hermit and went to Gingee (1 November). Rāigarh fell on 19 October, and Shivājī's surviving widows and other members of the Marāthā royal family including Shambhūjī's son, Shāhū, a boy of seven, were taken prisoners.

"Thus, by the end of the year 1689, Aurangzib was the unrivalled lord paramount of Northern India and the Deccan alike. Adil Shah, Qutb Shah, and Rajah Shambhuji had all fallen and their dominions had been annexed to his empire."[8]

"All seemed to have been gained by Aurangzib now; but in reality all was lost. It was the beginning of his end. The saddest and most hopeless chapter of his life now opened. The Mughal empire had become too large to be ruled by one man or from one centre..... His enemies rose on all sides; he could defeat but not crush them for ever. Lawlessness reigned in many parts of Northern and Central India. The administration grew slack and corrupt. The endless war in the Deccan exhausted his treasury. Napolean I used to say, 'It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me'. The Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzib."[8a]

The emperor's long stay in the Deccan (for quarter of a century) with best of his officers, and his prolonged wars there with consequent drain of wealth and man-power, leaving the administration of provinces in Northern India in charge of second-rate officers with limited resources and insufficient troops, ushered in disastrous consequences for the empire. Centrifugal forces were let loose by the emperor's long absence from the capital and the lack of a strong administration at the centre. Besides the risings in the Jāt territories, Rājasthān, Bundelkhand and Mālwa, rebellions broke out in Gondwāna, Bihār and Bengal, resulting in utter lawlessness and anarchy which ultimately sapped the foundation of the Mughul empire.

II. NORTH INDIA

After Aurangzīb's departure to the Deccan the Mughul officers continued to be in possession of the cities and strategic places of Mārwār, but the Rāthor patriots who occupied the hills often came down to the plains, attacked the Mughul outposts, cut off their convoys, and rendered communication and cultivation almost impossible. From 1681 to 1687 it was a people's war in Mārwār carried on by the Rāthor patriots under different leaders without any central authority and common plan of action, as Ajīt Singh was a minor and Durgā Dās absent in the Deccan. Their primary aim was to wear out the imperialists by their guerilla tactics. Durgā Dās returned from the Deccan in 1687 and then conducted the operations against the imperialists. With the aid of Durjan Sāl Hārā of Būndī, the Rāthors not only obtained some brilliant successes in Mārwār, but also defeated the governor of Ajmer and raided the Mughul territories in Mewāt and the neighbourhood of Delhi. But it was not possible for them to recover Mārwār whose Mughul governor, Shujā'at Khān, maintained the imperial hold on it by arms as well as by his clever policy of paying the Rāthors *chauth* or one-fourth of the imperial custom-duties on merchandise.

The emperor was anxious to bring back Akbar's daughter Safīyat-un-nisā and son Buland Akhtar, both of whom had been left with the Rāthors by their father in 1681. After successful negotiations by Shujā'at Khān with the intermediary of the historian Iswar Dās Nāgar, Safīyat-un-nisā was delivered to her grandfather in 1696, and the emperor was delighted to learn that Durgā Dās had made necessary arrangements for her education in Islāmic theology by appointing a Muslim mistress from Ajmer. In 1698 Buland Akhtar was also delivered to his grandfather. As a result of all these, Durgā Dās was appointed a *manṣabdār* of three thousand and the commandant of Pātan in Gujarāt, and Ajīt Singh received the *parganās* of Jhālor, Sānchor and Siwānā as his *jāgīr*, with a *manṣab* in the imperial army, but did not get back his kingdom.

The last stage of the struggle lasted from 1701 to 1707, at the end of which Ajīt Singh marched in triumph to Jodhpur, the capital of Mārwār. Although a reconciliation had been made between the Mughuls and the Rāthors, as mentioned above, it did not last long as the two parties were distrustful of each other. Aurangzīb ordered the governor of Gujarāt either to arrest Durgā Dās or kill him. Alarmed at this information, the Rāthor hero rode away to Mārwār, and joining Ajīt Singh, again took up arms against the Mughuls. But they could not achieve anything to their credit and there were serious disagreements between Durgā Dās and his master for the imperious temper and want of tact of the latter. On the other hand, surrounded by enemies on all sides, Aurangzīb made peace with Ajīt by giving him Merta as his *jāgīr* (1704). In the following year Durgā Dās also offered his submission to the emperor who gave him back his rank and post in Gujarāt. But in 1706, taking advantage of a Marāthā invasion in Gujarāt, followed by a serious defeat of the Mughuls, Ajīt and Durgā Dās once more raised the standard of rebellion. Unable to cope with his enemies, the latter fled to the Kolī country, but Ajīt defeated Muhkam Singh of Nāgaur who had fought on behalf of the Mughuls. Receiving information of Aurangzīb's death in March, 1707, Ajīt Singh rode with his forces to Jodhpur, and defeating the Mughul army of occupation, took possession of it. The Rāthor army also recovered Sojāt, Pālī and Merta, and thus after long and sustained efforts, the valiant Rāthors succeeded in getting back their motherland from the clutches of the Mughul imperialists.

The effect of the Rājput wars of Aurangzīb was disastrous to the empire. They not only cost heavy losses of men and money but the imperialists could not also eventually achieve the desired success. "Damaging as this result was to imperial prestige, its material consequences were worse still."[9] It was an act of political indiscretion on the part of the emperor to provoke the two leading Rājput clans into hostility and thus lose their devoted and gallant service in the north-west frontier or in the Deccan. The examples of the Rāthors and Śiśodīas were followed by the Hārā and Gaur clans and the trouble then spread to Mālwa also, endangering the most important Mughul road through Mālwa to the Deccan.

The spirit which Gokla had infused among the Jāts did not go in vain. Capable leaders like Rājārām of Sinsanī and Rām Chehrā of Soghor stepped into his place. They trained their men in open warfare, built mud-forts in inaccessible forests and carried on plundering raids even in the suburbs of Āgra. Rājārām attacked and killed the famous Mughul commander Uighur Khān (1687). He also plundered the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, and according to Manucci, dug out the bones of the great emperor and burnt them.[10] In July, 1688, while fighting for a party in an internecine war between two Rājput clans, he was killed by a Mughul musketeer fighting under the Mughul *faujdār* of Mewāt who had taken up the cause of another rival party. The Jāt strongholds of Sinsanī and Soghor were then captured by the imperialists in 1690 and 1691 respectively.

Rājārām's place was occupied by his nephew Churāman who strengthened his army, and committing daring raids on the Mughuls, increased his resources. About 1704 he re-occupied Sinsanī but lost it again in October, 1705. He continued his resistance against the imperialists with great patience and courage even after the death of Aurangzīb. By uncommon tenacity and firm determination, the Jāts eventually founded a powerful kingdom of their own, viz., that of Bharatpur which the Mughuls were unable to subdue.

Another outbreak of a serious nature was led by Chhatra Sāl, the son of Champat Rāi of Orchha, in Bundelkhand. He had served as a petty captain in the Mughul army under Rājā Jay Singh and fought creditably in the Deccan. But inspired by Shivājī's example, he made up his mind to follow a similar adventurous life and carve out an independent kingdom for himself. He sought service under the Marāthā hero, but according to his advice, returned to his own country where the Hindus had been seething with discontent against Aurangzīb's religious policy of intolerance and destruction of temples, and were in need of a strong and capable leader. They received him cordially and elected him king of Bundelkhand.

He defeated the Mughuls and raided Dhāmoni and Sironj and began to realize *chauth* from the neighbouring Mughul territories. The emperor's preoccupation in the Deccan gave him an opportunity to further his designs and he captured Kālinjar and Dhāmoni. His raiding activities extended throughout Mālwa and finding it difficult to check his rebellious movements, the emperor made peace with him, appointing him a *manṣabdār* of 4,000 with a post in the Deccan. But after the death of Aurangzīb in 1707, he came back to Bundelkhand to resume his activities for the establishment of an independent kingdom.

Pahār Singh, a Gaur Rājput petty chieftain in Western Bundelkhand, raised the standard of rebellion in 1685 and plundered the villages of Mālwa. Although he was defeated and slain, the rising continued under his sons Bhagwant and Devi Singh, and then by other leaders. The hostile activities of this Gaur family were eventually stopped by granting them service under the imperial government (1692).

In Bihār, a rebellion was led by Gangā Rām Nāgar, the revenue officer of the estates of Khān Jahān, in Allahābād and Bihār, while the Khān was serving in the imperial army in the Deccan. Sacking the city of Bihār, Gangā Rām besieged Patna, but was ultimately forced to leave Bihār. He then went to Mālwa and looted Sironj in October, 1684, but died soon after.

About the middle of the seventeenth century two kingdoms, Deogarh and Chāndā, came into importance in Gondwāna. Both these States had enormous wealth which roused the greed of the emperor whose religious bigotry, moreover, influenced his policy towards them. Even conversion of the Deogarh Rājā to Islām did not improve his position. At last he raised the standard of rebellion, and in alliance with the Marāthās, fought against the imperialists in 1701, and though defeated, did not submit. On the death of Aurangzīb, he was successful in extending his kingdom.

In Bengal the English East India Company rose in arms against the Mughuls. The grievances of the English included the demand by Mughul authorities of an *ad valorem* duty of 3½ per cent. on the actual merchandise imported, in lieu of the lump sum of Rs. 3,000 per annum into which it had been commuted during the viceroyalty of prince Shujā‘, unauthorised and illegal exactions and oppressions of the local officials. The English, unable to redress all these alleged grievances, resolved to protect themselves by force. The war broke out in October, 1686. After a few skirmishes the English left Bengal for Madras (February, 1689). Eventually, in 1690 peace was concluded between the Mughul government and the English; and at the invitation of Ibrāhīm Khān, viceroy of Bengal, Job Charnock, the new English Agent, settled at a place now known as Calcutta (24 August, 1690).

III. THE TRIUMPH OF THE MARĀTHĀS

It is a pity that Aurangzīb could never gauge the real strength of the Marāthās, neither in the early stage of their rise nor in the subsequent stage of their growth. He had been acquainted with the uncommon audacity and daring exploits of Shivājī as far back as 1657. The Marāthā chief then raided not only the Mughul districts of Ahmadnagar and Junnār but also sacked the rich city of Junnār. He was then routed and Aurangzīb got him within his reach but did not take necessary steps to prevent his future growth. Even after his accession to the throne, Aurangzīb did not proceed to the Deccan till 1681, although, in the meantime, alarming news of the subversive activities of the Marāthā chief had reached him on many occasions. His long dependence on his officers in that faroff region against such a subtle adversary was not at all justified and Shivājī thus got ample opportunities to fulfil his cherished ambition of establishing a powerful national State. It does not also speak well of the efficiency of the Mughul government that such an inveterate enemy of the empire could escape from the vigilance of the imperialists! It was not till the flight of prince Akbar to the court of Shambhūjī that the emperor considered it necessary to proceed to the Deccan in person. But by that time the Marāthās became too powerful to be subdued and, in spite of the execution of Shambhūjī, the Marāthās were up in arms against imperial aggression for the preservation of their national independence. Aurangzīb was slow to realize their unusual potentiality and dug his own grave, fighting against them.

In 1690 and 1691 the emperor devoted his attention chiefly towards taking possession of the southern and eastern portions of the late Bijāpur and Golconda States. But he was soon faced with the 'people's war' in Mahārāshtra. After the flight of Rājārām to the fort of Gingee, it became the centre of Marāthā activities in the east coast, while in the west, Mahārāshtra proper, resistance to the Mughuls was organized by the leaders there. In the eastern theatre of war Prahlād Nirājī was the King's supreme agent, and in the west, the Marāthā leaders were Rāmchandra N. Bāvdekar, Shankarjī Malhār and Parashurām Trimbak. Rāmchandra Bāvdekar was created dictator (*Hukūmatpanāh*) with full authority over the commanders and other officials in Mahārāshtra. Two generals of outstanding ability, Dhana Jādav and Santājī Ghorpare, conducted operations against the imperialists, moving from one theatre of war to another in the Deccan. By their guerilla tactics, they inflicted heavy losses on the Mughuls who, being unable to ascertain the movements of their enemies, were thrown into great confusion. "The difficulties of Aurangzīb", says Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "were multiplied by this disappearance of a common head and a central government among the Marāthās, because every petty Marāthā captain now fought and plundered in a different quarter on his own account. The Marāthās were no longer a tribe of banditti or local rebels, but the one dominating factor of Deccan politics, and an enemy all-pervasive throughout the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, the ally and rallying point of all the enemies of the Delhi empire and all disturbers of public peace and regular administration throughout the Deccan and even in Mālwa, Gondwāna and Bundelkhand. The imperialists could not be present everywhere in full strength; hence, they suffered reverses in places."[11]

Rājārām had been besieged in the fort of Gingee by the Mughul commander Zu-'l-Fiqār Khān in September, 1690. But the latter could not blockade this vast fort completely and hence supplies to it could not be prevented. On the other hand, the Marāthā bands roving around cut off the supplies of the Mughuls and harassed them in all possible manner. Finding the position intolerable, Zu-'l-Fiqār Khān gave up the siege and asked for reinforcements which reached him in December, 1691. The siege was unsuccessfully renewed in the following year, and it was abandoned on two more occasions under difficult circumstances, the imperialists having suffered awfully due to repeated attacks of the Marāthā army under Dhana and Santā. Zu-'l-Fiqār renewed the siege in earnest in November, 1697, and captured it on 8 January, 1698. Rājārām escaped and fled first to Vellore and afterwards to Vishālgarh.

But the Mughul-Marāthā war did not cease with the fall of Gingee, and it continued in the western theatre.

Despite the severe shock to the Marāthās caused by the capture and execution of Shambhūjī and flight of Rājārām to Gingee, they ere long recovered from despondency and, on 25 May, 1690, gained their first important success near Sātārā where the Mughul general Sharza Khān was captured with his family and entire camp and baggage by the joint actions of Rāmchandra, Shankarjī, Santā and Dhana. After this, Rāmchandra and Shankarjī regained the fortresses of Pratāpgarh, Rohirā, Rājgarh and Tornā in the same year and Parashurām recovered Panhālā in 1692. By surprise attacks, Santā and Dhana harassed the imperialists with a view to wearing them out as far as possible. After dividing his forces Santā sent 4,000 cavalry under Amrit Rāo to raid Berār and he himself proceeded with 6,000 cavalry towards Mālkhed, collecting *chauth*. The Marāthā roving bands were active throughout 1694 and 1695, making the position of the Mughuls very miserable. In December, 1695, Santā surprised the Mughul general Qāsim Khān who had been directed to intercept him while carrying a rich booty to northwestern Mysore. Inflicting a severe defeat upon him, the Marāthā general plundered his camp, and one-third of his army fell during the encounter or retreat. Qāsim Khān committed suicide and the rest of his army had to give up all they possessed and promised a ransom of twenty lakhs of rupees. In January, 1696, Santā achieved another success over the Mughuls by defeating and slaying the Mughul general Himmat Khān and plundering his baggage.

But a civil war between Santā and Dhana weakened the strength of the Marāthās and gave the Mughuls a temporary respite. Both these generals were rivals for the post of the commander-in-chief (*Senāpati*). Though Santā was a general of extraordinary capacity and dash, he was ill-tempered and insubordinate which gave great offence to Rājārām and his nobles at Gingee, the result of which was that he (Santā) was attacked by his king and Dhana near Conjeevaram (May, 1696). But Santā succeeded in defeating both of them. Unfortunately, in another battle between the two rival generals in the Sātārā district, Santā was defeated owing to the defection of most of his followers for his insolence (March, 1697). Deserted by his followers, he fled from the battlefield, but was murdered in June while taking his bath near the Mahādev hill (in the Sātārā district).

In July, 1697, the imperialists suffered great misery due to the heavy flood of the Bhīmā river which washed away their camps at Pedgāon and Islāmpurī, and except the fall of the fort of Gingee in January, 1698, nothing of importance happened in regard to Mughul-Marāthā contest for some time more. In 1699 when, after making plans for raids through Khāndesh and Berār, Rājārām marched out of the fort of Sātārā, he was intercepted four miles off Parenda by the imperialists under Bīdar Bakht, and after a sanguinary battle, was defeated and driven towards Ahmadnagar. Although the Marāthā king's raid into Khāndesh and Berār was thus nullified, one division under the leadership of Krishna Sāvant plundered certain places near Dhāmoni.

Rājārām died at Sinhgarh on 2 March, 1700, and a dispute over succession arose between Shivājī III, the son of the senior widow Tārā Bāi, and Shambhūjī II, the son of Rājas Bāi, another wife of the late King. Through the ability and influence of his mother, Shivājī III was recognized as King, but he was a minor, and the real power passed into the hands of his mother whose uncommon bravery, strength of character, power of organization, and administrative ability saved the Marāthā State from the awful crisis.

Although during the past decade the Mughuls had conquered Kalyān and some other places in the northern Konkan, they could not achieve as much success as they should have gained in view of internal dissensions in the Marāthā State. Aurangzīb could not see any end of his war in Mahārāshtra, and so, in May, 1695, he sent his son Shāh 'Ālam to northern India to take over charge of the Punjab, Sind and Afghānistān, while he established his own headquarters at Brahmapurī in the heart of the Marāthā country for more vigorous operations against the enemies. But even then he was unable to attain the desired result. By their guerilla tactics the Marāthās made the life of the Mughuls extremely miserable and forced them to be on the defensive in Mahārāshtra and

Kannaḍa. Unable to follow the rapid movements of the enemies, the imperialists became bewildered and terror-stricken. Many Mughul officers were compelled to agree to pay *chauth* to the Marāthās, while some others entered into private understanding with them for sharing the plunder of the imperial territories. Sir Jadunath Sarkar correctly depicts the Mughul position when he says, "The Mughul administration had really dissolved and only the presence of the emperor held it together, but merely as a phantom rule."[12]

In these circumstances Aurangzīb decided to besiege and capture the Marāthā forts in person, one after another, but this policy also did not succeed, as when he occupied one fort, another went out of his possession, and this continued till the rest of his life, undoing his labours and huge expenditure of money and loss of lives. "His soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardship in marching over flooded rivers, muddy roads and broken hilly tracks; porters disappeared, transport beasts died of hunger and overwork, scarcity of grain was ever present in the camp and the Marāthā and Berad 'thieves' (as he officially called them) not far off. The mutual jealousies of his generals ruined his cause or delayed his success."[13] Five years and a half (1699-1705) he spent in besieging the eight Marāthā forts, Sātārā, Parlī, Panhālā, Khelnā (Vishālgarh), Kondhānā (Sinhgarh), Rājgarh, Tornā, Wāgingerā, and five other places of less importance.

After making necessary arrangements for fighting the Marāthā roving bands, he proceeded to Sātārā, capturing Basantgarh on the way. The fort of Sātārā fell on 21 April, 1700. After this, Pārlī and Panhālā were captured by bribery in June, 1700, and May, 1701, respectively. Khelnā (Vishālgarh) and Kondhānā (Sinhgarh) were also captured, not by arms but by gold, and they fell in June, 1702, and April, 1703, respectively. Rājgarh, Tornā and Wāgingerā were taken possession of between 16 February, 1704, and 27 April, 1705.

The long and continuous hard labour of the emperor even in the ripe old age was too much for him to bear and he fell very ill while encamped at Devapur, on the bank of the Krishnā, after the capture of Wāgingerā. But he recovered from this illness, and proceeded slowly to Ahmadnagar, arriving there on 21 January, 1706.

His long warfare in the Deccan for a quarter of a century resulted in utter desolation of the country and caused indescribable misery to the people. Manucci, an eye-witness, says, "Aurangzīb withdrew to Ahmadnagar, leaving behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their places being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is black and barren. There have died in his armies over a hundred thousand souls yearly, and of animals, pack-oxen, camels, elephants, etc., over three hundred thousand. In the Deccan provinces from 1702 to 1704 plague (and famine) prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls."[14]

The Marāthās followed the emperor during his journey to Ahmadnagar, attacking his men from the rear and cutting off their food supplies. By this time they became very powerful and were no longer a band of plundering light horsemen; they were equipped with artillery, musketry and other necessaries of a regular army like the Mughuls. They succeeded in establishing their mastery not only over nearly the whole of the Deccan but also in some places of Central India. Unable to cope with them, the imperialists were forced to be on the defensive. In 1706 the Marāthās raided Gujarāt and plundered Barodā which was then a rich trading centre. Even the emperor's camp at Ahmadnagar was not immune from attack, and it was besieged in May, 1706, when they were driven back with great difficulty. The province of Aurangābād was ravaged on many occasions, and a large Mughul convoy was plundered on the way from Aurangābād to Ahmadnagar; Dhana attacked Berār and Khāndesh. Thus the long and continuous endeavours of the emperor to crush the Marāthās proved futile and Marāthā nationalism flourished with all its vitality as a triumphant force. In the midst of these confusions and disorders, suffering from bereavements due to the death of two beloved daughters, one daughter-in-law, one sister and two nephews, and deep anxieties for the gloomy future of the empire, specially because of an apprehended civil war among his sons, Aurangzīb breathed his last in his nineteenth year at Ahmadnagar in the morning of 3 March, 1707 (Friday).

He was interred near the tomb of saint Shaikh Zain-ul-Haqq at Khuldābād, four miles west of Daulatābād.

IV. GENERAL REVIEW

1. *The Empire*

Before the death of the emperor in 1707, the Mughul empire consisted of twenty-one provinces or *sūbas,* of which one was Kābul, fourteen were situated in northern India and six in the Deccan. The provinces in northern India were Āgra, Ajmer, Allāhabād, Awadh, Bengal, Bihār, Delhi, Gujarāt, Kāshmīr, Lahore, Multān, Tatta (Sind), Mālwa, Orissa; and those in the Deccan were Berār, Khāndesh, Aurangābād, Bīdar or Telingāna, Bijāpur and Hyderābād. The empire extended from Kābul and Kāshmīr on the north-west to Chittagong and the Monās river (west of Gauhāti) on the north-east; on the west coast, it extended to the northern frontier of Goa and on the south, its boundary stretched to the Coleroon river (north of Tanjore), but the emperor's authority was disputed in Mahārāshtra, Kannada, Mysore and eastern Karnātaka. Excluding Kābul (Afghānistān) the land revenue of the empire about 1690 was nearly thirty-three crores and forty five lakhs of rupees. Other important sources of income to the government were *zakāt* (tithe from the Muslims), *jizya* (poll-tax from the Hindus), customs duty, salt tax and spoils from war. Aurangzīb was a believer in the Islāmic theory of taxation and hence remitted those taxes which were not sanctioned by the Islāmic law. The imposition of the *jizya* on the Hindus compensated to a certain extent the loss of revenue on account of the abolition of many illegal taxes and *abwābs*.

The volume of foreign trade of the Mughul empire was too inconsiderable to form an important factor in its economy. The principal exports from India were common cotton cloth (called calicoes), plain or printed, muslin or very fine cotton fabrics, silk, indigo, saltpetre and pepper. Small quantities of white sugar from Hooghly and slaves from Bengal and Madras were also exported. Besides, towards the end of the seventeenth century "silk taffetas and brocades began to be exported in large quantities, and a distinct improvement in the dyeing and weaving of silk was effected in Bengal by the English Company."[15] The main imports into the country were silver and gold (in specie), copper, lead, high-class woollen clothing from Europe (specially France), glass-ware, spices, viz., cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon and cardamom from the Dutch Indies, superior variety of tobacco from America, horses from Persia and Khurāsān, slaves from Abyssinia and wine and curiosities from Europe. Besides, fresh and dried fruits from Central Asia and Persia, musk and porcelain from China, pearls from Bahrein (Persian Gulf) and Ceylon, and elephants from Pegu and Ceylon were also imported into this country. But, on the whole, the total volume of import trade was small and the government income from import duty was about thirty lakhs of rupees only per annum. Indian economy was basically self-sufficient and India had a favourable balance of trade. Whatever was imported was paid for by export of cotton goods supplemented by a small variety of raw produce. The traders had to import precious metals into India to pay for commodities exported from India.

2. *Personality of Aurangzīb*

Aurangzīb was a man of small stature with olive-coloured skin and a large nose. In his old age he had white round beard. He led a very simple, well-ordered and pious life, slept little and worked so hard even in his extreme old age that it was a wonder to his contemporaries. He held daily courts, sometimes twice a day, besides wednesday trials, and worked to the minute details, even personally writing orders on letters and petitions and dictating official replies. The Italian physician, Gemelli Careri, who came to India during his reign and saw him in 1695, "admired to see him endorse the petitions [of those who had business] with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seem to be pleased with the employment."[16]

He had a wonderful memory and retained almost all his faculties intact to the end of his life, except slight shortage in hearing and lameness of the right leg due to an accidental dislocation in October 1700, and unskilful treatment of the doctor.

He was an expert calligraphist, had a passion for reading books and maintained his studious habit till the last day of his life, utilizing the meagre leisure that he could get in the midst of his extremely busy official duties. He was not only a master of Arabic and Persian but could also speak Turkī and Hindī fluently. "His extensive correspondence proves his mastery of Persian poetry and Arabic sacred literature, as he is ever ready with apt quotations for embellishing almost every one of his letters....To his initiative and patronage we owe the greatest digest of Muslim law made in India, which rightly bears his name,—the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* and which simplified and defined Islamic justice in India even after.

"Besides book-learning, Aurangzib had from his boyhood cultivated control of speech and action, and tact in dealing with others. As a prince, his tact, sagacity and humility made the highest nobles of his father's Court his friends; and as Emperor he displayed the same qualities in a degree which would have been remarkable even in a subject."[17]

He was free from the habit of drinking wine, and other habitual vices of his contemporaries. The number of his wives was within the Qurā'nic limit of four; of them Dilras Bānu and Aurangābādī Mahal died in 1657 and 1685, respectively; Nawāb Bāi led a retired life at Delhi after 1660, and Udaipurī was his only companion after the death of Aurangābādī in 1685. He was ever faithful to his conjugal love, and weakness for women never tarnished his name. He was a devout Muslim and followed all the precepts and observances of his religion with sincerity and strictness. His stern and austere mode of living according to the injunctions of Islām was highly admired by his co-religionists who looked upon him as *zinda pīr* or living saint.

But the way in which he secured the throne is hard to defend. It is true that, possessed of financial and military resources, and in the absence of the law of primogeniture, the Mughul princes were generally eager to establish their claim to the throne by the trial of strength, and instances of cruelties to vanquished claimants are not wanting; but such precedents do not in any way exonerate Aurangzīb from severe condemnation for his treatment to his brothers and father. Only this much may be said in his favour that he did not kill his father, instances of which, though rare, are not altogether wanting in history.

He possessed uncommon physical strength and unusual bravery, of which he gave proof even at the age of fifteen when he faced a furious elephant alone. Added to these, he had dogged tenacity, coolness of temper, presence of mind, rapidity of movement and a calculating spirit which are so necessary for an efficient general, and these gave him success in the battles against his brothers. He braved all risks with a cheerful mind and coolness of temper, and encouraged his men even in the midst of thickest dangers. When, on the night previous to the battle of Khajuhā, Jasvant Singh deserted him with his Rājput followers, committing depredations, he received the information with coolness, and without the least excitement, took steps to maintain his own position and prevent confusion spreading among the rest of his army. In the thickness of fight next day he extricated himself and his men from critical situations with his unusual coolness of temper and eventually came out successful.

As an expert strategist, he took advantage of any opportunity which he could get out of the mistakes and weaknesses of his adversaries. He did not also hesitate to take recourse to stratagem and political cunning to serve his own end, as was found during the Rāthor-Śiśodiā alliance with his rebellious son Akbar. By a false letter to the latter and contriving to let it fall into the hands of the Rājputs, he turned the whole table against his enemies. He was a skilful diplomat whose subtle activities were too much for his enemies to cope with. A man of inflexible determination, he used to cling to his object with extraordinary patience till his endeavours were crowned with success.

An indefatigable worker like him never felt satisfied without personally accomplishing the duties of the State even to the minute details as best as he could, according to his own ideas and likings, with the least dependence on others. But in doing so, he forgot the limitations of his own capacity for work and such a spirit moreover engendered in him too much of self-confidence and suspicion of others, even of his own sons. The inevitable result of this suspicious nature was over-centralization of power and excessive interference by the emperor which destroyed the initiative and sense of responsibility of his ministers and other high officers, and reduced them to the position of clerks, merely to register his will and follow his dictates. As a natural consequence, deterioration in efficiency of administration crept in, specially with his growing old age.

He retained the military character of his government from the beginning to the end, and did not chalk out any well-planned programme either for the social and economic welfare of his subjects or for their cultural regeneration by the advancement of learning and development of arts, such as music, painting and architecture. He ought to have realized that such an empire resting on mere physical force cannot last long, and signs of its decay and dismemberment were visible even during his lifetime.

As a tool of the orthodox reform movement, and obsessed by a narrow conception without due consideration for the welfare and stability of the empire consisting of men of diverse castes, creeds and religions, he adhered to the policy detrimental to it, paving the way for its downfall. He cannot be called a benevolent despot as he had no solicitude for the well-being of all his subjects, irrespective of caste, creed or religion. In utter disregard of the interests of the overwhelming majority, he performed his duties in a way which showed that, as an emperor, his main consideration was for the Sunnī Muslims only. Such discriminatory policy proved fatal to the empire. He never understood "the eternal truth that there cannot be a great or lasting empire without a great *people*, that no people can be great unless it learns to form a compact *nation* with equal rights and opportunities for all."[18]

"In spite of his untiring labours", says Dr. Yasin, "Aurangzib was a colossal failure and we find that during his time people were neither good men nor good Muslims; he being the only good Musalmān but a bad ruler of a state of composite races, creeds and cultures.

Aurangzib's recipe might be excellent from the view-point of a Mujaddid; but it killed the patient nevertheless. In striving after the substance of Islam, Aurangzib reduced the Muslim empire to a shadow before he breathed his last leaving a legacy of communal bitterness to posterity."[19]

Aurangzīb was not a political genius and lacked the qualities of a true statesman who could initiate a policy and enact laws for moulding the life and thought of his contemporaries as well as of future generations. He could realize the futility of his work before his death and, full of remorse, he wrote to prince A'zam: "The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry.

"Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing."[20]

3. *India at the end of Aurangzīb's reign*

Taking a broad view of the state of things at the death of Aurangzīb, with which the period dealt with in this volume comes to an end, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in spite of brilliant qualities of head and heart which enabled that emperor to extend the Mughul empire over the whole of Deccan and South India, the grave defects of his character are mainly responsible for the sudden collapse of the mighty empire which then included nearly the whole of India and Afghānistān. Like waves in the ocean the Mughul empire reached the highest point only to break down, and Aurangzīb must share both the credit and discredit for the same, at least to a very large extent. But it was not merely the fall of an empire but also the end of an epoch which ushered in a period of decline and distress after a century of peace and prosperity—generally speaking—"under the strong and wise government" of three generations of emperors before Aurangzīb. Peace and security—"the sole justification of the Mughul empire"—no longer existed in India at the time of Aurangzīb's death. Political unrest and insecure roads ruined agriculture, trade and industry in a large part of the country. "The financial exhaustion of the empire in these endless wars left Government and private owners alike too poor to repair buildings and roads worn out by the lapse of time." "The labouring population suffered not only from violent capture, forced labour, and starvation, but also from epidemics which were very frequent during these campaigns." "The starving and exasperated peasantry took to highway robbery as the only means of living." "Trade almost ceased in the Deccan during the unhappy quarter of a century." When Aurangzīb retired from his last campaign in the Deccan in 1705 "the country presented a scene of utter desolation", of which a vivid picture has been drawn by two eye witnesses, the foreign traveller Manucci, a passage from whose writings has been quoted above, and Bhīmsen. Arts and crafts could flourish only in the walled cities, and in some regions, both in Deccan and South India, "village industries and industrial classes together died out." Even the provinces in North India, where peace prevailed, in Bengal for example, the absence of a strong central Government gave a golden opportunity to the Provincial Governors to make their fortune by fleecing the traders, merchants and craftsmen in various ways, and few of them failed to make good use of it. The sad picture, of which this is merely an outline, has been brilliantly drawn by the greatest Indian historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in the last two chapters of his monumental work, the *History of Aurangzīb,* in five volumes. The readers may form from them a fair idea of the state of things in India in the year 1707 with which this volume closes.[21]

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1. J. N. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib,* p. 279.
2. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. IV (1930), p. 368.

2a. Ibid, p. 405.

3. Mountstuart Elphinstone, *The History of India* (6th Edition), p. 649.
4. V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (3rd Edition), p. 421.
5. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. IV, pp. 5-6.
6. Ibid, pp. 6-7.
7. Ibid, p. 479.
8. Ibid, p. 484.

8a. J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India,* p. 50.

9. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. III, p. 424.
10. *Storia do Mogor,* N. Manucci, translated by W. Irvine, II. 320.
11. *CHI,* IV, p. 290.
12. Ibid, p. 296.
13. Ibid.
14. Quoted in *CHI,* IV, p. 300.
15. J. N. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib,* p. 458.
16. *Churchill's Voyages,* IV, 222.
17. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. V, (1924), p. 475.
18. Ibid, p. 495.
19. Mohammad Yasin, *A Social History of Islamic India,* p. 171.
20. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. V, p. 259.
21. The Editor is responsible for this para which is based on Chapter LXII of the last volume of the *History of Aurangzib* by Jadunath Sarkar. The passages within quotation marks are from pp. 440-45. For the account of Manucci, cf. *Storia do Mogor,* Vol. IV, p. 252. Two passages from the Persian work, *Nushka-i-Dilkushā* by Bhīmsen are quoted in *CHI,* Vol. IV, p. 300.

CHAPTER XI

THE SIKHS

I. *The Muslim Oppression in the Punjab at the time of Nānak*

Reference has been made above[1] to the religious doctrines preached by Nānak (1469-1538) and other medieval saints like Chaitanya, his contemporary, and Kabīr whom he acknowledged as his spiritual guide. All of them founded separate religious sects which flourish even today. But there is one fact of great significance which distinguishes the followers of Nānak from those of the other two. These latter have all along been members of purely religious sects, but the political and military achievements of the Sikhs, as the followers of Nānak are called, have largely overshadowed their religious outlook and spiritual character. The latter aspect, namely the religious evolution of Sikhism which took place under Nānak and the Gurūs who succeeded him as the leader, will be discussed in the Chapter on religion, while the rise and growth of the political and military power of the Sikhs under the same Gurūs form the subject-matter of this Chapter.

Broadly speaking, the political-cum-military power of the Sikhs may be regarded as a reaction against the intolerance and bigotry of the Muslim rulers leading to the oppression of the Hindus.[2] As such, this requires a little elaboration, with special reference to the Punjab.

The Muslims of Central Asia had been invading and ruling over the Punjab, the homeland of the Sikhs, for nearly five hundred years before the foundation of Sikhism. The Punjab suffered the most as all the foreign invading hordes passed through it to the rich plains of the Gaṅgā or to the south. Nearly seventy Muslim invasions[3] had taken place during five hundred years preceding Nānak. The lot of the Hindus during this long period was one of great misery and suffering. Forcible conversion, destruction of Hindu temples, imposition of taxes like the *jizya* and pilgrimage tax upon the Hindus, and restrictions upon the building of new temples and repairing old ones were only some of the disabilities under which the Hindus were groaning. "Throughout the journey from the coast to Fatehpur, for instance, the Fathers found that the Hindu temples had been destroyed by the Mohammedans."[4]

As a rule, Hindus were not given generally any post of responsibility in civil and military administration. They could be employed only in the lowest posts in the revenue department, because they were familiar with the intricacies of local record-keeping. Hindus were called *Kāfirs* or infidels. At times, restrictions were imposed upon them in the matters of diet, dress and transport, so that they could easily be distinguished from Muslims and could be treated according to their inferior status. They were required to put marks on their foreheads or clothes. Even during the reign of Akbar, Husain Khān, Governor of Lahore, had decreed that "the Hindus should stick patches of different colours on their shoulders, or on the bottom of their sleeves, so that no Muslim might be put to indignity of showing them honour by mistake. Nor did he allow Hindus to saddle their horses but insisted that they use packsaddles when riding."[5] In general, Hindus could not wear rich clothes and ride on fine horses. In Dera Ghazi Khan district a Hindu could ride only on a donkey.

Nānak was twenty years old when Sikandar Lodī (1489-1517) ascended the throne. Even as a prince, Sikandar wished to prohibit the Hindus from bathing in the sacred tank of Thāneswar.[6] As a king, he broke into pieces the idols of the temples of Jwālāmukhi and Kāngra and gave them to butchers to be used as weights. He forbade Hindus from bathing at the *ghāts* on the Yamunā. Barbers were ordered not to shave Hindus. Hindu temples were destroyed on a large scale and Hindus were forcibly converted to Islām. Justice was publicly denied to them. Law of blasphemy was strictly enforced, and for any criticism of Islām capital punishment was inflicted. Bodhan, a Brāhmin, was executed by Sikandar Lodī for saying that Hinduism was as good as Islām.[7] Bribery and corruption were rampant. Nānak observed: "Justice hath taken wings and fled."[8] "This age is like a drawn sword, the Kings are butchers; goodness has taken wings and flown."[9] "There is no one who receiveth or giveth not bribes; the King administers justice only when his palm has been greased (filled)."[10]

Gurū Nānak was also an eye-witness to the treatment meted out to the people by Bābur when he invaded India in 1521. Nānak was at Sayyidpur, now called Eminabad, 80 kilometres from Lahore, in the Gujranwala District. Bābur ordered a general massacre of the people and thousands of persons were taken prisoners. The barbarous treatment of prisoners, in the camp, particularly of women, broke the tender heart of Nānak. In his agony he even took God to task. He said:

"Thou, O Creator of all things,
Takest to Thyself no blame;

Thou hast sent Yama disguised as the great Moghal, Babar.
Terrible was the slaughter,
Loud were the cries of the lamenters.
Did this not awaken pity in Thee, O Lord?
Thou art part and parcel of all things equally, O Creator:
  Thou must feel for all men and all nations.
If a strong man attacketh who is equally strong,
  Where is the grief in this, or whose is the grievance?
But when a fierce tiger preys on the helpless cattle,
  The Herdsman must answer for it."[11]

Bābur exempted Muslims from the payment of stamp duties which Hindus alone paid.[12] His officers demolished Hindu temples and constructed mosques in their places at Sambhal,[13] Chanderi and Ayodhyā, and broke to pieces Jain idols at Urva near Gwālior.[14]

II. *Martyrdom of Gurū Arjun*

During the pontificate of the third Gurū, Amar Dās (1552-74), the Sikhs had to suffer a great deal of annoyance and oppression from the local Muslim population. But though urged by his disciples to stand up against the tyranny, the Gurū refused, saying, "it is not proper for saints to take revenge." The liberal-minded Akbar was very sympathetic to the Sikhs, but far different was the attitude of his successors. It has already been related how the fifth Gurū, Arjun (1581-1606),[15] was executed by Jahāngīr for helping his rebellious son Khusrav with money. This event proved to be the turning point in the attitude of the Sikh Gurūs towards the Muslim rulers. They resolved not to submit meekly to their oppressions but to defend their rights by arms, and thus began the process of transformation of the Sikhs into a military power. In view of this, the whole incident must be described in some detail, even at the risk of some repetition,[16] with special reference to the attitude of Jahāngīr towards the Sikhs.

Khusrav had already met Gurū Arjun in the company of his grandfather, Akbar, and when after the unsuccessful rebellion against his father, Jahāngīr, he fled to the Punjab, he waited on Gurū Arjun at Taran Tāran. The interview is thus described in the autobiography of Jahāngīr:

"In these days when Khusrav passed along this road, this foolishly insignificant fellow (Arjun) proposed to wait upon him. Khusrav happened to halt at the place where he lived. He came and met him. He discussed several matters with him and made on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which in the terms of Hindus is called *Qashqa* and is considered propitious."[17]

Applying the *tilak* implied only honourable reception and not blessing the Prince with sovereignty. Mohsin Fani says that the Gurū offered prayers for the Prince.[18] The prayer indicated a wish for the safety of the individual, as the Prince was on his journey, and not for his cause. The Gurū was an embodiment of moral virtues and could not bless a son in rebellion against his father. He could not forget the case of his own elder brother who had revolted against his father. The Gurū could never contemplate involving himself in the struggle for the throne. This was a political matter and the Gurū had nothing to do with it.[18a]

The Prince then begged the Gurū to help him with money. Gurū Arjun replied that his money was meant for the poor and not for princes. Khusrav humbly pleaded that he was also very poor, needy, forlorn and in distress, and did not possess even travelling expenses for his proposed flight to Kābul. The Gurū was moved at the Prince's sad plight, humility and the dangerous state he was in, being hotly pursued by the Mughul army and the emperor himself. According to Macauliffe, Khusrav was provided with a few thousand rupees. Beni Prasad in his *History of Jahangir*[19] puts this amount at Rs. 5,000/-.

After the capture of Khusrav, Jahāngīr wreaked his vengeance on his supporters and followers. The list of Khusrav's supporters submitted to Jahāngīr contained the name of Gurū Arjun. According to the Sikh tradition, the emperor's wrath was aroused by Diwān Chandu Shāh whose offer for the marriage of his daughter with the *Gurū's* son, Har Govind, had been earlier turned down. This might be one of the factors. Jahāngīr himself was opposed to Gurū Arjun, possibly because of his manner of living and the deepest devotion of his disciples. He writes in his Memoir:

> "A Hindu named Arjun lived at Govindwal on the bank of river Beas in the garb of a saint and in ostentation. As a result many of the simple-minded Hindus as well as ignorant and foolish Muslims had been persuaded to adopt his way of living and he had raised aloft the standard of sainthood and holiness. He was called Gurū. From all sides cowboys and idiots became his fast followers. This business had flourished for three or four generations. For a long time it had been in my mind to put a stop to this vain affair (*dukan-e-batil*) or to bring him into the fold of Islam."[20]

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1546-1624), the head of the Naqshbandi order, was extremely jealous of Gurū Arjun's popularity and power. He greatly incited Jahāngīr, when he halted at Sirhind in pursuit of Khusrav, against the Gurū.[21]

Gurū Arjun was summoned to Lahore, fined two lakhs of rupees and ordered to efface certain verses in the *Ādi Granth.* The Gurū declined to do either. Jahāngīr writes: "I ordered that he should be summoned. His residences, camps and sons were given over to Murtazā Khān. His property and cash were confiscated. I issued instructions that he should be put to death by torture."[22] Mohsin Fani, who was born only nine years later, in 1615 A.D., writes that Gurū Arjun was tied in the burning sun over hot sand and was tortured.[23] The severest heat of May overhead, hot sand under him and boiling water thrown on his naked body caused blisters all over. On 30 May, 1606, he took leave to bathe in the cold water of the Ravi flowing just below the Fort where he was kept a prisoner. Reciting his own composition, *Sukhmani,* and repeating God's Name, he had a dip, but being exhausted and famished, he collapsed in water. He was only 42 years old then.

The Sikh tradition considers it an act of religious persecution only. It is true that the Sikhs at this time formed only a religious society. They had no political consciousness. So the question of having any political aspirations does not arise. The authority of the Mughul emperors was fully accepted and implicitly obeyed. The Sikh allegiance to the State was complete. Akbar's patronage to the Sikh Gurūs was highly appreciated and their loyalty to the Mughul empire was firm. It is also a fact that Jahāngīr was biased against the Sikh religion. In spite of this, in matters religious, he held, on the whole, liberal views. If Gurū Arjun had not embroiled himself in the Khusrav affair, it appears likely that the emperor would not have taken any notice of the Sikh movement. He did not persecute the Sikhs. Beni Prasad in his *History of Jahangir* declares it a political execution.[23a]

Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes: "Arjun in a weak moment blessed the banners of Khusrau, the rival of Jahangir for the Mughal throne, and even gave money help to that prince. On the defeat of the pretender, Jahangir fined the Gurū two lakhs of rupees for his disloyalty to the king *de jure.* The Gurū refused to pay the fine and stoically endured imprisonment and torture which were the usual punishments of revenue defaulters in those days. Worn out by being forced to sit in the burning sand of Lahore, he died in June 1606."[24]

III. *Gurū Har Govind (1606-1644)*

But whatever view we might take of Jahāngīr's motive and action, the martyrdom of Gurū Arjun had a profound effect on the future history of the Sikhs. His son and successor, Har Govind, a lad of eleven years, received his father's last injunction: "Let him sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability." Har Govind immediately hung by his sides two swords signifying *Piri* and *Miri.* One symbolised spiritual power and the other temporal. He told a follower: "In the guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined." "My seli (rosary) shall be a sword-belt and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette," he declared.[25] He armed and drilled some of his sturdy disciples, and, in due course, from an inherited bodyguard of 52 soldiers came to possess a stable of seven hundred horses, three hundred horsemen and sixty gunners (Topchi).[26] He sanctioned and encouraged the use of meat and took to hunting.[27] He was a fine hunter, for he understood the ways of the beasts of the forest. He loved to chase and stalk wild boar. He excelled in hunting deer. Directly the affairs of the community were over, he would mount his charger and go into a dense jungle. At nightfall he would return home with the carcases of the animals he had killed. These he caused to be distributed among his disciples and the poor people living near his place.

The young Gurū preferred gifts of arms and horses. He built a fort at Amritsar, called Lohgarh, or the steel fortress. In front of Hari Mandir, in 1609, he constructed *Akāl Takht* or God's throne. There he sat on a throne in princely attire, administered justice like a king in court and accepted presents. He narrated stories of deathless bravery, while some professional bards sang ballads of unrivalled heroism, especially of Rājput chivalry. The tales of the valour of Jaimal and Patta of Chitor being of recent origin, were sung with zeal and zest.

This was the beginning of militarism or the transformation of Sikhism. To the symbols of sainthood was added the paraphernalia of sovereignty including the umbrella and the crest. With meditation and preaching were included riding, wrestling and hunting. "The genial disposition of the martial apostle," says Cunningham, "led him to rejoice in the companionship of a camp, in the dangers of war, and in the excitements of the chase."[28] The Gurū created a government of his own like that of the Mughuls. All his disciples formed a separate and independent entity, and had nothing to do with the agencies of the Government of the day. Thus, the Sikhs came to occupy a kind of a separate State within the Mughul State, the position of which was securely established by the fiscal policy of Gurū Amar Dās and Gurū Arjun and his own armed system.

Har Govind established congregational prayers which not only added to the religious fervour of the Sikhs, but also strengthened the spirit of amity and cooperation among them. According to Mohsin Fani, when a Sikh wished for God's favour or gift, he would come to an assembly of the Sikhs and request them to pray for him. Even the Gurū himself asked the Sikh congregation (*Sangat* or *Anjuman-e-Sikhan*) to pray for him.[29]

The royal style and warlike activities of the Gurū once more aroused the anger of Jahāngīr. Mohsin Fani writes: "He (Har Govind) had to contend with difficulties. One of them was that he had adopted the soldierly life, wore a sword against the practice of his father, kept a retinue, and took to hunting. The Emperor demanded the balance of the fine which he had imposed on Arjun Mal. He sent Har Govind to Gwalior and kept him there for twelve years. Even saltish food was not allowed to him. During that period Sikhs and *Masands* used to go there and pay homage below the walls of the fort. At last the Emperor graciously set him free."[30] This legend of twelve years' period of the Gurū's captivity is not accepted by some writers on the ground that six children were born to him by his three wives in 1613, 1615, 1617, 1618, 1619 and 1621.[31] They hold the view that though he was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, he was set free after three years in 1612. His fellow-prisoner in the Gwālior fort, the Raja of Kahlur (Bilaspur), had offered shelter to the Gurū's family in his State. Har Govind's disciples selected a site between the Siwalik Hills and river Sutlej and named it Kirātpur. Here they constructed some buildings, and it was to this place that the Gurū returned immediately after his battles with the Mughuls.

During his captivity Gurū Har Govind had learnt some elementary lessons in the art of diplomacy from his fellow prisoners, all of whom belonged to high aristocratic families. After his release in 1621, therefore, we find Har Govind playing the role of a friendly collaborator of Jahāngīr. Mohsin Fani says: "Hargovind was always attached to the stirrup of the victorious Jahāngīr."[32] It is surmised that the Gurū was invested with some sort of supervisory powers by the emperor over the Punjab affairs and was given command of a Mughul contingent consisting of 400 horse, 1,000 foot and 7 guns. In addition to this, Har Govind's personal contingent swelled considerably. Pathān mercenaries from the north-west under their leader Paindā Khān joined the Gurū's banners in large number. There seems to be no doubt that Jahāngīr would have conferred upon Har Govind a high *Manṣabdārī* rank, but the Gurū could not accept it owing to his position as the religious leader of a great community. Gurū Har Govind accompanied the emperor in his visit to Kāshmīr. While returning *via* Rajauri, Jahāngīr died in 1627. According to Mohsin Fani, Har Govind offered his allegiance to the new Emperor, Shāh Jahān, and was allowed to return to Amritsar.[33]

Shāh Jahān was an orthodox Muslim. In 1632, while returning from Kāshmīr, he found that some Hindus of Rajauri, Bhimbar and Gujarāt accepted Muslim girls as wives and converted them to their own faith. The emperor stopped such marriages and Muslim women, already married, were seized from their husbands who were fined and, in certain cases, even executed. They could retain their wives only on their embracing Islām. As many as 4,500 such women were recovered. In 1635, it was reported to the emperor that a Muslim girl, Zinab, had been converted, given the new name of Gangā and was taken as a wife by Dalpat, a Hindu of Sirhind. The woman, along with her seven children—one son and six daughters—was taken away and the man was executed.[34] Kaulan, a daughter of the *qāzī* of Lahore, had also run away from home, embraced Sikhism and taken shelter with Gurū Har Govind, who immortalised her by constructing a new tank at Amritsar named after her, Kaulsar.

The Sikh Gurūs alone had provided leadership to the down-trodden Hindus of the Punjab. Such men as had suffered for having converted wives looked up to Har Govind for guidance and support, and he was not a man to shirk his duty and responsibility. The Gurū decided to defy the emperor's authority, and an opportunity soon offered itself. About 1634 Shāh Jahān was busy hunting in the jungles of Jallo lying between Lahore and Amritsar. Gurū Har Govind was also hunting there. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "....the guru entered the same area in pursuit of a game, and his Sikhs quarrelled with the servants of the imperial hunt about a bird. The two parties came to blows, and in the end the imperialists were beaten off with slaughter."[35]

Shāh Jahān was not going to tolerate such an effrontery, and regarded it as an act of rebellion. Har Govind's supervisory office was taken away and the Mughul contingent was called back. "An army was sent against the audacious rebel, but it was routed with heavy loss, at Sangrana, near Amritsar, 1628."[36] Under emperor's orders "larger and larger armies were sent against the guru."[37] The Gurū "gained some success at first."[38] About this time the Gurū was to celebrate the marriage of his daughter. Enormous quantities of sweets were prepared on this occasion. Just then a Mughul force attacked him. After a sharp scuffle the Gurū retired to Jhabāl, eight miles south-west of Amritsar, where he performed the nuptial ceremony in haste on the fixed day of the marriage. The Mughuls fell on the sweets like a bird of prey. When they were surfeited, Gurū Har Govind suddenly fell on them, killing many including their commander Mukhlis Khān.

The Gurū's fame spread far and wide. "Many men came to enlist under the guru's banner. They said that no one else had power to contend with the Emperor."[39] Har Govind retired to the northern parts of Amritsar district. There he selected a site for his residence. A township sprang up soon after and was called Sri Hargobindpur.

The matter remained at a standstill for a couple of years when Har Govind was again involved in trouble with the Lahore Governor. One of the Gurū's most devoted disciples, named Sādh or Sādhurām, had been sent to Central Asia to bring horses.[40] On his return journey he was accompanied by Mohsin Fani from Kābul to Punjab. Sādh had three fine Iraqi horses with him. Two of them, named Gulbāgh and Dilbāgh, were seized by Khalil Beg,[41] the Lahore Governor. A devoted Sikh, Bidhi Chand, in disguise took up service in the Lahore fort as a groom. In course of time he managed to escape with both the horses. A force was despatched against Har Govind who retired to Lahara and repulsed the Mughul contingent. Expecting reprisal, the Gurū took shelter in the Lakhi Jungle lying between Firozpur and Bhatinda. As anticipated, a strong contingent of the Governor of Jullundur pursued the Gurū into the impenetrable retreat. The Sikhs lay in ambush and defeated the enemy, but at the loss of 1,200 Sikh soldiers.

This victory emboldened the Gurū, who now returned to Kartarpur near Jullundur.[42] Paindā Khān deserted the Gurū and took up service under the Lahore Governor. An expedition under the command of Mir Badehra and Paindā Khān was despatched against the Gurū. They were joined by the Jullundur troops. The Gurū had only 5,000 soldiers with him.[43] In a hard-fought battle both the enemy commanders were killed. One soldier with a drawn sword rushed upon the Gurū. He warded off the blow and then assaulted him exclaiming, "not so, but the sword is used thus," and with one stroke cut off his head.

It was impossible for Gurū Har Govind with his slender resources, to remain for long in open defiance of the Government. "Whatever he possessed was lost,"[44] says Mohsin Fani. "After the battle of Kartarpur he went to Phagwārā. As this place also was not far from Lahore, it was difficult for him to stay there. He hurried to Kiratpur situated in the Punjab hills. This territory belonged to Rājā Tārāchand who had thrown off allegiance to Emperor Shāh Jahān."[45]

Gurū Har Govind had remained fully busy in warfare from 1634 to 1640, a fairly long period if we consider his meagre resources. Several Rājput princes of the Kāngra and Chamba hills had also revolted against Shāh Jahān. The Gurū was not disturbed at Kirātpur. He spent the remaining two years of his life in converting Musalmans to Hinduism. Mohsin Fani writes that "in those hills up to the borders of Tibet and Khotan the name Musalman had disappeared."[46] Mohsin Fani, who met the Gurū at Kirātpur, further says that the ambassadors of the hill rājās waited upon Har Govind, and they did not know even the name of Shāh Jahān though Delhi was known to them.[47]

Gurū Har Govind died on 3 March, 1644.[48] His activities were not appreciated and properly understood by the upper classes. They hinted that he had fallen short of the lofty ideals of his predecessors in matters religious and spiritual, and pointed out that he had not composed and added a single verse to the Holy *Granth.* He was dubbed as one who had been lured by the glamour of arms and love of politics. They complained that he was occasionally cooperating with the enemies of their faith. Most of the Hindus considered it beneath the dignity of a religious preceptor to indulge in hunting and sport. His encouragement of meat diet and travels in Muslim countries deeply offended caste-ridden orthodox Hindus. The Sikhs grumbled that the Gurū did not stay continually at Amritsar and led a roving life. As the people of the Punjab could not think of any opposition to the mighty Mughuls, they considered Gurū's warlike acts as wasteful and useless. They said that in spite of his so-called victories the Gurū was driven from pillar to post, and eventually forced to seek refuge in the hilly region at Kirātpur.

The fact was generally ignored that the Gurū was trying to change the age-long mentality of the Hindus of meekly submitting to the oppressor, and that after six hundred years of bondage he was awakening his fellow countrymen to the realisation that irrespective of consequences the people should rise against a Government to get their wrongs redressed. His acceptance of the high office under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān was a fine stroke of diplomacy and political sagacity. It disarmed suspicion of the local Government and afforded him an excellent opportunity to augment his military resources. The organisational evolution of Sikhism from the standpoint of religion and spiritualism was almost complete during the time of Gurū Arjun. The execution of Gurū Arjun and Gurū Har Govind's imprisonment had clearly shown that a hard lot was in store for the new religion. Gurū Har Govind had a clear conception of the changing circumstances, and had realised the necessity of playing an active role in the political life of the community. He had a clear conception that militarily he had little chance of success against the unlimited resources of the Mughul empire. Yet he considered it beneath his dignity to accept a passive role, which was nothing short of degradation. He inaugurated a policy which was sure to lead the most down-trodden people slowly but surely to political and military advancement. But his contemporaries failed to comprehend it, and they misunderstood him and misrepresented his work. In reality, Gurū Har Govind rendered a unique service to his country by showing the true path of deliverance from political bondage. After all, spirituality must inspire a person to resist the wrong with courage and boldness.

Not much is known of the next two Gurūs, Har Rai (1644-61) and Har Kishan (1661-64), grandson and great-grandson, respectively, of Har Govind.

IV. *Gurū Tegh Bahādur* (*1664-75*)

Tegh Bahādur, the youngest son of Har Govind, succeeded Har Kishan in 1664. At this time, Aurangzīb was determined to establish an Islāmic State in India and took various repressive measures against the Hindus, which have been mentioned in detail in Chapter VIII, Section III. *Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt* says that a Sikh temple in a village in the Sirhind Division was turned into a mosque.[49] Many other *Gurdwārās* were demolished.[50] During Aurangzīb's stay in the Punjab in 1674-5 local officials terrorised the Hindu population and converted them to Islām in large number. In Kāshmīr thousands of Paṇḍits were forced to embrace Islām. This aroused the intensity of Gurū's love for religious freedom. In order to infuse courage in the hearts of the Hindus and his disciples he undertook a tour of the East Punjab telling them neither to fear nor frighten others. This created confidence and courage in the minds of the people. Some of the Kāshmīrī leaders in sheer helplessness called on Gurū Tegh Bahādur and told him of their sad plight. He advised them to inform the emperor, through their governor, to convert Tegh Bahādur first and then all of them would embrace Islām.[51]

Aurangzīb's mind was already prejudiced against the Sikhs. It was now reported to him that the Gurū was infusing the spirit of rebellion among the Kāshmīrīs as well as the sturdy Jāt peasantry of the Punjab. The Gurū was also accused of making Mussalmāns his disciples. It was further alleged that Tegh Bahādur claimed to have possessed the power of performing miracles which was opposed to the tenets of Islām. Aurangzīb had just suppressed one of the most terrible revolts of the frontier tribes and was not prepared to witness another rising in the Punjab. He therefore decided to teach the Sikhs a lesson and summoned Tegh Bahādur to Delhi. When he arrived together with five disciples[52] he was asked either to perform miracles or embrace Islām. The Gurū denied that he could perform miracles and rejected the latter, repeating "Give thy life, but do not give up thy faith" (*Sar diya par sir na diya*). In order to terrorise the Gurū into submission, one of his disciples, Bhāī Mati Dās, was tied to two posts, and thus making him stand erect, his body was sawn across from head to loins. Another disciple was boiled alive. The other three fled away, but Gurū Tegh Bahādur remained firm in his resolve. He was put in chains and then beheaded on 11 November, 1675.

V. *Gurū Govind Singh* (*1675-1708*)

Gurū Govind, the son and successor of Tegh Bahādur, ushered in a new phase of the Sikh movement. The murder of his father and great-grandfather, the imprisonment of his grandfather, and the wretched condition of the Hindus made him realise that the people must themselves find their own salvation against the tyranny of a cruel and corrupt Government.

So Gurū Govind was determined to put an end to the religious oppression of the Mughul Government. His fight was with the Government and not against Islām. Its clear proof is that he recruited Pathāns in his service and won the support of Muslim saints like Pir Budhu Shāh of Sādhaura. Sa'īd Beg and Maimu Khān fought on his side against the Mughuls, while Nabi Khān and Ghani Khān saved him from capture by the Mughul army. Qāzī Pīr Muhammad did not confirm Gurū's identity and Rāi Kalha looked after him. He wanted to create national awakening in the Punjab as it had been done in Mahārāshtra by Shivājī. The time chosen was opportune. Aurangzīb was involved in a life and death struggle in the Deccan with the Marāthās. The Punjab was in the charge of Prince Mu'azzam who lived in Kābul. The Governors of Lahore and Kāngra had failed to crush him. The Government at Delhi was in a state of disorganisation. The hill rājās were in revolt against the

Mughuls. A better time could not be expected to fulfil his life's mission, and the Gurū was not the man to miss it. He had first tried to instill his ideas into the heart of the warrior class of Rājputs of the Siwalik Hills. He soon discovered that the caste-ridden and class-dominated Rājputs would not respond to his appeals and would not fit in his ideology. He therefore turned his attention to the downtrodden masses. He believed that he would be able to achieve his objective by stirring the latent faculties of the human will which possessed the elasticity of rising to the loftiest height as well as sinking to the lowest depth. The Gurū made full use of the strong sentiment which had been manifesting itself in the Sikh community in the form of sincere devotion and loving obedience for the person of the Gurū.

The Gurū, while reading the Purāṇas had been deeply struck by the idea that God had been sending a saviour at critical times to save the virtuous and destroy the evil-doers.[53] He believed he had been sent for the same purpose. This is proved by two sayings of the Gurū in *Bichitra Nāṭak*. According to one,[54] the Gurū was in a state of communion with God when he heard the divine command, and the other contains his acceptance of the mission and admonitions to his disciples to fulfil it.[55] In the *Chaṇḍī Charitra* the Gurū says that in the past God had deputed Durgā to destroy the evil-doers,[56] and this duty had now been assigned to him. He was eager to get her blessings. He sang "the praises of Chandī so that they might be chanted for warlike purposes, and that even cowards on hearing her story might obtain courage and the hearts of the brave beat with fourfold enthusiasm. Such being the achievements of a woman, what ought not a brave man to accomplish?"[57] The learned *Paṇḍits* in the service of the Gurū advised him to perform the grand ceremony of Homa. "He invited Pandit Kesho from Benares to conduct the ceremony on the hill of Nainadevi,"[58] close to Ānandpur. The ceremony began on the *Durgā Ashṭamī* day, two days before *Dusehra* festival in October, 1698, and lasted for full six months. At the close of this period the sacred days of the worship of goddess (*Navrātras*) began on 21 March, 1699. "When all the *ghee* and incense had been burnt, and the Pandit had tired himself out by mumbling *mantras* by the million without being able to produce the goddess, the Guru came forward with a naked sword and, flashing it before the assembly, declared: 'This is the goddess of power!' "[59] This took place on 28 March, 1699, the *Durgā Ashṭamī* day.

The congregation was then asked to move to Ānandpur where on the New Year Day of 1st *Baisākh*, 1756, Vikrama Samvat, (30 March, 1699), he would create a new nation. All the persons would be fed from *Gurū kā Langar* and after the grand function they would be entertained to a sumptuous feast. Thousands of persons assembled there. The Gurū remained absorbed in meditation and contemplation. On the morning of 30 March, he sought God's blessings and entered a specially constructed canopy where a huge congregation was seated. The Gurū delivered the most stirring speech on saving religion which was in great peril, and about his divine mission. The Gurū first dwelt on the Government policy of religious persecution. He then explained why, in order to safeguard their spiritual and temporal rights, the people should not depend on the sovereign or princes, but take up this duty themselves. They should individually feel for the national wrongs done, and collectively organise means to withstand it. "The *Kāl* (*Age*) had reached such a stage that success would come only if a brick could be returned with a stone."[60] Humility and service alone were not adequate in this age. To goodness was to be added not only condemnation of evil but also destruction of the evil-doers. Love of a neighbour must accompany the punishment of the trespasser. Service of saints implied annihilation of tyrants as well. Helping friends meant harming enemies too. God, *Guru*, and the Sword formed the Holy Trinity in place of Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva to lead to victory. The age when salvation was needed after death had passed. Salvation was to be obtained in this very life, here and now.

In his ecstasy the Gurū sang the praises of the sword. "God subdues enemies, so does the sword; therefore the sword is God, and God is the sword."[61] Addressing the sword he said:

"I bow with love and devotion to the Holy Sword.
Assist me that I may complete this work.
Thou art the subduer of countries, the
Destroyer of the armies of the wicked.

* * * *

I bow to the Sword and Rapier which destroy the evil.

* * * *

Thy greatness is endless and boundless;
No one hath found its limits.
Thou art God of gods, King of kings,
Compassionate to poor, and Cherisher of the lowly."[62]

After this stimulating oration, the Gurū flashed his sword, and said that 'every great deed was preceded by equally great sacrifice; the Holy Sword would create a heroic nation after supreme sacrifice.' He then inquired if anyone in the congregation would offer his head in the service of God, Truth and Religion. This sent a thrill of horror in the audience, and there was no response to the first and even to the second call, repeated in a sterner voice. At the third call one Dayārām, a Khatri of Lahore, rose in his seat and expressed his willingness to lay down his life. He was led into the adjoining tent and asked to sit there quietly. The sword-blade was dipped in a cauldron of blood of goats, and the Gurū, returning to the assembly with the dripping sword in his hand asked for another head. Dharamdās, a Jāt, offered his head and the same procedure was repeated. After five men[63] had offered to make the sacrifice and been taken away, the Gurū re-entered the assembly room with all of them, dressed in the same kind of fine clothes, and gave them a baptism called *pahul* of water sweetened with sugar cakes and stirred with a double-edged dagger. They were designated Five 'Beloved Ones' and termed 'Khālsā.'

Each of the five letters in the Persian word Khālsā has a significance. The first two, *kh* and *a,* stand, respectively for *Khud* or oneself and the *Akal Purkh* (God). The third letter, *l,* signifies *Labbaik,* meaning the following questions of God: "What do you want with me? Here am I. What would you have?," and the reply of the *Singh* (devotee): "Lord, give us liberty and sovereignty." The fourth letter, *s,* signifies *Sahib* (Lord or Master). The last letter is written either as *a* or, more usually, *h.* The former signifies *Azadi* or freedom and the latter refers to *Huma,* a legendary bird.

Gurū Govind Singh provided his followers with five jewels which were within reach of everybody. They were five *K's*—*Kesh* or long hair, *Kangha* or comb, *Kirpan* or sword, *Kara* or steel bracelet, and *Kachcha* or a pair of knicker-bockers.[64] Their salutation was to be

Wah-e-Guru ji ka Khalsa
Wah-e-Guru ji ki Fateh.[65]

Gurū Govind Singh enjoined that every Sikh must fight against cruelty and tyranny, and should help the poor and protect the weak. He inspired them with the belief that every Singh serving the *Panth* was bound to be victorious, and while engaged in a righteous cause was to consider himself a tower of strength equal to the power of one lakh and a quarter hosts. He must always be prepared to lay down his life because his victory lay in the moment of his death.

The creation of the *Khālsā* was an epoch-making event in the religious and political history of the country. It marked the beginning of the rise of a new people, destined to play the role of defenders against all oppression and tyranny. The severities of the high caste people over their brethren, the Sudras, were set at naught as soon as one joined the ranks of the *Khālsā,* where all were equal and ready to render one another all help and useful service. Their main problem was to destroy the organised oppression and the tyrannical despotism of the Mughul Government. It was a gigantic task for the small community of the *Khālsā.* Under the direction of the Gurū, the *Khālsā* took up the profession of arms and the results were most surprising. The people, lowliest of the low, who had lived for centuries in a state of servility now turned into doughty warriors, the praises of whose physique and valour were sung by all the world, including their bitterest foes.

In order to enhance the feelings of self-respect and the spirit of human dignity, Gurū Govind Singh severely dealt with the institution of *Masands,* or tithe-collectors, on this occasion. For some time past they had become haughty, corrupt and greedy, and treated the Sikhs with contempt and insolence. Many of them acted as Gurūs and kept all the offerings for themselves. With this money they indulged in personal trade or other lucrative business. Gurū Govind did not believe in dismissing some and reforming the others. He also ignored the prospect of financial loss for the time being. Nor did he feel afraid of the united opposition of the *Masands.* He forthwith abolished this office and instructed the Sikhs to make offerings personally to the Gurū on the occasion of a visit or at the time of general gathering on the days of *Baisākhi* and *Diwāli.*[66] Thereby not only were the Sikhs freed from humiliation, but a close personal contact was established between the Gurū and his disciples.

Then began a series of battles[67] in which the Gurū had often to face heavy odds, but in many cases the victory was on the side of the *Khālsā.* Ānandpur was five times invested.[68] The most serious siege took place in the autumn of 1704. Under orders of Aurangzīb, Vazīr Khān, the Governor of Sirhind, made full preparations to wipe out the Khālsā. The Governor of Lahore, several rājās of the Kāngra hills, and a host of neighbouring Nawābs and Jāgīrdārs joined the expedition. Ānandpur was besieged. Provisions ran short and there were frequent desertions. At this juncture Vazīr Khān opened negotiations for Gurū's safe evacuation. Solemn assurances were given on the Qur'ān, and an autograph letter from Aurangzīb was produced as a proof of the Governor's sacred oath.[69] Final agreement was arrived at about the middle of December, 1704. The Gurū sent ladies and his two younger sons under proper escort towards Nahan in Sirmur State. The second batch of evacuees along with his two elder sons and a small number of followers under the Gurū himself came out of the fort.

Unluckily torrential rain began. The river Sarsa was heavily flooded. Both the parties were held up on its bank amidst bitter cold and rain and wind. The enemy considered it a Godsend to efface the Gurū and his followers. They threw their solemn pledges to the winds, and made a vehement assault on the Gurū at nightfall. In the confusion and darkness, the Gurū's mother and his two younger sons, Zorawar Singh (born 1696) and Fateh Singh (born 1699) were separated. They fell into the hands of the Governor of Sirhind. The children were pressed to embrace Islām. They spurned the offer and were bricked up alive in the fort wall, and then beheaded on 27 December, 1704.

The Gurū and his two elder sons, Ajit Singh (born 1686) and Jujhar Singh (born 1690), managed to cross the river Sarsa, with only forty followers.[70] The current swept away many of them as well as a large number of the Gurū's manuscripts and his own compositions, not to speak of other property. They took shelter at Chamkaur in a mud-built house which was immediately besieged. In the struggle that ensued on 22 December, 1704, the Gurū lost both of his sons, three of the 'Beloved Ones' and thirty-two other followers. Govind Singh was left with only five Sikhs, who in accordance with his earlier commandment assumed the role of the Gurū in the interest of the *Panth* and ordered him to escape. The Gurū did so in the disguise of a Muslim saint.

His wanderings from Chamkaur to Nander, about 1500 miles away, present a tale of many hairbreadth escapes, unparalleled sufferings, marvellous courage and inflexible determination. Near Māchīwārā, he was found lying hidden in bushes, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, by two Pathāns, Nabi Khān and Ghani Khān. They entertained him and escorted him safely to a distance of about 40 miles. Rāi Kalha of Jagraon kept him as a guest and then let him pass through his territory in safety. Sikh stragglers began to join him. A short engagement, the last, was fought in the wastes of Firozpur district. In it forty deserters from Ānandpur, smitten with remorse, fought desperately, and were all killed. A tank was constructed in their memory called *Muktsar* or the reservoir of salvation. While at Dina, the Gurū received a letter from Aurangzīb demanding his presence at his Court in the Deccan to account for his doings. To this he gave a spirited reply in Persian verse containing 111 couplets called *Zafarnāma* or Epistle of Victory. In it he bitterly criticised the emperor for the persecutions, wrongs and sufferings inflicted upon him and his father. He justified his revolutionary activities by saying: "When all the remedies have failed, it is lawful to resort to the sword."

Gurū Govind Singh halted at Talwandi Sabo, now known as Damdama Sāhib, for nine months. At this place he completed *Ādi Granth* by adding 116 hymns composed by Gurū Tegh Bahādur, including one couplet alleged to be his own composition. His own *Granth* called the *Dasam Granth* was also given a shape here. The Gurū was a prolific writer. Many of his manuscripts were lost while crossing the river Sarsa. The rest were included in the *Dasam Granth.* It consists of several parts, each in a different language but all in *Gurmukhi* script. The *Hikāyats* and *Zafarnāma* are in Persian. *Jāp, Akāl Ustat, Chaubis Avtār, Brahmā Avtār, Rudra Avtār, Krishna Avtār, Rāma Avtār, Śrī Mukhilak Swayyas, Pakhyan Charitra* and *Bichitra Nāṭak* are in *Brajbhāshā,* i.e. pure Hindī. *Chaṇḍī ki Var* is in Lanhde Punjabi, while a number of hymns are in pure Punjabi.

At Talwandi, Gurū Govind received a reply to his letter addressed to Aurangzīb. The emperor expressed regret for the Gurū's sufferings and invited him to meet him. The Gurū was anxious to get Vazīr Khān punished for his atrocities, and also wanted to study on the spot in what manner the Marāthās under Tārā Bāi were harassing the emperor. He conveyed his acceptance of the invitation and set out on his long journey. He was in Rājasthān when he heard that Aurangzīb had died on 3 March, 1707. He turned back towards Āgra.

Aurangzīb's eldest son, Mu'azzam, 65 years old, had come from Kābul to Delhi and declared himself emperor under the title of Bahādur Shāh. The Gurū pressed Bahādur Shāh to punish Vazīr Khān. "The Emperor asked him to wait for some years until his government was fully established."[71] The Gurū was asked to go with the emperor to the Deccan. He, therefore, joined his camp accompanied by his wife, Sāhib Devī, some infantry and two to three hundred cavalry.[72] Finding the emperor unyielding, the disappointed Gurū left him in despair at Nander, the headquarters of Madho Dās Bairāgi, alias Bandā Bahādur. He reached there in August, 1707, and stayed for over a year. Bandā was sent to the Punjab to chastise Vazīr Khān of Sirhind, while Mātā Sāhib Devī returned to Delhi.

On the other hand, Vazīr Khān was also plotting against the Gurū's life. Two Pathān boys, who were in the service of the Gurū, were set on him. One day finding him alone, they severely stabbed him in August, 1708. The condition of the wounds grew worse in October, 1708. The Gurū realized that his end had come. He called together his disciples and gave them his last injunctions. He told them that everything in this world happened according to the will of the Almighty. He expressed satisfaction at the fulfilment of his mission. As the Gurūship was hereditary in his family, and he had lost all his children, Gurū Govind Singh thought it best, in order to avoid all possible family feuds as well as impostors in future, not to vest this high office in any person, and abolished it as summarily as he had done in the case of *Masands.* He declared that he was entrusting the Khālsā to the care of *Akal Purkh* (God). In matters spiritual the *Holy Granth* would be their guide, while their secular affairs would be regulated by holy *panchāyats* meeting before the sacred *Granth*. He instructed them that whenever any important question affecting the *Panth* was to be decided, a Sikh congregation was to be held, and from the whole assembly five persons[73] were to be elected to settle the issue. In the counsels of Five Beloved Ones he would be present in spirit. Their verdict called *Gurumata* was to be regarded as the judgment of the Gurū. It was to be passed by the whole assembly, and its execution was binding upon the whole *Panth.* Any infringement was to be considered sacrilegious. He asserted that God had destined the *Khālsā* to be the future rulers of the country, and for the realisation of this object they must continue the struggle unabated.

Following the practice of Hindu saints and sages who at the divine call would sit in a *samādhi* and expire, the Gurū had prepared a funeral pyre within an enclosure. He banned admission into it. With folded hands he bade a dramatic farewell by uttering the salutation which he had himself coined, "*Wah Guru Ji ka Khālsā, Wah Guru Ji ki Fateh,*" quietly walked away, entered the walled fence and bolted its door from inside. The congregation stood aghast. In a while the pyre was seen ablaze,[74] and amidst tears and sobs of the assemblage softly rose the dirge of *Sat Śrī Akāl* (The Immortal Almighty is True). This happened on 7 October, 1708.[75] The Gurū had not yet completed forty-two years of his life.

"Thus we see," says Sir Jadunath, "that the Mughal Government under Aurangzib did succeed in breaking up the guru's power. It robbed the Sikhs of a common leader and a rallying centre."[76]

It should be remembered, however, that immediately after Gurū Govind's death, equally dynamic leadership, of course in affairs mundane, and with much greater success, was provided by Bandā Bahādur. Gurū Govind Singh's desire, "Mother dear, I have been considering how I may confer empire on the Khālsā," was realized, though for the time being, temporarily, in nineteen months. On 12 May, 1710, Vazīr Khān was dead and gone. The entire province of Sirhind between the Sutlej and the Yamunā lay at the feet of the Khālsā. They set themselves up as rulers and issued their own coins. They rose again within forty years, and then ruled over the Punjab for nearly a hundred years. It was indeed a miracle of the highest magnitude!

Though the Gurū could not break the shackles of bondage and slavery in his own lifetime, as he died young, yet he had freed the souls of his followers and filled their minds with love for freedom and democracy. He had dispelled the fear of authority and destroyed the awe of an alien Government. He had the satisfaction that in the hearts of his disciples the seeds of a general revolution were germinating, and that it would break forth with greater fury if the sanctity of their rights was not admitted, and if they were not allowed a free hand in matters of their conscience. He was sure that he was leaving behind in Khālsā, an army of free, brave, selfless and sacrificing soldiers who would smile in sufferings, laugh in misfortunes, support the weak and innocent, fight against tyranny like lions in war and act as lambs in peace.

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1. Vol. VI, pp. 561-71.
2. These have been discussed in Vol. VI, pp. 625-636.
3. Nearly seventy Muslim invasions had taken place up to the time of Nānak, as follows:
   Arabs, 6—Sind in 636-7, Arabs in the Kābul Valley in 664, Broach, Debal, Baluchistān, Sind in 711.
   Alptigīn, 1.
   Sabuktigīn, 3.
   Mahmūd, 17.
   Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghūri, 10—Multan 1175, Anhilwara 1178, Peshawar 1179, Lahore 1181, Sialkot 1185, Lahore 1186, Tarain 1191 and 1193, Kanauj 1194, Khokhars 1206.
   Mongols, 25—Chingīz Khān 1220, Lahore 1250, Multan 1270, Prince Muhammad killed 1286, Jalāl-ud-dīn Khaljī defeated them 1292, in the reign of 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī 12 invasions, Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq defeated them 1324, in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq 6 invasions, Tīmūr 1398-99, Bābur 4.
4. Sir Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul,* p. 28.
5. Sri Ram Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughals* (1962), p. 14.
6. Abdulla, *Tārīkh-i-Daudi, HIED,* IV. 439-40.
7. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion,* I. 170. Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 147.
8. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,* I. 281.
9. *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs* (London, 1960), p. 82.
10. Macauliffe, op. cit.
11. *Rag Asa,* Adi Granth, p. 360. *Selections from the Sacred Writings of the Sikhs,* pp. 86-7.
12. *Tūzuk-i-Bāburi,* II. 281.
13. *ASI,* XII. 26-7.
14. *Memoirs of Bābur,* II. 340.
15. The name is also written as 'Arjan.'
16. For a short account of this episode, see p. 179.
17. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Naval Kishore Press, Lucknow), Persian Text, p. 35.

18. *The Dabistan,* p. 234.
18a. As the Sikh Gurūs did not always eschew politics, this explanation is not very convincing (Editor).
19. Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir,* p. 130.
20. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Persian Text), p. 35.
21. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs,* I. p. 59, f.n., 25.
22. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* p. 35.
23. *The Dabistan,* p. 234.
23a. Cf. p. 193.
24. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzib,* 1954 edition, p. 156.
25. Macauliffe, op. cit., IV. p. 2; Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., p. 156.
26. *The Dabistan,* pp. 235-6.
27. Gurū Har Govind's contemporary, Mohsin Fani, writes: "At last Hargobind, son of Arjun Mal, took to meat eating and hunting, and most of his disciples adopted his way." He narrates a story. A Pratabmal admonished his son who was inclined to become a Musalman thus: "If you want to get full freedom in eating, you may better join Sikhism where there is no restriction about food." (*The Dabistan,* p. 223).
28. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs,* p. 50.
29. *The Dabistan,* p. 239.
30. Ibid, p. 234.
31. But the wives of the Gurū might have been allowed to stay with him (Editor).
32. *The Dabistan,* p. 239.
33. Ibid.
34. Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-Nāma,* ii, 57-58; Aminai Qazvini, *Bādshāh-Nāma,* ms., 444-45, 562; Muhammad Salīh, *'Amal-l-Sālih,* ii, 64, 246-47; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb,* i, 510.
35. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., 1954 edition, p. 156.
36. Ibid. Sir Jadunath's date, 1628, is obviously wrong.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Quoted with approval by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Ibid.
40. Mohsin Fani says that while going on his mission Sadh had not reached far beyond Amritsar, when he was informed that his only son was lying seriously ill, and he was requested to return. Such was his devotion to the Gurū that he replied: "If he should die, there is wood enough in the house for his cremation. I am going on Guru's business and I will not return." His son passed away, but he did not come back. *The Dabistan,* p. 239.
41. Mohsin Fani says: "Khalil Beg's high-handedness did not bring him prosperity. The same year his son who was responsible for this act died, and he himself suffered insults, and disgrace." Ibid.
42. Ibid, p. 235.
43. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs,* I. 59.
44. *The Dabistan,* p. 235.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid. The author gives the date on the authority of Mohsin Fani (ibid. p. 237). But both Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., p. 156) and *CHI* (IV. 245) give the date as 1645 (Editor).
49. *Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt,* p. 115.
50. Khāfī Khan, II. 651-2.
51. Sukha Singh, *Gur Bilas,* p. 81.
52. Macauliffe, op. cit., IV (1909 Edition), pp. 373-4.
53. There is a well-known verse in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (IV. 8) exactly to this effect (Editor).
54. *Bichitra Nāṭak,* VI; Macauliffe, op. cit., V. 299.
55. *Bichitrā Nāṭak,* VI; Macauliffe, op. cit., V. 300-301.
56. Macauliffe, op. cit., V. 82.
57. Ibid, p. 83.
58. Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs,* I. p. 68.
59. Ibid.
60. *Gur Bilas,* quoted by I. B. Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa,* II. p. 95.
61. Macauliffe, op. cit., V. 83.
62. Ibid, pp. 286, 287, 289.

63. The third was Sāhib Chand, a barber of Nangal Shahidan of Hoshiarpur District. The fourth was Himmat Chand Kahar (water-carrier) of Sangatpura in District Patiala, and the fifth was Mohkam Chand Chhimba of Buria in Ambala District. (Ganda Singh, *Mākhiz-i-Tawārīkh-i-Sikhān,* i, 8).
64. In many of these external observances a deep purpose can be traced. Gurū Govind Singh wanted to make the Sikhs a fighting people, and therefore he deemed it necessary that their heads should be properly guarded from sword cuts and *lāṭhi* blows by means of long hair and turbans. Comb was required to keep beards in proper shape so that they would look impressive and manly. The steel bracelet was a constant reminder to a Sikh that his spirit was equally strong and unbending. *Kirpān* was for self-defence as well as for the protection of the weak and the oppressed. The *Kachha* was more suitable and more convenient for fighting purposes than the long dhoti of Hindus and loose trousers of Muslims. Above all, the Gurū aimed at giving his Sikhs a separate identity which he could not conceal for fear of death, and would remain steadfast and stable.
65. It means: "This Khālsā is Thy Own, O Lord, and so is the Victory." The idea was to keep the Sikhs in a buoyant spirit, because by this mode of salutation a strong link was established between the *Khālsā* and Victory, these two being the offspring of the Lord.
66. Khazan Singh, *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion,* i. 181.
67. Ten battles are recorded by the author of the *Battles of Guru Gobind Singh,* which were fought by the Gurū after creating the *Khālsā.* Of these, five took place at Ānandpur, two at Chamkaur, and the rest at Nirmoh, Basali and Muktsar. Cf. Sunder Singh, 32-68.
68. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., p. 158.
69. Gurū Govind Singh hints at it in his letter addressed to Aurangzīb, called *Zafarnāma.*
70. This number is given by Gurū Govind Singh in *Zafarnāma.*
71. Khazan Singh, op. cit., I. 196-7.
72. Khāfī Khān, 652; M'Gregor, i, 99.
73. In India 'five' has been the sacred number from time immemorial. "*Panchon men Parmeshwar hai*" is an old saying, indicating the presence of Divinity in five. *Panchāyats,* or councils of five elders, were common in northern India.
74. Khazan Singh, op. cit., i, 201-4.
75. The date is given by I. Banerjee as 18 October, 1708 (*Evolution of the Khalsa,* II, p. 151), and November, 1708, by Jadunath Sarkar (*CHI,* IV. p. 322) [Editor].
76. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 159.

CHAPTER XII

HINDU RESISTANCE TO MUSLIM DOMINATION

I. MEWĀR

Their finest hour

With the death of *Mahārānā* Sanga, a new chapter opens in the history of Mewār. The unfortunate country suffers from weak administration, disputed succession, and invasion, first by Gujarāt and then by a far more formidable foe, Akbar, who after winning over a few chieftains of Rājasthān, sets out to conquer Mewār, the last bastion of Hindu power in North India. Here the great Emperor is faced by the determined resolution of one man, Pratāp Singh, and all the resources of the vast Mughul empire cannot force this great *Mahārānā* of Mewār to bow his head to the alien Mughul ruler. The *Mahārānā* loses battles, but never gives up the principle for which he stands—independence, and he regains for posterity the soul of India. The great Shivājī will be proud to claim him as his ancestor, and the revolutionary movement in Bengal in the twentieth century will draw inspiration from his untiring fight against foreign domination. With *Mahārānā* Sanga the pomp and splendour of Mewār as a political power passes away—under *Mahārānā* Pratāp it blazes into a glory that can never fade.

Ratna Singh (1528-1531)

Mahārānā Sanga had seven sons (by different wives), four of whom had predeceased him and his eldest surviving son, Ratna Singh, succeeded to the throne (1528). But before his death *Mahārānā* Sanga had promised Karmavatī, the step-mother of Ratna Singh, the fort of Ranthambhor to her sons, Vikramāditya and Uday Singh, and she took possession of that fort in the name of her minor sons, with her brother Sūrya Mal of Hādā (or Harā) clan as their guardian. She also took away with her the golden crown and belt which the *Mahārānā* had taken from the Sultān of Mālwa.

Soon after his accession, Ratna Singh demanded the golden crown and the belt and also requested Karmavatī and her sons to return to Chitor. She refused to do either and opened negotiations with Bābur.[1] She offered Bābur Ranthambhor and the golden crown and belt in exchange of Bayāna and agreed to accept his overlordship. Later on Bābur records that he agreed to help Vikramāditya to gain his father's kingdom.[2]

These negotiations led to no other result than to increase the hostility between Ratna Singh and Sūrya Mal. But other events demanded his attention.

Chānd Khān, the brother of Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt, was given asylum at Mālwa, and Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa refused to surrender him to Bahādur. He worsened his position by attacking Mewār at this time to regain some territories lost to Mālwa during *Mahārānā* Sanga's time. Ratna Singh had little difficulty in throwing out the invaders, after which he invaded Mālwa and reached Sārangpur. In the meantime, Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt had started his campaign against Mālwa and opened negotiations with the *Mahārānā*. Later, the *Mahārānā* visited Bahādur's camp and received from the latter "thirty elephants, many horses and one thousand five hundred dresses of gold brocade."[3] Thereupon the *Mahārānā* returned to Mewār, leaving some of his officers and soldiers with Bahādur, to help him against Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa.

But the trouble with Sūrya Mal, the guardian of Ratna Singh's step-brothers, increased, and ultimately the latter began to hatch plans to murder him.[4] He is said to have invited Sūrya Mal to a hunt near Būndī. One day they went out for pig-sticking with a few attendants. Suddenly Ratna Singh attacked Sūrya Mal and in the scuffle that followed both of them died (1531).

Vikramāditya (1531-1536)

After Ratna Singh's death, his step-brother Vikramāditya ascended the throne of Mewār. He is described in all the Rājasthān chronicles and traditions as a stupid young man, who replaced bodyguards with wrestlers, and so insulted the nobles that they left the court in disgust. The tales of his stupidity may be exaggerated, but his ineptitude soon showed itself with fateful consequences for Mewār.

Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt, determined to punish Silahdi for having Muslim women in his seraglio, invested the fort of Rāisen.[5] When their condition became precarious, Silahdi's son Bhupat went to Mewār for help and Vikramāditya advanced with a large force. Bahādur Shāh first sent a force under two officers to contain the *Rānā,* but later thought his presence absolutely necessary and left Rāisen and joined his force which was opposing Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya seems to have taken alarm, and sent two persons to

Bahādur's court, ostensibly to parley, but in reality to find out the Muslim strength. On their reporting that the Gujarāt army was greatly superior, Vikramāditya lost heart and immediately fled to Chitor. He was closely pursued by the Gujarāt army, but Bahādur decided to capture Rāisen first, which he did soon after. Chanderī, Bhīlsa, Gāgraun and other places fell to Bahādur after the conquest of Rāisen, while Vikramāditya allowed his army to be immobilized in the fort of Chitor. All this time Bahādur was actively preparing for the siege of Chitor by collecting troops, arms, artillery and ammunition.

Bahādur sent an advance army under his officers (1532) and when this advance force arrived at Mandasor, they were met by Vikramāditya's envoys, who agreed to cede to Bahādur whatever the *Rānā* held of Mālwa and further stipulated that "whatever tribute may be imposed on him he will pay; whatever duty is imposed on him he will perform, and he acknowledges himself a subject of the Sultān, and will never be disobedient."[6]

In the meantime, stung by Vikramāditya's insult, some of his nobles, headed by Medinī Rāi of Chanderī and Narsing Dev (a nephew of *Mahārānā* Sanga) had joined Bahādur, and the latter, apprised of the division among the Mewār nobles and remembering the *Rānā's* attempts to help the besieged garrison of Rāisen, refused to accept the terms[7] and ordered his general to advance. This he did, expecting an attack by the *Rānā*,[8] but he was allowed to invest Chitor without any opposition (1533). Soon the Muslims carried forays near the fort and captured two of its outer gates. In vain did Karmavatī send envoys to Humāyūn for help.

Ultimately, in desperation, Karmavatī, who had saved Bahādur's life when as a prince he was in exile at Mewār, appealed to him, promising to cede the conquered districts of Mālwa, and surrender the golden crown and belt of Mālwa kings, and give him ten elephants and 100 horses and one hundred *lakhs* of *tankahs*.[9] Bahādur accepted these terms and returned to Gujarāt (24 March, 1533) which had during his absence been invaded by Nizām Shāh.

Peace between Mewār and Gujarāt was, however, short, as faced with a hostile Mughul power, Bahādur felt the urgency of possessing the strong fort of Chitor, or at least to crush the power of Mewār to such an extent that there could be no combination of Mughuls and Śiśodias against him. Thus he sent a strong force under Tātār Khān Lodī (a grandson of Sikandar Lodī) and others towards Āgra and the Punjab and himself proceeded to invest Chitor. The energetic measures adopted by Humāyūn foiled Bahādur's ambitious plans. Humāyūn moved through Mālwa to Sārangpur, capturing on his way the fort of Rāisen. At this point Bahādur took counsel of his officers as to whether to raise the siege of Chitor and face Humāyūn, or continue the siege. His counsellors correctly advised him to concentrate his energies on capturing Chitor, as Humāyūn was not likely to attack him while he was fighting a 'holy war' against the infidels. This prediction proved remarkably accurate, and Humāyūn, after advancing up to Gwālior, calmly awaited there the result of the grim tragedy that was unfolding at Chitor, for reasons discussed in the next chapter.

The Rājput soldiers were not prepared for the second siege of Chitor. The nobles, alienated by the buffoonery of Vikramāditya, had retired to their fiefs. So when the news of the Gujarāt army's advance towards Chitor came, the fort was hardly in a state of defence. In this grave predicament, the Queen-mother issued a stirring appeal to the nobles. "Up to now Chitor has remained in the possession of the Śiśodias", Karmavatī wrote to the nobles, "but now it seems the day of her destruction has arrived. I am handing over this fort to you, preserve it if you can, deliver it if you must. Remember, even if your king is worthless, the destruction of the royal dynasty can only bring disgrace to you."[10]

The nobles gallantly responded to this call. They found, however, that the provisions could not last for more than a few months, and a council of war decided to defend the fort to the last, but to remove Vikramāditya and his younger brother Uday Singh to Būndī.

This flight of Vikramāditya from the besieged fort has been a matter of reproach but there is no doubt that the decision to remove him to a place of safety was the correct one. Chitor was doomed, and if he had died sword in hand, in a final sortie, the Śiśodias would have for ever perished as the Chāhamāna Hammīr of Ranthambhor. Indeed, one of the fatal defects in Hindu defence had been up to now their suicidal reliance on the so-called impregnable strongholds. As Klauswitz remarked, a besieged garrison is as helpless as a marooned man-of-war. This dictum was fully realized later by *Mahārānā* Pratāp, who never allowed the mobility of his action to be impeded by the fear of losing a fortress. For the present, the Mewār nobles stuck to their ancient military tradition, but forbore from sacrificing the life of the king and the next heir, around whom alone, in case of defeat, the nation could rally again.[11]

The rest of the story can be briefly told. Bahādur's artillery, directed probably by Turkish gunners, breached part of the bastion.

The garrison defended bravely, but when they found all further resistance helpless, the women under Rāni Karmavatī performed the *jauhar* and the soldiers rushed out of the fort and died fighting to a man (1535).

Chitor thus fell to Bahādur, but it is significant that the Muslim historians do not speak of his capturing any spoils. Possibly the treasures had been removed from the fort when Vikramāditya left it. However, soon Bahādur had to flee before the advancing Mughul army, and the Śiśodias recaptured Chitor, and Vikramāditya returned to his capital.

However, Vikramāditya had learnt nothing, and while the nobles were alarmed at his conduct of government, he took into his confidence, Vanavīr, the natural son of *Mahārānā* Sanga's eldest brother Prithvīrāj. He had been banished from Mewār by *Mahārānā* Sanga and had taken refuge at Gujarāt, but now finding the time propitious returned to Chitor. Soon he gained the confidence and favour of Vikramāditya and one day finding an opportunity murdered him (1536).

Vanavīr next went to the room of prince Uday Singh to murder the last rightful claimant to the throne. But here he was foiled by the devotion of a woman whose name has become a byword for loyalty. Uday Singh, at this time a boy of fourteen, was under the care of his childhood nurse Pānnā. As soon as Pānnā came to learn of Vikramāditya's murder, she managed to send Uday Singh out of the fort and placed on the bed her son who was of the same age. Soon after, the regicide entered the room, sword in hand, and asked Pānnā where Uday Singh was. Silently she pointed at the bed on which her son was sleeping, and Vanavīr murdered the boy. Pānnā then left Chitor and took Uday Singh to Kumbhalmer.

Vanavīr (1536-1540)

Vanavīr's usurpation lasted for about four years (1536-40). The Rājasthān chronicles are silent about his achievements, if indeed he had had any to his credit. His heinous deed and low origin must have made him odious to the proud nobles, and ultimately trouble broke out due to his crude insistence in proclaiming his equality with the high-born nobles by attempting to force them to eat the left-over food from his plate (*uchchishṭa*).

During this time, Pānnā had enlisted several nobles to Uday Singh's cause, and arranged his marriage with the daughter of Akhairāj. This added to Uday Singh's prestige and gave a lie to Vanavīr's propaganda that he was not the real prince. Uday Singh then issued an appeal for help and soon not only the nobles of Mewār, but some other chieftains, too, joined under his banner.

Vanavīr sent an army to stop Uday Singh's progress. At a battle fought near Maholi, this army was routed, and Uday Singh proceeded towards Chitor, which surrendered after a brief resistance. There are conflicting reports about Vanavīr's end; according to some sources he died fighting, while others relate that he escaped into obscurity (1540).[12]

Uday Singh (*1540-1572*)

The early years of Uday Singh's reign were spent in fruitless wars with Māldev of Mārwār. This struggle between Mewār and Mārwār may have been caused by an attempt to establish ultimate authority in Rājasthān, but the events which led to these wars were as petty as the battles were futile.

Rāo Māldev of Mārwār wanted to marry his beautiful sister-in-law, but her father objected and had her married to Uday Singh. A war followed in which Māldev was defeated.

However, Mewār and Mārwār soon after had to face a formidable foe, Sher Shāh. He first defeated Māldev, and then turned towards Chitor. While he was a few miles from Chitor, Uday Singh sent him the keys of the fort as a token of humble submission. This satisfied Sher Shāh, who left Mewār in virtual possession of the *Mahārānā*.[13]

Uday Singh's next war also concerned a woman. After Sher Shāh's death, his governor of Mewāt, Hājī Khān, driven away by the Mughuls, found refuge at Ajmer, where he was attacked by Māldev. He appealed for help to Uday Singh who immediately responded, and rescued Hājī Khān. Uday Singh, however, then demanded his price, which was the favourite mistress of the fugitive Afghān. He refused to surrender her, and made a bold stand with his few thousand followers, and defeated Uday Singh.

In spite of these seemingly stupid warfares, Uday Singh did turn his attention to establishing a second capital, and to excavating a lake which still bears his name. He had apparently understood the danger of staking the fortunes of his country on the defence of a fortress, which could not be defended in the face of a determined foe.

In the meantime, Akbar had ascended the throne (1556). Six years later, he married the daughter of Rājā Bharmal of Amber and his grandson, Mān Singh, joined the Mughul army. Thus began a memorable policy as a result of which pilgrim tax on the Hindus was abolished in 1563 and the hated *jizya* in 1564. This undoubtedly ameliorated the condition of the Hindus within the empire, and won him the friendship, esteem and devotion of many Hindu chiefs of Rājasthān. But Akbar, unlike Sher Shāh, aimed at the complete subversion of the independence of Rājasthān.[14]

Abu-'l-Fazl's narration of the causes which led to the Mewār campaign are too naive and may be rejected.[15] It is definite, however, that Akbar started on his famous campaign in 1567, and on October 23 of the same year formed his camp near Udaipur. Within a month the investment of Chitor was complete.

According to Kavirāj Shyāmaldās, when Uday Singh received the news of Akbar's approaching invasion, he called a council of war. The nobles pointed out the condition of the army, which had not yet recovered from the Gujarāt wars, and was not in a condition to fight the Mughuls. They, therefore, advised the *Mahārānā* to take refuge, along with the princes, in the hills, leaving a garrison at Chitor. After some discussion, Uday Singh accepted the advice of his councillors, and leaving 8000 soldiers to guard Chitor, left for the hills, and ultimately reached Rājpipla, the capital of the Guhilots of Rewakanta.[16] Akbar sent Husain Qulī Khān to capture the *Mahārānā*, but he failed.[17]

It was found impossible to capture Chitor by assaults which were repulsed with heavy losses; so Akbar raised batteries and laid mines to breach the walls.

However, "on Tuesday, February 23, 1568, Akbar noticed at the breach a person wearing a chief's cuirass who was busy directing the defence." Akbar aimed at him and his shot struck the chief, who was Jaimal, the commander of the garrison.

According to the Muslim historians, Jaimal died and the other officers, despairing of success, had their women and children perform the right of *jauhar,* and opened the gates of the fort the next morning and died fighting.[18] According to Kavirāj Shyāmaldās, however, Jaimal was wounded in the leg, and called a council of war. He explained to them that the stores were exhausted, so it was preferable for the women and children to perform the *jauhar* and the men to fall on the enemy and die fighting.[19] Most probably, the provisions in the fort were exhausted, the Mughul preparations were almost complete, and on the top came Jaimal's accident. All these factors seem to have influenced the decision of the besieged generals.

During the night the women and children performed the *jauhar* rites. Akbar saw the flame which was explained to him by Bhagwān Dās, who warned that the Rājputs would open the gates and launch a final assault the next morning. So the Mughul army was alerted, and the next morning as the Rājputs opened the gates of the fort, the Mughuls rushed in.

Then followed a short but ferocious fighting till all the Rājput soldiers fell sword in hand (25 February, 1568). Akbar then gave the order for the mass execution of 30,000 non-combatants, for which all modern historians have condemned him. According to Kavirāj Shyāmaldās, however, out of 40,000 peasants who were in the fort, 39,000 had died fighting, and Akbar ordered the remaining 1000 to be executed.[20]

Akbar's Chitor campaign has been made memorable by Col. Tod's vividly imaginative description and its results have been unduly exaggerated. It is therefore necessary to remember that Akbar's primary aim was to force the *Mahārānā* into submission. Capture of Chitor was a means to achieve this end, but though he captured the fort, he failed in his main objective. Indirectly, however, he profited largely by the display of Mughul power. Ranthambhor capitulated next year (1569), and in 1570 Bikāner and Jaisalmer entered into matrimonial alliance with Akbar.[21] Thus the fabric of unity imposed on Rājasthān by Kumbha and Sanga, shattered at Khānua, disappeared for ever. Henceforth their proud descendants would struggle valiantly, but alone, not only against the Mughuls but also against the Rājputs. This is the measure of the greatness of two men—Akbar, who could transform the political situation in Rājasthān so that soon, in the words of his courtier Badāūnī, a Hindu would wield the sword of Islām,[22] and Pratāp, undaunted by the odds against him, would carry on the struggle.

Uday Singh survived the fall of Chitor by four years. He lived mostly at Kumbhalmer, and it was remarkable that Akbar never attempted to conquer the stronghold till much later. He died on 28 February, 1572.

It is difficult to form a proper estimate of Uday Singh's character. The historians of his country, the bards of Rājasthān, used to singing the valorous exploits of the warrior chieftains, had contempt for this man, whom fate had taught from early childhood that sometimes survival is as important as fighting, and under certain circumstances it can only be achieved by flight. Naturally he suffers in comparison with his great father and greater son, but this man, who by no account was a hero, refused to surrender to the Mughuls, while the other chiefs of Rājasthān were sending their daughters to the Mughul *harem*.[23]

Pratāp Singh (1572-1597)

Uday Singh left twenty wives and twenty-five sons, of whom the eldest was Pratāp Singh. Before his death, however, he nominated his ninth son Jagmal as his successor. Jagmal actually ascended the throne while Pratāp and the other nobles went to perform the funeral rites of the deceased monarch.[24] On their return, however, the nobles forced Jagmal to abdicate and offered the throne to the rightful successor, Pratāp Singh, and he accepted it. Jagmal went to Ajmer, joined Akbar, and received a portion of Sirohī, but later died fighting with its rightful chieftain.

Mahārānā Pratāp Singh ascended the throne on 1 March, 1572, and the famous battle of Haldīghāt was fought in June, 1576. We do not know what measures he adopted to meet the Mughul menace during these four years of real peace which he was to enjoy as a king. If, however, his later operations are any indication, he utilized this period to consolidate his regime and prepare for the inevitable struggle. We have therefore to anticipate the future events in order to form an idea of his activities during this period.

The Mewār army at the battle of Haldīghāt was quite formidable and in every way a match for the Mughul army. Evidently long time must have been spent to raise and equip this army, and get the support of Afghāns like Hakīm Sūr Pathān, who fought for Mewār at Haldīghāt. But even more important was gaining the support of the Bhīls, who from now on steadfastly helped the *Mahārānās* of Mewār, and made possible the guerilla warfare after the battle of Haldīghāt.[25] This broad imaginative policy not only served the cause of Mewār's independence, but made its young king a real national leader. One can only imagine the flush of enthusiasm among the Bhīls when for the first time they were recognized as fighting partners by the proud ruling Kshatriyas.

During this period the *Mahārānā* was also planning the war against the Mughuls. It is remarkable that after the battle of Haldīghāt, Mān Singh could find no trace of the *Mahārānā,* his family or his nobles. Actually when Mān Singh reached Gogunda, *Mahārānā's* temporary capital, the day after the battle, the town was deserted, and soon the supply of the Mughul army was cut off and the soldiers had to subsist mainly on fruits. It is no doubt possible that from the battlefield the *Mahārānā* had rushed to Gogunda, collected his family, found out an inaccessible hide-out, and then collected his men and begun to harass the Mughul army. It is, however, not unlikely that the *Mahārānā* had carefully planned his course of action in case he lost the battle of Haldīghāt. That is, he had learnt not to stake a kingdom on the outcome of a single battle, and this alone can satisfactorily explain the reason of his leaving the field before the battle was over at Haldīghāt.[26]

Another point is the *Mahārānā's* consolidation of his financial resources. Tod has given wide currency to the story that after the battle of Haldīghāt, he was fleeing from one place of concealment to another in conditions of abject poverty. MM. Ojha has shown that these stories are myths. Not only the *Mahārānā* but Amar also had enough financial resources to continue the struggle till 1614. It is remarkable indeed, as MM. Ojha points out, that though Chitor was occupied by Bahādur and later by Akbar, no Muslim historian describes any treasure having fallen into their hands. The obvious inference is that Uday Singh had secreted the wealth accumulated by Kumbha and Sanga and the *Mahārānā* made judicial use of it.[27]

It may thus be concluded, that from 1572 to 1576, the *Mahārānā* attempted to consolidate his position, marshal his resources, build an army and make adequate arrangements for defence in case the Mughuls defeated his field force. As long as Akbar sent him diplomatic missions, he behaved with them correctly, but refused to surrender any of his sovereign rights.[28] Akbar therefore decided to declare war against him, and selected Mān Singh as the commanding general.[29]

The battle of Haldīghāt was fought on 21 June, 1576. The *Mahārānā* had originally taken his position in the *ghati* which could be reached by a narrow and rugged path about a mile and a half long. Mān Singh waited for him in the plain below, and in the morning of 21 June the *Mahārānā* came out and attacked the Mughul army. As Mān Singh had arranged his army in battle array, it is evident that the *Mahārānā's* attack had lost the element of surprise. Still, in the first flush of attack, his army practically broke through the Mughul army, but the rout was stopped by Mān Singh and a few intrepid officers. There was a personal encounter between the *Mahārānā* and Mān Singh. But while Mān Singh, on an elephant, ducked and avoided the *Mahārānā's* javelin, Pratāp's famous horse, Chetak, which had placed its forelegs on Mān Singh's elephant was struck by the sword which the huge beast carried in its trunk. Chetak immediately turned and fled, and with his last breath carried his master out of danger.

The *Mahārānā's* army seems to have followed him, but we do not hear of captives. The total number of dead was, according to

Badāūnī, five hundred, of whom 120 were Muslims and the rest Hindus. As considerable number of Hindus fought on the Mughul side, it would appear that the casualties on each side were almost equal.

The day was so hot that pursuit of the Mewār army was impossible. Next day Mān Singh occupied Gogunda, the *Mahārānā's* temporary capital. The town had already been evacuated, still about twenty soldiers who had been left to guard the palace and the temple died fighting to satisfy their honour. "The Amirs, as security against a night-attack on the part of the Rana, barricaded the streets and drew a trench and a wall of such a height that horsemen could not leap over it, round the city of Kokandah, and then settled down quietly."[30] But the danger to the Mughul army came from another side. The *Mahārānā* cut all supplies to Gogunda, and soon they were reduced to living on meat and mangoes.

Akbar was not satisfied with the results of the battle. He was vexed with Mān Singh for "having abandoned the pursuit of the Rana, and so allowing him to remain alive."[31] Later (September, 1576) when "news arrived of the distressed state of the army of Kokandah (Gogunda), the emperor sent for Mān Singh, Āsaf Khān and Qāzī Khān, to come alone from that place and on account of certain faults which they had committed, he excluded Mān Singh and Āsaf Khān (who were associated in treachery) for some time from the court."[32]

Though Mān Singh was restored to favour, the condition in Mewār being far from satisfactory, Akbar himself left for Gogunda from Ajmer on 11 October, 1576, with a large army.[33] But before he left, "the roads of ingress and egress from the Rānā's country were closed."[34] The *Mahārānā* retired before the Mughul army into the hills and Qutb-ud-dīn Khān, Rājā Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh and other imperial officers were sent in pursuit to capture him. As Nārāyan Dās of Īdar had joined the *Mahārānā,* another army was sent against him. Īdar was occupied after a stubborn fight.[35]

Akbar himself came to Mohi (near Nāthdwāra) and appointed officers to guard that place and Madariya (near Chitor). "Similarly, brave men were appointed to other places in order that whenever that wicked strife-monger (Rānā Partāb) should come out of the ravines of disgrace, he might suffer retribution."[36] But the army which was sent against the *Mahārānā* was unsuccessful, and its two commanders, namely, Qutb-ud-dīn Khān and Rājā Bhagwān Dās returned to Akbar who was at this time in Udaipur. They were at first censured but later pardoned,[37] and soon after another force was despatched to Gogunda under Bhagwān Dās, Mān Singh, Mīrzā Khān (the future Khān Khānān) and others. Presumably the *Mahārānā* had recaptured Gogunda. However, Abu-'l-Fazl adds: "By the great attention of the Shāhinshāh that country was cleared from the thorn-brake of rebellion, and adorned by just subjects."[38] But from subsequent events it appears that this expedition, though it may have cleared the Gogunda region for the time being, had produced little effect on the adversary.

Apparently, after occupying the Gogunda region the commanders returned to the court but Akbar could not be satisfied so long as the *Mahārānā* was not captured or killed. So in March, 1578,[39] he sent another army under the overall command of Shāhbāz Khān, *Mīr Bakshi,* to capture the fort of Kumbhalgarh, where the *Mahārānā* was living at the time. Shāhbāz Khān sent back to court Rājā Bhagwān Dās and Mān Singh, and unexpectedly arrived near the fort,[40] and occupied Kelwara, a town about three miles from Kumbhalgarh and at the foot of the mountain. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, "a large gun inside the fort burst, and the harvest of his (*Mahārānā's*) equipment was reduced to ashes."[40a] The fort fell on 4 April, 1578, and even he describes the gallant fight put up by the Rājputs. But the *Mahārānā* had already left the fort. Next day Shāhbāz Khān captured Gogunda and at midnight Udaipur. Apparently, these places were not defended.[41]

Shāhbāz Khān returned a few months later but was again sent with several other officers and "much treasure" against the *Mahārānā* who, as Abu-'l-Fazl puts it, "had raised the head of turbulence."[42] From this campaign Shāhbāz Khān returned after March, 1581, and apparently reported that the *Mahārānā's* power had been crushed for ever.[43]

By the end of 1584, however, the *Mahārānā* had succeeded in regaining his lost territories to such an extent that another expedition had to be sent under Rājā Jagannāth.[44] Abu-'l-Fazl's description of this campaign is more vague than usual, but from his statement that, "though there was no victory, yet the oppressed were relieved," it is permissible to conclude that some relief was given to the scattered Mughul garrisons, but the *Mahārānā's* activities could not be curbed. Late in 1585, Jagannāth attempted to surprise the *Mahārānā,* but the latter got timely information, and when Jagannāth reached his residence, he found it empty. But Abu-'l-Fazl, curiously enough, remarks: "From foresight they (the raiding party) did not judge it proper to return by the same way, and so proceeded towards Gujarāt."[45] This indicates that the mountain passes and roads were under *Mahārānā's* control to such an extent as to strike terror in the Mughul army.

This was practically the last expedition undertaken during Akbar's reign against the *Mahārānā.*

The most powerful monarch of the world relentlessly attempted to destroy one man, and he braved all adversities to emerge triumphant. It is related in the Rājasthān chronicles that the *Mahārānā* adopted extreme measures to deny the Mughuls all forms of provisions. Death was the penalty for anyone who cultivated land for supplying the Mughul army. The result of this order was that the peasants left Mewār, and the Mughul garrisons had to get their provisions from Ajmer. It is related that a Mughul garrison commander induced a peasant to grow some vegetables for him. At night the *Mahārānā* went there and executed the man.[46] The Rājasthān chronicles also tell of many exploits of the *Mahārānā* and his officers. Of these the most notable was 25 lacs of *rupees* and 20,000 *ashrafis* looted from Mālwa.[47] On another occasion, Prince Amar Singh attacked a Mughul camp and captured the wife of the Khān Khānān, but after treating her with due honour returned her to her husband.[48]

These incidents are not corroborated by any Mughul source, which is not surprising. Nor do the Mughul historians give any account of the *Mahārānā's* activities for gradually extirpating the Mughul garrisons, and freeing his country from the invaders, so that before his death, all Mewār except Ajmer, Chitor and Mandalgarh was in his hands. But the country was devastated, first, by a decade of constant fighting and deliberate destruction by the Mughul army, and secondly by the *Mahārānā's* stern order, according to the Rājput chronicles, for not cultivating the land. We may also imagine that a large number of people died of hunger, malnutrition and disease, and many peasants must have left Mewār and settled in peaceful neighbouring countries. These effects were felt keenly in the next reign.

It is related that one day while hunting, the *Mahārānā* struck his own bow and was wounded. This wound proved to be fatal, and he died on 11 *Māgh Shukla,* 1653 V.S. (29 January, 1597), at the age of fifty-eight.[49]

Thus died the greatest hero of medieval India, the bravest of the brave whose sturdy frame was exhausted by almost two decades of constant fighting. We may here quote V. Smith's fitting epitome of his reign: "The emperor desired the death of the Rānā and the absorption of his territory in the imperial dominions. The

Rānā, while fully prepared to sacrifice his life if necessary, was resolved that his blood should never be contaminated by intermixture with that of the foreigner, and that his country should remain a land of freemen. After much tribulation he succeeded, and Akbar failed."[50]

Amar Singh (1597-1620)

Mahārānā Pratap had eleven queens and seventeen sons, of whom the eldest, Amar Singh, succeeded him. His was a proud legacy, but beset with innumerable difficulties. He had to fight the Mughuls and at the same time maintain a machinery of administration which alone could provide him the means to prosecute the struggle for freedom. Ultimately he had to compromise, but that does not tarnish his honour.

Amar Singh began his reign by introducing certain necessary administrative reforms mainly intended to strengthen his hands against too powerful nobles.[51] But soon he had to face the enemy. Akbar sent an army under Prince Salīm and Mān Singh in 1600.[52] But Salīm failed to accomplish anything, due, possibly, as Abu-'l-Fazl remarks, to his indolence. Soon after, Salīm rebelled, and after his reconciliation with Akbar he was again entrusted with the conquest of Mewār. In October, 1603,[53] on the *Dussera* day, Akbar sent him off from Āgra at the head of a well-equipped army. But arriving near Fathpur Sīkrī, Salīm began to send demands for more troops and equipments, and ultimately gave up the venture. Thus we see that Akbar did not give up the idea of the destruction of the *Mahārānā* from any chivalrous motive, but because of commitments elsewhere and the failure of his son. Still he made one more attempt to crush his old enemy. Towards the end of his reign, he invested Sāgar, a son of *Mahārānā* Uday Singh, with the title of *Rānā* and designed to set him on the throne of Chitor.[54] Akbar was actually preparing to send a force under Khusrav to instal Sāgar, but before this could be done, he died.[55]

For reasons not difficult to guess, Jahāngīr, immediately after his accession, sent his son Parvīz to conquer Mewār. Parvīz, who had with him 20,000 horse, was aided by several experienced commanders such as Āsaf Khān and others, and Sāgar, the pretender, also accompanied him. Jahāngīr's instructions to Parvīz were: "If the Rana himself, and his eldest son who is called Karan, should come to wait upon you (Parviz) and proffer service and obedience, you should not do any injury to his territory."[56] It is interesting to note here, that three cousins of Mān Singh and grandsons of

Bhagwān Dās, at this time were plotting to join Amar, but their plans leaked and Jahāngīr ordered them to be arrested. All of them died resisting arrest.[57]

Some time in March, 1606, came the news that Parvīz had succeeded in dislodging Amar from Mandal.[58] But then Khusrav's rebellion broke out and Jahāngīr ordered Parvīz to return to the capital leaving the direction of the campaign in the hands of officers.[59] However, before Jahāngīr's letter of recall had reached Parvīz, Amar opened negotiations on the basis that instead of himself and his eldest son Karna, one of his younger sons should wait upon Parvīz, and due to the exigencies of the situation Parvīz agreed, and brought Bagha Singh, a younger son of Amar, with him and presented him to Jahāngīr at Lahore.[60] However, nothing seems to have come out of Bagha Singh's visit for, soon after, Jahāngīr appointed Mu'izz-ul-Mulk *bakshi* of the army against the *Mahārānā* and sent him there.[61]

Nothing, however, came out of these expeditions. According to the Rājasthān chronicles, Parvīz had set up Sāgar at Chitor as the Rānā, but he could attract only a few followers, and ultimately had to leave Chitor ignominiously.[62] So in 1608, Jahāngīr selected Mahābat, one of the most famous Mughul generals, to lead an expedition against the *Mahārānā.* Mahābat had under him 12,000 horse, 500 *ahdis,* 2000 musketeers, with an artillery of 70 to 80 guns mounted on elephants and camels. Two million rupees were ordered to be sent with this army.[63] Mahābat's rank was also raised and he was honoured with a robe of honour, a horse, a special elephant and a jewelled sword.[64]

Evidently, Mahābat Khān's campaign was unsuccessful, and he was recalled in March, 1609, and 'Abdullah Khān, who was exalted with the title of "Fīrūz-jang" sent in his place.[65] The Rājasthān sources claim that a night attack took Mahābat Khān completely by surprise and he had to flee leaving his camp and equipment which were looted by the Mewār soldiers.[66]

'Abdullah opened his campaign with some initial success, and occupied Chavand and Merpur.[67] His rank was raised to 5000 personal.[68] He was, however, sent as governor of Gujarāt in 1611 and at his request Rājā Basu was appointed to the command of the Mughul army in Rājasthān. But apparently he also did not meet with any striking success.[69] He was recalled and Khān A'zam Mīrzā 'Aziz Koka sent in 1613 to replace him.

Khān A'zam apparently felt the need of assistance, so at his instance Jahāngīr sent Khurram with 12,000 horse to take the nominal command against the *Mahārānā* and himself advanced to Ajmer to "defeat and beat back the rebel Rana Amar Singh."[70] Soon, however, the old courtier fell out with Khurram, and Jahāngīr's remonstrations being of no avail, Khān A'zam was recalled and Khurram left in charge of the operations. Some time before March, 1614, Khurram obtained some notable success against the *Mahārānā* and sent Jahāngīr seventeen captured elephants including one called " 'Ālam-gumān, of which the Rānā was very fond."[71]

About Khurram's campaign, Jahāngīr writes: "My son of lofty fortune, Sultan Khurram, by dint of placing a great many posts, especially in some places where most people said it was impossible to place them on account of the badness of the air and water and the wild nature of the localities, and by dint of moving the royal forces one after another in pursuit, without regard to the heat or excessive rain, and making prisoners of the families of the inhabitants of that region, brought matters with the Rānā to such a pass that it became clear to him that if this should happen to him again he must either fly the country or be made prisoner."[72]

From the Rājasthān chronicles it is learnt that the condition of the Mewār army was desperate. All provisions and sources of supply were exhausted, and there was even a shortage of weapons. For food they mostly had to depend on fruits. But what hurt them most was, as Jahāngīr relates, Khurram's inhuman practice of making prisoners of the women and children. Shyāmaldās relates that one day the nobles represented to the crown-prince, Karna, that they had been fighting for forty-seven years, under hard conditions. Now they were without food, dress or even weapons, and the Mughuls were capturing their children and forcing them to become dancing girls or slaves. They were prepared to die; each family had lost at least four members in the war; still they would fight, but it seemed to them that even their death could not prevent their family honour from being stained; it was therefore preferable to come to some arrangement with the Mughuls, on the basis of Karna's personal submission to the Mughul Emperor. As in the Mewār order of precedence, the crown-prince occupies a position lower than that of the chief nobles, such submission would not be too dishonourable. Karna agreed with the nobles, but according to Shyāmaldās, he was afraid that Amar would not entertain any proposal of initiating peace talks. So it was decided to send two nobles, namely, Subhakarna and Jhālā Haridās to Khurram without the knowledge of the *Mahārānā*.[73]

Khurram immediately sent the two Mewār envoys to Ajmer with his personal *dīwān,* Mullā Shukra-Ullah and his *major-domo,* Sundardās, who, after the treaty with the *Mahārānā* was concluded, were honoured with the title of Afzal Khān and Rāy Rāyān. Jahāngīr readily ratified the terms and issued a *farmān* with the mark of his palm.[74] Khurram sent the *farmān* to Amar, and according to Shyāmaldās it was at this time that he came to learn that the nobles headed by Karna had been negotiating with the Mughuls. The *Mahārānā* at last realized the realities of the situation and accepted the terms.[75]

On 18 February, 1614, Amar with some of his nobles visited Khurram and gave him a large ruby and seven elephants.[76] Khurram, in return, gave him a "superb dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse with a jewelled saddle, and a private elephant with silver housings," and the *Mahārānā's* hundred nobles who had accompanied him received one hundred robes of honour, fifty horses and twelve jewelled daggers.[77] After Amar had left, Prince Karna arrived at Khurram's camp, and received various presents. The same day Khurram and Karna started for Ajmer.

Jahāngīr received Karna as gracefully as possible, and tried to soothe his feelings by heaping on him all kinds of presents. Hardly a day passed when he did not give the Prince some present as a token of his favour.[78] Karna even had the unique honour of being present in the "darbar in the female apartments" when Nūr Jahān presented him a rich dress of honour, a jewelled sword, a horse and saddle, and an elephant.[79] In addition to what Khurram and Nūr Jahān gave him, Karna received from Jahāngīr cash and jewellery worth 200,000 rupees, besides 110 horses, five elephants and ten Arabian hunting dogs.[80] After Karna left, his son Jagat Singh, then a boy of twelve, came to represent him while Jahāngīr was still in Ajmer, and Jahāngīr had to be satisfied with that.[81]

Shyāmaldās compares the Mughul-Mewār war with the Anglo-Afghān war, and in many respects the comparison is an apt one. The *Mahārānā* regained the whole of Mewār, parts of which ever since the days of Uday Singh had been under the Mughuls. The only restriction to his sovereignty was that the fort of Chitor could not be repaired. The obligation on the *Mahārānā's* part was to send a contingent of troops, but it was sent on rare occasions. *Mahārānā* Pratāp had fought for independence; his son retained the substance of independence by sacrificing some of its external attributes. In exchange, he gained the much-needed peace to restore the country to the level of civilized existence and gather strength for *Mahārānā* Rāj Singh to fight against Aurangzīb. It has sometimes been questioned whether *Mahārānā* Pratāp would have accepted this treaty; it is equally open to question as to whether Akbar would ever have offered such terms. As Shyāmaldās remarks, the land between Chitor and Udaipur was soaked with the blood of Mewār and Mughul heroes. Both sides were eager to come to terms, and the treaty does honour to both the parties who can claim to have displayed statesmanship of the highest order.

The remaining years of Amar Singh's reign were uneventful. It is said that he felt the insult of accepting a Mughul *farmān* so keenly, that he retired to his private chamber, leaving the administration in the hands of the heir-apparent, Karna. He died on 26 January, 1620.[82]

Karna Singh (1620-1628)

Karna was in charge of the administration during his father's reign when it had been his endeavour to resettle the villages and set up again the regular administrative machinery by appointing local officials. He also took in hand the reconstruction of palaces and temples. In short, his entire energy was applied to improving the condition of war-devastated Mewār, and in this he was highly successful.

His relations with the Mughul court continued to be normal till the outbreak of Khurram's rebellion in 1622. It appears that his brother Bhīm Singh, who was possibly serving under Khurram in the Deccan, joined the Prince at the outbreak of the rebellion.[83] Bhīm Singh was one of the chief lieutenants of Khurram during the rebellion. He captured Patna and later died fighting gallantly at the battle of Jaunpur.[84]

After his defeat at the battle fought near Bilochpur (1623), Khurram entered Rājasthān and plundered Amber. His subsequent movement till he reached Māndū is not recorded by any Muslim historian, but the Rājasthān chronicles record that Karna granted him asylum at Udaipur, where he stayed for about four months.[85]

After Jahāngīr's death, Shāh Jahān returned to Āgra via Gogunda where he met Karna and valuable gifts were exchanged (1 January, 1628). As usual, Shāh Jahān's gifts were costly. The *Mahārānā's* younger brother, Arjun Singh, accompanied Shāh Jahān to Āgra. A few months later Karna died (March, 1628).

Jagat Singh[86] *(1628-1652)*

We do not know Karna's motive in helping the rebel Khurram. However, with the accession of his son Jagat Singh a change is perceptible in the policy of Mewār. Jagat Singh started his reign by interfering energetically in the affairs of Deolia, with the result that Shāh Jahān ultimately intervened and restored it to its rightful owner. Jagat Singh then sent an expedition to Dungarpur which sacked the capital. He also sent forces to bring Sirohī and Bānswārā under his control. To please Shāh Jahān he sent him a mission with some presents, and this seems to have served its purpose. But under the terms of the treaty he had to maintain 1000 troops with the Mughul army, and this he did after several reminders. However, in direct contravention of the terms of the treaty he began to repair the fort of Chitor. Thus it appears that Mewār was again preparing to renew the struggle.

Jagat Singh is famous in the annals of Rājasthān for his charity and building activities. He died on 10 April, 1652.

Raj Singh (1652-1680)

Mahārānā Rāj Singh succeeded his father, Jagat Singh, in 1652 at the age of twenty-three. He was duly recognized by Shāh Jahān but very soon friction arose over the repair of Chitor fort. As has been stated above, Jagat Singh had started the repair work which was taken up after his death by Rāj Singh. Possibly both Jagat Singh and Rāj Singh counted on the gratitude of Shāh Jahān, but the emperor of Delhi was quite a different man from the fugitive prince. He left Delhi on 24 September, 1654, to visit Ajmer, and from there sent Sa'dullāh Khān with an army of 30,000 troops to Chitor, and ordered Shāyista Khān to be ready to come to Mewār in case of necessity, and Aurangzīb to post his son Muhammad with 1000 soldiers at Mandasor. But Rāj Singh submitted, and Sa'dullāh Khān completed the destruction of Chitor's fortifications without any opposition.[87] In the meantime, Rāj Singh sought the protection of Dārā, who was possibly instrumental in inducing Shāh Jahān to send to Mewār a Brāhmin envoy called Chandra Bhān.[88] It appears from Chandra Bhān's reports to Shāh Jahān that the *Mahārānā's* faults had been to have repaired Chitor, to have appointed in Mewār service persons who had left the imperial service without permission, and to have failed to maintain at full strength the contingent of 1000 soldiers which under the treaty Mewār had to supply to the imperial army. The result of Chandra Bhān's diplomatic mission was that the *Mahārānā* sent his eldest son, aged about six years, to wait on Shāh Jahān. Shāh Jahān gave the young prince the usual presents and named him Saubhāgya Singh, but took away from Mewār certain districts and attached these to Ajmer.[89]

Rāj Singh could not forget this disgrace which at that time he was unable to wipe off. But his opportunity came a few years later when Shāh Jahān fell ill (6 September, 1657) and his sons rebelled. On the *Dussera* day (18 October, 1657) the *Mahārānā* began to prepare his army, and in November, advancing from Udaipur, sacked Khairabād, and imposed levies on Mandal, Pur, Banera, Shāhpur and several other places which were included in the Mughul dominion.[90]

Soon after, the rebel Aurangzīb started a correspondence with the *Mahārānā,* and seems to have received his tacit support in exchange for a promise to restore to Mewār the four districts which Shāh Jahān had taken away from him.[91] When Aurangzīb occupied Āgra after the battle of Sāmogarh, the *Mahārānā* sent his son Sūltān Singh,[92] to wait on him. Aurangzīb received the prince very graciously and gave him the usual presents, but what is more important he issued a *farmān* bestowing on the *Mahārānā* the districts of Badnaur, Mandalgarh, Dungarpur, Bānswārā, Basabar and Gyāspur. The *Mahārānā's* rank was also raised to 6000 of which 1000 personal was also *do aspa* and *se aspa.*[93] Soon Dārā pathetically appealed in vain to the *Mahārānā* for help.[94]

But an incident happened (1660) within a few years of the accession of Aurangzīb which changed the relation between the two. Princess Chārumatī of Kishangarh, also known as Rūpamatī, was betrothed by her brother to Aurangzīb. She, however, hated the idea of marrying a Muslim and wrote to Rāj Singh to rescue her. Accordingly Rāj Singh came with his army, and forced her brother to marry her to him. Aurangzīb's reaction to this was to detach Gyāspur and Basabar from Mewār and assign them to Raval Hari Singh of Deolia. The *Mahārānā* appealed against this decision, but it had no effect.[95] It is apparent that Rāj Singh accepted the decision of Aurangzīb, and this incident did not lead to any conflict as is sometimes supposed, but this took place in consequence of Aurangzīb's attitude towards Mārwār.

II. MĀRWĀR

After the death of Mahārājā Jasvant Singh in December, 1678, Aurangzīb appointed Muslim officers to administer Mārwār and on 9 January, 1679, himself set out for Ajmer to supervise the annexation of the Rāthor State. High officials were sent to capture the treasures of the late Mahārājā and destroy the temples. No resistance was offered to these acts of vandalism, possibly because the Rāthor officers who were capable of defending their country were serving with their king in Jamrud and were at this time escorting two of Jasvant's widows, who were *enceinte* at the time of his death. The two queens gave birth to two posthumous sons at Lahore, and the news reached Aurangzīb on 26 February, 1679. The Rāthor ministers pleaded in vain for the recognition of the succession of Jasvant's new born son Ajit, to his father's dominion, the other son having died a few days after birth. Aurangzīb paid no heed to these appeals, but having completed the arrangements for the occupation of Mārwār returned from Ajmer to Delhi on 12 April, 1679, and on that day reimposed the *jizya* on the Hindus after a century of abeyance.[96] On 26 May, in return for a succession fee of 36 lakhs of rupees Indra Singh, a grand-nephew of Jasvant, was invested as the Rājā of Jodhpur, but the Mughul administrators and generals were retained there.

In the meantime, the faithful Rāthors brought their infant king and his mother to Delhi (June, 1679) and represented his cause to Aurangzīb. Aurangzīb ordered the infant Ajit to be brought up in his *harem* with a promise that he would be admitted to the Mughul peerage when he came of age, and, according to one contemporary historian, offered the throne to Ajit on condition that he became a Muslim.[97]

The Rāthors, who claimed to be the descendants of the great Rāshṭrakūṭas, were seized with consternation, but it was in this hour of peril that they proved their noble descent. Fortunately they were guided by a brave hero of sturdy spirit, namely Durgā Dās, son of Jasvant's minister Askaran. With the chivalry and courage of his ancestors he added a genius for organisation and statecraft worthy of a Mughul minister. He saw through Aurangzīb's wretched diplomatic promise, and begged for delay promising to present Ajit to the court when he came of age. Soon Aurangzīb lost patience and on 15 July sent the Provost of Delhi and the Captain of the imperial guards to seize the queens and Ajit and lodge them in the prison of Nūrgarh.

But the astute Durgā Dās was ready. The Mughul commanders, who had the wisdom not to provoke the impetuous Rājputs, first tried to persuade them to deliver their queens and Ajit peacefully. This having been answered with a sharp volley of musket fire, the Mughuls also opened fire in self defence. Then Durgā Dās's plan—hatched in secret and almost incredible in character—was put into operation and took the Muslims by surprise.

Suddenly a gate of the mansion opened and Raghunāth Bhattī, with one hundred troopers, rushed out in a wild "death-defying" charge, before which the Muslims quailed. Seizing the opportunity, Durgā Dās with the rest of his followers and the queens in male attire, slipped out of the mansion and took the road to Jodhpur. For an hour and a half, Raghunāth dyed the streets of Delhi with blood, but at last he fell with all his comrades. Then the Mughuls set out in pursuit but in the meantime the fugitives had covered nine miles, when the Mughuls overtook them. Then Ranchhor Dās Jodhā turned round to check the pursuers with a small band of troopers. And they too resisted the Muslims to the last man. The Mughuls then took up the pursuit again and this time, while the rest continued their journey towards Jodhpur, Durgā Dās turned round with fifty troopers and fought till all but seven of them died. It was almost evening and at last the tired Mughuls gave up the pursuit and wearily made their way back to Delhi, while Durgā Dās and his comrades safely carried the royal party to their destination.[98]

But, as has been related above, Jodhpur was under the effective control of the Mughuls, so Durgā Dās turned to the only power —Mewār—which could come to their aid.

Mewār and the Mughuls

During this period, Rāj Singh, who was busy in developing his country, tried to maintain cordial relations with Aurangzīb. While Aurangzīb was grabbing Jodhpur, the *Mahārānā* did not protest. On his way back from Ajmer, Aurangzīb sent a *farmān* on 23 March, 1679, asking Rāj Singh to send his son to the court.[99] Accordingly, prince Jay Singh was sent to Delhi where he was received by Aurangzīb in the usual manner (11 April, 1679). In the meantime, however, Aurangzīb had imposed the *jizya* and soon after demanded the *Mahārānā* to impose it in Mewār.[100]

The only path of duty open to a Rājput was, however, shown by Aurangzīb himself. He had given a foretaste of his religious bigotry and fanaticism by breaking some of the most famous temples of Rājasthān and then carrying the images to Delhi where they were placed before the mosques as steps so that they might be trodden by the faithful.[101] Mewār had not yet been invaded by the Muslims, but the annexation of Mārwār would enable the Muslims to outflank the country and enable them to enter Mewār through the Arāvallī passes. Indeed, the *Mahārānā* seems to have envisaged some danger and closed the Deobārī pass with huge walls and portals as early as 1674.[102]

Last Muslim Invasion of Rājasthān

The Rāthors on arrival at Jodhpur began their struggle to throw out the Muslim invaders, which lasted till the death of Aurangzīb

(1707), with varying success on either side. It is not possible to give here the details of this heroic struggle, and only the main points may be noted.

With the arrival of Dūrgā Dās, Mārwār burst into flames. Aurangzīb realized that his hope of ruling Mārwār with the supine Indra Singh as the nominal king under a Mughul *faujdār* was no longer possible. So he dethroned Indra Singh, recalled the *faujdār*, Tahīr Khān, in disgrace, and set up a milkman's son as the real Ajit in Delhi.

After completing his political preparations, Aurangzīb sent Sarbuland Khān with a large army (17 August, 1679) and himself followed a fortnight later to exercise the overall command from Ajmer. Unfortunately, the Muslims were not the only enemy of the Rāthors. Fissiparous tendencies developed inside Mārwār, and the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the ancient enemy of the Rāshtrakūṭas, took this opportunity to recover their ancestral stronghold of Mandor. It was later recaptured by the Rāthors.

But the Mughul invasion backed by resources of the vast empire could not be checked. The great battle of this war took place near the Lake Pushkar, where the Mairta Rāthors tried to bar the advance of Mughul troops and save the Varāha temple. After three days of continuous fighting, mounds of dead bodies remained to proclaim the valour of the Hindu heroes who had died to the last man to save the temple (19 August). Thereafter, no more pitched battle was fought. Guerilla warfare began.

Soon the pretence of ruling Mārwār in the name of the impostor was given up and the State was divided into regular administrative units, each under a Mughul *faujdār*, and prince Akbar was ordered to put down the resistance. This he attempted to do by advancing from Ajmer towards Mairta, which route even today is marked by the cenotaphs of Rāthor soldiers, a mute reminder that they were not overawed by the overwhelming odds against them. "As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Aurangzib pour his barbarians over the land....Jodhpur fell and was pillaged; and all the great towns in the plains of Mairta, Didwana and Rohit, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down and mosques erected on their sites."[103]

Aurangzīb then turned to Mewār which indeed had become the Rāthor base of operations. He wrote three letters to the *Mahārānā* reminding him of their past good relations, upbraiding him for sheltering Ajit and threatening him with dire consequences if he continued to support the Jodhpur prince. The *Mahārānā* sent polite but firm replies that the terror of Muslim invasion would not force him to swerve from his path of duty.[104]

Aurangzīb realized that to crush the determined Śisodia-Rāthor opposition, quick and decisive action was necessary. So he called his son Mu'azzam from the Deccan, and Muhammad A'zam from Bengal, his other son Akbar being already with him. Tahavvur Khān, the governor of Ajmer, Hasan 'Alī Khān, the governor of Ratanpur, and Muhammad Amīr Khān, the governor of Ahmedābād, were given subsidiary commands to open the mountain passes and maintain the lines of communications.

The *Mahārānā* on his part took up his position on the crest of the Arāvallīs ready to pounce on the Mughuls whenever he thought fit. The rough circle formed by the massed hills of Mewār, stretching from Udaipur westwards to Kumbhalmer, and from the Rājsamudra lake southwards to Salumbra, formed a vast natural fort with three gates, opening east, north and west through which the defenders could sally out and fall upon any isolated enemy outpost or detachment. In short, the Mughul army was stretched along a long arc of which the *Mahārānā* occupied the short base. To reach him it was necessary to break through the three passes of Udaipur, Rājsamudra and Deobārī. The Mughul armies of Mewār and Mārwār were divided by the Arāvallīs, and as the passes were controlled by the Śiśodias the Mughuls had to make a long and toilsome detour in transferring troops from Chitor to Mārwār. Thus, while Aurangzīb attempted to crush the enemy under the weight of his superior number and artillery, the *Mahārānā* took the fullest advantage of the terrain and adopted a strategy which enabled a small number of determined men to hold out against heavy odds. As we shall see later, the Mughul soldiers, always ready to fight in the open, would refuse to enter the defiles and narrow passes of the Arāvallī. The *Mahārānā* also evacuated all the big cities and as much of the plains as possible.

Aurangzīb struck the first blow. He left Ajmer on 30 November, 1679, and met with little effective opposition. The deserted pass of Deobārī was occupied on 4 January, 1680, and soon after he entered the empty city of Udaipur. He systematically destroyed the countryside and broke the temples.

A detachment under Hasan 'Alī Khān was sent into the hills to trace the *Mahārānā*. For some time this detachment was lost, but ultimately traced and reinforced. They succeeded in inflicting a defeat on the *Mahārānā*, and capturing his camp and property. In the meantime, Chitor was occupied, and Aurangzīb visited it at the end of February, destroying sixty-three temples there. His task thus finished, Aurangzīb returned to Ajmer on 22 March, leaving Akbar in charge at Chitor, satisfied, like the Mughul commanders before him, that with the capture of the cities, and establishment of some isolated Mughul garrisons, the enemy resistance would come to an end. It just began.

With the departure of Aurangzīb, the *Mahārānā* launched his attack. The isolated Mughul outposts, always a source of weakness, were so harassed that the Mughul officers refused to command them. The Mughul supply trains and escorts also were attacked so successfully that soon the Mughul soldiers refused to enter any pass. Heavier attacks were also launched, including a serious reverse suffered by Akbar at Chitor. At the same time raids were carried into the neighbouring Mughul provinces of Mālwa and Gujarāt. The invading army of Gujarāt under prince Bhīm Singh liberated Īdar, and plundered Vadnagar, Vishālnagar and some other rich cities of Gujarāt including Ahmadābād, collecting much booty. In revenge for breaking the temples, Bhīm Singh destroyed one big and thirty small mosques.[105]

Aurangzīb recognized that his plan of defeating the enemy by holding on to strategic points and devastating his country had failed. He was particularly disappointed by the reverses which Akbar suffered at Chitor, so the latter was transferred to Mārwār and a new plan adopted. Prince A'zam, who had replaced Akbar at Chitor was ordered to advance by way of the Deobārī pass and Udaipur—Prince Mu'azzam from the north by way of Rājsamudra, and Akbar from the west through the Deobārī pass. It was expected that the concerted action would drive the *Mahārānā* out of his mountain stronghold and eventually lead to his capture. However A'zam and Mu'azzam failed to achieve their objective (July, 1680).

Akbar, goaded by Aurangzīb, made progress slowly and at a heavy loss. Now the *Mahārānā* and Durgā Dās adopted new tactics. Akbar's second in command, Tahavvur Khān, had been ordered by Aurangzīb to win over as many Śiśodia and Rāthor nobles as possible. Thus he came into contact with them and formed with them a plot to declare Akbar the emperor of India, and soon the Prince was won over. Aurangzīb also seems to have opened peace proposals,[106] but while these negotiations were proceeding *Mahārānā* Rāj Singh died on 1 November, 1680,[107] and was succeeded by his son Jay Singh.

Jay Singh (1680-1698)

The death of Rāj Singh temporarily stopped the negotiations, but soon after it was taken up. On 11 January, 1681, Akbar joined the Śisodias and the Rāthors, and issued a manifesto deposing his father and crowning himself emperor. The next day he started for Ajmer to wrest the Mughul crown from Aurangzīb.

If this foolish and indolent prince had not delayed on his way to Ajmer in merry-making, the history of India might have been different. For, when the news of Akbar's rebellion reached Aurangzīb at Ajmer, he had only a few soldiers with him. But every day's delay afforded him time to bring in reinforcements.

It took Akbar a fortnight to cover 120 miles that separated him from his father. Even so, before he could take any decisive action his hopes were foiled by an astute trick. Tahavvur Khān's father-in-law wrote him a letter that if he came over to Aurangzīb he would be pardoned, otherwise his women would be publicly outraged and his sons sold for the price of dogs. This unnerved Akbar's chief commander and he secretly left the camp and reached the Mughul camp where he was soon murdered. In the meantime, a letter addressed to Akbar by Aurangzīb was made to fall in Durgā Dās's hands in which Aurangzīb thanked the prince for bringing the Rājputs to their doom and gave him further instructions for the next day's battle so that the destruction of the Rājputs might be complete. Durgā Dās went to find out the truth from Akbar but learnt that he was asleep. He next sent men to call Tahavvur Khān, but discovered that he had left for the imperial camp. This confirmed their suspicion and the Rājputs in a body rode off.

Durgā Dās, under the circumstances, was quite justified in leaving Akbar to his fate. But the next morning when the prince woke up he found himself left with a few hundred followers. He therefore turned round and followed Durgā Dās, with whom he was able to establish contact after about a day. Durgā Dās also had by that time realized the trick that had been played on them and was returning to protect Akbar, for Durgā Dās's honour demanded that Akbar should be saved at all costs. Akbar first went to Mewār, but the *Mahārānā* refused to grant him asylum,[108] so Durgā Dās most chivalrously agreed to escort him to the only court in India which could afford him protection—that is Shambhūjī's. After many hair-breadth escapes from the Mughuls, Durgā Dās conducted Akbar to Mahārāshtra, and there this gallant man stayed till 1687 to help the cause of the Mughul prince.

Though Akbar's adventure had failed, in a sense it helped the Rājputs. Aurangzīb's attention was diverted towards the south, and he was forced to come to terms with Mewār.

Mewār ends the war

While Akbar was proceeding against Aurangzīb, a contingent of the Mewār army under Dayāl Dās advanced to attack prince A'zam's army. Dayāl Dās was defeated and forced to flee after killing his wife, lest she should be captured by the Mughuls.[109]

This action took place in the first week of February, 1681, and shortly A'zam sent the Śiśodia prince Shyām Singh, son of prince Garib Dās and grandson of *Mahārānā* Karna, to open negotiations with Mewār.[110] He advised the *Mahārānā* to conclude peace as Aurangzīb was most likely to offer favourable terms now in view of Akbar's rebellion and the approaching rainy season. Jay Singh, therefore, sent some of his nobles to Ajmer, and by 23 February, the negotiations had so far progressed that Aurangzīb sent a conciliatory *farmān* to Jay Singh, accepting his peace offer, and directing him to visit Prince A'zam, thus fulfilling the terms of the treaty entered into by Khurram.[111]

According to Shyāmaldās, it was at this time, that Akbar was cornered by the pursuing Mughul forces and A'zam wrote a letter to Jay Singh asking him to arrest Akbar, and if possible to kill him. Therefore Jay Singh decided not to permit Akbar to enter Mewār as stated above.

The terms of the treaty were soon arranged and were as follows:[112]

1. The *Mahārānā* would cede to Aurangzīb the *parganās* of Mandal, Pur and Bednor in lieu of the *jizya* demanded from his kingdom.
2. The Mughuls would withdraw from Mewār and the condition obtaining at the time of invasion was to be restored.
3. The *Mahārānā* was not to recruit any Rāthor or deserter from the Mughul army.
4. Ajit would be recognized as vassal Rājā and *manṣabdār* when he came of age.

The treaty was concluded between Jay Singh and Prince Muhammad A'zam on 24 June, 1681, with the usual pomp and exchange of presents, and soon after Aurangzīb sent to the *Mahārānā* the customary robe of condolence for his father's death.

Thus the war in Mewār ended but the war in Mārwār continued for another three decades which will be described in a subsequent section.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has stigmatized Jay Singh for his "signal incapacity" and the lack of military skill and the organizing genius of his great father. But Sir Jadunath also writes that "the Rajput war was a drawn game so far as actual fighting was concerned, but its material consequences were disastrous to the Maharana's subjects. They retained their independence among the sterile crags of the Aravallis, but their cornfields in the plains below were ravaged by the enemy. They could stave off defeat but not starvation. The Mughals, on the other hand, might fail to penetrate into the hills of Kamalmer; their outposts might be surprised and convoys cut off occasionally but they held the low country and received supplies from all parts of the empire."[113]

It seems that because Mewār had surrendered three districts in lieu of *jizya,* the *Mahārānā* refused to send the 1000 troopers which was Mewār's contribution to the Mughul army. There is a letter in the Udaipur archives dated 7 August, 1684, in which Prince Muhammad A'zam informs the *Mahārānā* that he will get back the districts which had been forfeited on account of the *jizya* if he immediately sent 1000 horse to the south.[114] It appears, however, that nothing came out of this arrangement, and Pur, Mandal and Bednor were not restored to the *Mahārānā,*[115] possibly because the *Mahārānā* had not sent the contingent. In 1690, the *Mahārānā* entered into a new arrangement under which he agreed to pay one *lakh* of rupees as *jizya* and receive back Pur and Bednor and his *manṣab* was to be increased by one thousand.[116]

With the conclusion of peace, Jay Singh turned his attention to the administration of the country and to several irrigation projects, of which the most important was lake Jaysamudra, said to be one of the largest artificial lakes in the world.

The last years of his reign were clouded by the rebellion of his eldest son Amar Singh, and he had to enlist the help of Durgā Dās and the Rāthors to recover his kingdom. The nobles, however, were able to effect a rapprochement between the father and the son, but the latter had to be granted a considerable independent *jāgīr* (1692).

Jay Singh died on 9 October, 1698, and was succeeded by his son Amar Singh II, whose history really belongs to the period covered in the next volume.

Mārwār and the Mughuls

In the previous section it has been related that Mewār entered into treaty relation with the Mughuls in 1681, but this did not end the war in Mārwār. For though there was a clause in the above-mentioned treaty under which Ajit was to be recognized as the vassal chieftain when he came of age, for the present Aurangzīb persisted in ruling Mārwār through his own Muslim officers. The people of Mārwār refused to accept their rule, resulting in continued warfare for practically three decades (1681-1707).

The history of this warfare can be conveniently divided into four periods, namely (i) from 1681 to 1687, during which period Durgā Dās was in the Deccan; (ii) from 1687 to 1696 during which period Durgā Dās and Ajit were fighting against the Mughuls; (iii) from 1696 to 1701, a period of truce; (iv) from 1701 to 1707, renewal of the struggle and final liberation of Mārwār.

(i) *1681-1687*

Durgā Dās, as has been stated, felt it to be his duty to escort prince Akbar to a place of safety. As Shambhūjī was the only king who could shelter Akbar, Durgā Dās and a band of Rāthors escorted the prince to Mahārāshtra, eluding his pursuers with great skill. Though many Rāthors returned to Mārwār, Durgā Dās felt honour-bound to guide and help the unlucky prince, and stayed with him till the latter, despairing of Marāthā help, left for Persia in February, 1687. Soon after Durgā Dās returned to Mārwār.

During this period, the Rāthor nobles without any central authority had been fighting the Mughuls whenever and wherever possible. They were joined in 1681 by Mahākām Singh of Mairta who left the Mughul service to join the national struggle, and the Bhātī tribe of Jaisalmer in 1682. The result of this sporadic but continuous warfare is graphically described by a bard: "An hour before sunset every gate of Maru was shut. The Muslims held the strongholds, but the plains obeyed Ajit....The roads were now impassable."

(ii) *1687-96*

Durgā Dās, as stated above, returned to Mārwār in 1687 and was joined by Hādā Durjan Sāl, the foremost noble of Būndī. Together they slaughtered or drove away most of the Mughul garrisons in Mārwār and carried their raid into the imperial territory menacing even Delhi. However, they declined any engagement with the regular army that was sent against them from Delhi, and returned to Mārwār via Sirhind. Near Mandal, Durjan Sāl died in action, and Durgā Dās returned to Mārwār, probably after sacking Mandal, Pur and Malpura.

In 1690, Durgā Dās signally defeated the governor of Ajmer and rendered Mārwār so unsafe that Shujā'at Khān, the governor of Gujarāt (to which province Mārwār was now attached), had to take personal charge of affairs in Jodhpur. He took reconciliatory measures, granting land to some Rāthor nobles and thus winning them over—while strong forces were sent to check the activities of Durgā Dās. It was, however, impossible to guard adequately the route over which trade passed from Gujarāt to North India through Mārwār. So Shujā'at Khān first tried to come to an understanding with the Rāthors by paying them one-fourth of the imperial customs dues on all merchandise, and later attempted to divert the trade through peaceful Mewār.[117]

In 1691, the Mughuls gained some respite as Durgā Dās and his Rāthors went to help *Mahārānā* Jay Singh suppress the rebellion of his son, and in 1692 the Mughuls themselves began overtures for peace for the return of Prince Akbar's children (a son and a daughter) whom he had left at Mārwār. But nothing came out of these negotiations as Aurangzīb refused to yield to any of Durgā Dās's demands. So in 1693 the war began again and Ajit guided by Durgā Dās began to cause disturbance,[118] but Shujā'at Khān, aided by other Mughul officers, forced Ajit and Durgā Dās to flee back to the hills.

This was the last Mughul victory in Mārwār. The situation in the Deccan had become desperate and there was no chance of sending fresh troops to the north. Secondly, Aurangzīb became extremely anxious to get back his grand-daughter, Safiyat-un-nisā, and negotiations for this purpose began in 1694. The niggardliness and obstinacy of old Aurangzīb protracted the negotiations till 1696, when Durgā Dās sent her to Aurangzīb unconditionally. When the young princess arrived, Aurangzīb immediately thought of making arrangements for teaching her Islāmic scriptures, but she informed him, that that part of her education had been carefully attended to by Durgā Dās, who had secured for this purpose a Muslim woman from Ajmer, and that she (the princess) knew the Qur'ān by heart.

Nothing could please Aurangzīb more, who in a rare moment of generosity, wanted to grant whatever Durgā Dās demanded. So it was arranged by the intermediary, Īswardās Nāgar, the historian, that Durgā Dās should get a *manṣab* and a money allowance, to which the emperor readily agreed, provided he brought back Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar.

The negotiations, however, dragged for another two years as Aurangzīb refused to accede to Durgā Dās's demand for restoring Jodhpur to Ajit. Aurangzīb's idea was to purchase Durgā Dās by the offer of a rich *manṣab* and money, but the honest Rāthor spurned all proposals which involved the betrayal of the cause of his master's heir.

Unfortunately, however, Ajit longed for peace. In 1696, he had married the niece of *Mahārānā* Jay Singh and now he became eager for a settled home and income. So in 1698, Durgā Dās agreed to surrender Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar, in consideration of Ajit's receiving the *parganās* of Jhālor, Sānchor and Siwānā as his *jāgīr* and a *manṣab* in the imperial army.

Durgā Dās, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, escorted Buland Akhtar to the court at Islāmpur on the Bhīmā. After the prince had been presented to his grandfather, Durgā Dās was called. As he was about to enter the audience hall, he was ordered to be ushered in unarmed like a prisoner. Without a moment's hesitation, the great soldier unsheathed his sword and the grand Mughul permitted him to enter fully armed. Only, as he approached Aurangzīb's throne a minister tied his wrist with a silk handkerchief, a theatrical gesture indicating captivity, and led him to the throne. The Emperor "graciously ordered Durgā Dās's arms to be untied, appointed him a commander of 3,000 horse (nominal rank), presented him with a jewelled dagger, a gold pendant (*padak*) and a string of pearls, and advanced him one lakh of Rupees from the imperial treasury."[119]

(iii) *1696-1701*

This was a period of comparative quiet during which Durgā Dās joined the Mughul service, and in order to keep him out of Mewār, Aurangzīb posted him as the *faujdār* of Pātan, that is Anahilapāṭaka, the former capital of the Chaulukyas. In October, 1700, Ajit petitioned the Emperor for some cash or *jāgīr*, in exchange for which he offered to come to the court. But he never came to the court, probably suspecting treachery though repeatedly summoned to do so.

As will now appear, Ajit and Durgā Dās, who also kept himself away from the court, had good grounds for their suspicion. After the death of Shujā'at Khān (9 July, 1701), Aurangzīb sent his son Muhammad A'zam as the Governor of Gujarāt with instructions to send Durgā Dās to the court, and, if he refused, to kill him. Accordingly, A'zam summoned Durgā Dās to Ahmadābād which the latter obeyed and A'zam made preparations for murdering him on his arrival to pay the customary respects. It so happened that the day fixed for the interview was a *dvādaśī,* and Durgā Dās had fasted the day before. So he wanted to go to the prince after taking his meals, but the latter, impatient of delay, began to send him messengers in succession, bidding him to come. This put the wary soldier on the alert and without breaking his fast, he set fire to his camp and equipage and left for Mārwār.

A force was immediately sent to overtake Durgā Dās. As this body drew near, his grandson begged his permission to fight an action to stop the pursuers and receive his first battle scars. Probably the gallant boy wanted to emulate his grandfather's famous rear guard action near Delhi. He succeeded in stopping the pursuers at the cost of his life.

(iv) *1701-1707*

On arrival at Mārwār, Durgā Dās joined Ajit and the struggle began again. But this time Mārwār was exhausted, many Rāthor nobles took service under the *Mahārānā* of Mewār and some even with the Mughuls, and above all, difference broke out between Durgā Dās and Ajit who had no further use for his loyal servant. This shows not only Ajit's stupidity, but the degeneration of the Rājasthān princes, who were no match for the Mughuls. Aurangzīb took the fullest advantage of the situation and when in November, 1705, Durgā Dās, unable to maintain himself in barren independence, made his submission, Aurangzīb promptly restored him his old *manṣab* and post in Gujarāt.

However, Durgā Dās never forgot his life's cause. Next year (1706) the Marāthās inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mughuls in Gujarāt, and Ajit renewed the struggle for independence. Durgā Dās again left the Mughuls and joined Ajit.

Aurangzīb took the usual measure for suppressing the Rāthors, and while scattered actions were being fought in that unhappy country he breathed his last on 3 March, 1707. This happy news reached Ajit on 17 March, and he immediately took the road to Jodhpur. He expelled the Mughul commandant of the garrison and took possession of the city from which the Muslims fled in all directions in Hindu garb. "The fort of Jodhpur was purified with Ganges water and tulsī leaves".[120] Ajit Singh sat on his ancestral throne and Durgā Dās's life-task was crowned with success.

III. MAHĀRĀSHTRA AFTER SHIVĀJĪ (1680-1707)

Shambhūjī (1680-1689)

The death of Shivājī (1680) was followed by internal dissensions in the newly created Marāthā State. He had not named any successor and his eldest son, Shambhūjī, aged 23 years, was the natural choice. But, as mentioned above (pp. 273-4), his licentious character, and particularly his defection to the Mughuls, irritated his father who virtually kept him a prisoner in the fort of Panhālā. On the other hand, the only alternative to Shambhūjī was Rājārām, son of queen Soyrā Bāi, a boy of ten, whose accession would mean a long regency of his mother, who did not possess the requisite qualification for the task. But as the two highest ministers of Shivājī, namely Moropant Pingle, the *Peshwā,* (Prime Minister) and Ānnājī Datto, the *Surnis,* (Finance Minister), both supported Soyrā Bāi, she had not probably much difficulty in convincing most of the generals and ministers, present at the capital, that the accession of Shambhūjī would mean a great disaster to the State. So Rājārām was proclaimed king and crowned at Rāigarh on 21 April, 1680. It was, however, soon apparent that the people in general and the army outside the capital did not like this change in the normal order of succession. Apart from this, there was perhaps a far more serious—one might say ominous—cause for the split in public opinion in regard to the succession. This has been summed up by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the following words: "The council of regency as constituted at Raigarh meant Brahman rule, and the commander-in-chief (a Maratha by caste) was not prepared to take his orders from a priestly Mayor of the Palace, any more than another *Senāpati* of the Maratha realm, Khānde Rāo Dhabare, was fifty years later."[121] In any case, Shambhūjī's supporters, particularly soldiers, daily increased in number and he made himself free by killing the *Killāhdār* of Panhālā. He not only made himself master of Panhālā but consolidated his possession of the South Marāthā country and South Konkan and openly declared himself King. In the meanwhile the two ministers, mentioned above, who supported the cause of Rājārām, had advanced towards Panhālā to check him. They were disheartened to hear of the rapid success of Shambhūjī and hesitated to attack him. But at the end of May, *Senāpati* Hambir Rāo Mohite, who was near Panhālā and had joined Shambhūjī, arrested the two great ministers, Ānnāji and Moropant and took them as captives to Shambhūjī. "There all the army chiefs assembled and recognized Shambhūjī as their king."[122] The Peshwā recanted and Shambhūjī took him into favour, while Ānnājī was thrown into prison. Shambhūjī then advanced with

5,000 soldiers, which increased to 20,000 during the march, and entered Rāigarh without any opposition (18 June, 1680). He treated Rājārām with kindness and acted for the first few days with "combined vigour and thoughtfulness".[123] He formally ascended the throne on 20 July, 1680, and his coronation ceremony was performed with great splendour on 16 January, 1681.

Shambhūjī enjoyed a fairly long respite from the attack of his great enemy, the Mughuls, for, as mentioned above,[124] Aurangzīb had then concentrated "all the military resources of the Mughul empire" in Mewār. The Mughul army in the Deccan continued the campaign in a somewhat leisurely fashion and Shambhūjī showed a great deal of activity during the first three or four years of his reign. This is all the more remarkable as the new king had to face a lot of troubles at home caused by dissensions in his own family and the Government at Rāigarh.

As mentioned above, Shambhūjī had imprisoned Ānnājī Datto, one of the chief conspirators who planned to oust him from the throne. But he not only released the traitor, but also appointed him Accountant-General, a post second only in importance to that of the Peshwa. But, far from appreciating the generosity of the king, Ānnājī lost no time in hatching a conspiracy with Soyrā Bāi and some other leading men to murder Shambhūjī by poisoning his food. There is also a story to the effect that the conspirators approached the Mughul prince Akbar who, as mentioned above, fled from Rājputāna and was given asylum by the Marāthā king. But, so the story runs, Akbar not only refused to join, but informed Shambhūjī about it. Whatever we may think of this story, there is no doubt that there was such a nefarious plot but it was detected in time and Shambhūjī took terrible vengeance upon the conspirators. Eight ringleaders were trampled under feet of the elephants and twenty more were sentenced to death. Opinions differ regarding the fate of the prime mover Soyrā Bāi. She was "charged with having poisoned her husband (a year and a half earlier), and was put to a painful death, through poison (according to the Bombay factory report) or by starvation (according to Chitnis)".[125] All these took place in October, 1681, and were followed by terrible persecution of the Shirkés, the family of Soyrā Bāi's father. "Their property was seized, many of their members were killed, and the rest fled to Mughal territory, entered the imperial army, and tried to carry on their blood-feud with him (Shambhūjī) to the end of his days."[126]

All this was merely a foretaste of what happened almost throughout the reign of Shambhūjī. This was largely due to the character and personality of the new king. His terrible vengeance on the partisans of Rājārām alienated the old officers of the State and "his rudeness, caprice and violence of spirit made even the highest of his officers feel insecure and unhappy in his service." The inevitable consequence was that conspiracies, desertions of officers and rebellion of vassals became almost a permanent feature during his whole reign.

Shambhūjī did not trust, far less love, anybody, nor was he trusted and loved by any of his officers. There was only one exception, a learned Brahman from U.P., generally known by his title Kavi-Kalash (Pinnacle of Poets), who proved to be a devoted servant. He had gained the love, esteem and confidence of Shambhūjī to such an extent that gradually he monopolised all the powers of government and was referred to as the "chiefest minister of State". Though opinions differ, we may generally accept the view that the king became a *roi faineant,* blindly following the advice of this upstart minister and "devoting all his time to wine and women, with fitful outbursts of martial vigour."[127] The evidence of this martial vigour was shown by minor clashes with the Mughul troops and also by surprise raids into the territory occupied by the Mughuls in the Deccan.

The most notable of these surprise raids was that against Burhānpur, the capital of Khāndesh, at the end of January, 1681. As this serves as a typical example of the Marāthā raid in future extending as far as Bengal, more than seventy years later, it may be described in some detail. "The surprise was so complete that none could conceal or remove a penny worth of property or save his wife and children. The smoke of the burning houses first informed the governor of the enemy's presence, but he was powerless to do anything and merely shut himself up in the fort. Lakhs of rupees worth of booty was taken in every *pura* (ward, seventeen of which, besides a rich suburb, were plundered). Many respectable men slew their wives and daughters and then fell desperately fighting the brigands, rather than see their family honour outraged.... For three days the Marathas looted the suburbs to their hearts' content, without the least interruption and dug up the floor of every house, thus discovering the buried treasure of many generations past.... They carried off nothing but gold, silver and gems, and left the streets littered with the metal and China ware, clothing and spices which they had at first seized."[128]

Similar raids against many other places were attempted, and though many of them were unsuccessful, they created terror and panic as may be gathered from the following description of the people of Aurangābād on the report of the approach of the Marāthās: "All houses were closed, the men sitting armed and trembling and the women weeping within doors. The streets and bazars were entirely deserted."[129] But the timely arrival of the Mughul army saved the town. These descriptions are echoed in the *Mahārāshṭra-Purāṇa,* a contemporary account of the raids of the *Bargis* (Marāthā raiders) in Bengal during the rule of Ālivardi Khān (1740-56).

While these raids and minor clashes with the Mughul troops were going on, the arrival of the fugitive Mughul prince Akbar[130] and the protection given to him by Shambhūjī (1681) opened a vista of romantic military enterprises of both against the Mughul Emperor Aurangzīb, including a plan to install Akbar on the Mughul throne after removing his father. But though all these grandiose plans came to nothing, Akbar's presence in Mahārāshtra had one important effect on the history of the Deccan. For it was the immediate cause of the arrival of Aurangzīb in the Deccan and his stay there till his death, with fatal consequences to the fortunes of Bijāpur, Golconda, and, to some extent, also of the Marāthās. These have been described in Chapter X and need not be repeated. The Mughul Emperor started with an elaborate plan to conquer Mahārāshtra but, for reasons stated above, he could not achieve any substantial gain even after a year of his arrival.

In the meanwhile, Shambhūjī undertook several military expeditions. The first was directed against the Siddis of Janjirā. The enmity between the Marāthās and the Siddis dates back to 1679 when Shivājī fortified the island of Khanderi and defeated the combined English and Siddi fleet that wanted to capture it. When Shambhūjī ascended the throne the Marāthā fleet consisted of 60 ships carrying 5,000 soldiers on board, and the number had increased to 135 (120 gallivats and 15 *ghurabs*) by May, 1682. Towards the end of 1681 the Siddi fleet ravaged a large tract of territory near Chaul and Shambhūjī arrived with 20,000 men and a vast train of cannon to the coast opposite Janjirā. From a hill he bombarded that island continuously for 30 days and all the fortifications were razed to the ground. But as the Marāthā fleet was no match for that of the Siddis the Marāthā army could not cross the channel, 800 yds. broad and 30 yds. deep. So Shambhūjī intended to fill up the channel with stones (according to some authorities with timber and bags of cotton). He employed 50,000 men for the purpose, but before the work was completed the Mughul invasion of Northern Konkan and capture of Kalian about the end of January, 1682, forced him to retire to Rāigarh, leaving only 10,000 men to continue the siege. As the siege continued without any tangible success, the Marāthā troops were carried in boats and made an assault on Janjirā, but they had to retire with heavy loss (July, 1682). On 4 October, the Marāthā navy of 30 gallivats was defeated by the Siddi squadron of 16 vessels, 8 miles south of Kolaba Point, while another Marāthā squadron of 80 gallivats lay hiding and did not dare come to the assistance of the former. These clearly testify to the hopeless inferiority of the Marāthās to the Siddis as a naval power.

Shambhūjī next launched an attack against the Portuguese on the ground that they had helped the Mughuls against the Marāthās in various ways, which was undoubtedly a fact. Shortly after the Mughuls retired from North Konkan, Shambhūjī advanced with 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot and burnt Tārāpur and all other towns from Daman to Bassein. But he failed in his attempts to take Chaul and other forts of the Portuguese, though he gained some success in the Portuguese territory on the coast to the north of Bombay. The Viceroy of Goa laid siege to the fortified town of Phonda, a Marāthā possession, 10 miles south-south-east of Goa in October. But though considerable damage was done to the fort, the Portuguese failed to take it and had to retreat with heavy loss. Overjoyed at this success Shambhūjī next planned to seize the city of Goa and advanced with 7,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry. He captured the island of Santo Estevao, two miles north-east of Goa (14 November), inflicting heavy losses on the relieving force under the command of the Viceroy in person. The Marāthā force also captured Salsette, immediately to the south of Goa and the Peninsula of Bardes, north of Goa. But they were trapped into the small island of Kumbarju, immediately to the east of Goa, for as soon as the tide set in, the Portuguese flotilla occupied the two wide streams enclosing the island, and on the remaining side there was a heavy bombardment from the fort of Goa. Only "few of the 7,000 Maratha troops escaped alive."[131] On 5 January, 1684, the Mughul forces under Prince Shāh 'Ālam which came to the assistance of the Portuguese occupied Bicholim, an important town of Shambhūjī, and three days later a very powerful Mughul fleet reached the harbour of Goa. The disaster at Kumbarju and the news of the approach of Shāh 'Ālam induced Shambhūjī to retire to Rāigarh, leaving the Mughul prince Akbar who had accompanied him and the minister Kavi-Kalash to negotiate a peace with the Portuguese. A peace was concluded on 20 January, 1684, on condition of the mutual restitution of all conquests, and the Portuguese agreeing not to allow Mughul ships to pass within gunshot of their forts. But this treaty, forced on Shambhūjī by his fear, was not ratified by him and hostilities continued till a peace, or rather truce, was patched up in October. "But languid hostilities with the Portuguese continued till the end of Shambhūjī's reign."[132]

Reference has been made above to the grandiose schemes planned by Shambhūji and the Mughul prince Akbar. But instead of making preparations for a grand expedition against the Mughul Emperor, Shambhūjī had merely frittered his energy and resources by fights with the Siddis and the Portuguese. Between September, 1682, and the end of 1685, Shambhūjī and Akbar discussed plans of invading Northern India through Surat with Akbar at the head of the expedition, but nothing came out of all these. The fact is that while the object of Akbar was to gain the throne of Delhi, Shambhūjī, perhaps rightly, did not like the idea of invading North India in the company of Akbar while Aurangzīb was still in the Deccan with a mighty force. For there was the great risk that the Mughul emperor would conquer Mahārāshtra during his absence. In any case, Akbar gradually realized that Shambhūjī did not sincerely desire to help him; so he decided to leave Mahārāshtra and actually embarked for the purpose, but both Durgā Dās and Kavi-Kalash assured him that Shambhūjī would keep his word and help him to defeat the army of the emperor (November, 1683). So Akbar gave up the idea of leaving Mahārāshtra, and there are reasons to believe that some serious efforts were made to help him. There was a rumour in September and November, 1684, that Akbar and Shambhūjī would attack Surat. But nothing happened. In October, 1685, a body of rebels, about 4,000 in number, seized Broach and proclaimed Akbar emperor; but the move ultimately failed. In June, 1686, taking advantage of the absence of Aurangzīb and major part of his forces in Bijāpur, Akbar made an attempt to seize Āhmadnagar and then march to Northern India to join the Rājputs; but it failed. There were rumours about other attempts of that kind, but nothing came out of these. At long last, the disillusioned Mughul Prince Akbar left for Persia in February, 1687.

In the meantime, the Mughul forces made great headway, and, as has already been mentioned, even two wives and one daughter of Shambhūjī were captured by the Mughuls. According to the reports of the Dutch fathers, supported by Manucci, Shambhūjī, after his return from the Goa expedition, gave himself to pleasure and instead of guiding the military campaigns spent his time in wine and women. Manucci further states that "Shambhūjī's victories were not the fruit of his own labour, but were due to his officers."[133] When Aurangzīb was fully occupied in his campaign against Bijāpur and Golconda, Shambhūjī neither helped them in the larger interests of the Deccan as a whole, nor utilized the opportunity to improve his own position by any well-conceived plan. The Marāthā forces were, as usual, engaged in making plundering raids in various directions, but these did him no good. The fact is that all the old and experienced officers had been removed from the court for one reason or another,[134] and he had no competent agent to manage the distant parts of his dominions. Kavi-Kalash was the only capable minister, but being a northerner he was not liked by the Marāthās. The situation was rendered worse by conspiracies, one after another, followed by the execution or imprisonment of important Marāthā generals and ministers.[135] Even Madras Karnatak passed out of the control of Shambhūjī, for his brother-in-law ruled practically as an independent ruler with the title of *Mahārāja*. The English factory records refer to the economic ruin of Mahārāshtra, the corruption of officers and the chaos and confusion caused by constant rebellions. The records ascribe the ruin of trade and industry to the misrule of Shambhūjī and his absorption in pleasure.[136] After the conspiracies in 1680, 1681, and 1684, the Shirké family whose defection has been noted above (p. 360) rose against Shambhūjī in October, 1688, and attacked Kavi-Kalash. Shambhūjī defeated the rebels and arrested many leading people, including ministers, on mere suspicion of complicity.[137] On his way back to Rāigarh he halted at Sangameshwar. How he was captured there (1 February, 1689) and put to death after prolonged torture on 11 March has been described above (pp. 288-9). It was a great tragedy, but just on the eve of his execution he gave evidence of manliness which he did not show in life. The cruel murder of Shambhūjī by Aurangzīb undoubtedly evokes our pity, but Shambhūjī's life and reign hardly deserve our sympathy.

Rājārām (1689-1700)

At the time of Shambhūjī's death, his son Shāhū, being a minor, Rājārām, the younger son of Shivājī, who was kept in prison by Shambhūjī, was proclaimed king by the ministers and crowned at Rāigarh without any opposition on 8 (or 9) February, 1689.[138] The military campaigns during his reign, both Mughul and Marāthā, have been briefly described above (pp. 293 ff.) and need not be narrated in detail, but a few general features of the Marāthā tactics may be stressed.

When Rāigarh was besieged by the Mughul army on 25 March, 1689, Yesu Bāi, the widowed queen of Shambhūjī, infused courage and enthusiasm among the disheartened people by brave words and suggested a new tactics which was followed till the end. This may be summed up as follows:

1. That the members of the royal family, including the king, and important leaders should not all be concentrated in one place, even at the strongly fortified capital, Rāigarh, but should scatter themselves in different quarters of the kingdom, so that the fall of one fort would not jeopardise the fate of the whole Government and people.

2. Able military generals, including those who were unjustly kept in prison and set at liberty in the new regime, should be inspired by a sense of duty to their motherland and a spirit of supreme self-sacrifice, and carry on unceasing guerilla warfare or surprise raids on different Mughul posts, and harass the Mughul forces in every way.[139]

In accordance with this policy, Rājārām himself left Rāigarh with his family and, moving from one place to another such as Pratāpgarh and Panhālā, ultimately reached Gingee. "Some of the other leaders, Rāmchandra Pānt Amātya, Pralhād Nirāji and Shankaraji Malhār Sachiv, also left Rāigarh and in mutual consultation from different places commenced an unprecedented campaign of fire, plunder and brigandage into the Mughul territory, using a network of spies to obtain information of the enemy's movements."[140] Two young chieftains, Santāji Ghorpade and Dhanāji Jādhav, particularly distinguished themselves and almost created havoc in the Mughul camps. On one occasion they even stealthily approached the imperial tent and cut down the supporting ropes so that the whole tent came down and crushed the inmates. Aurangzīb himself was saved by the lucky chance that he spent that night in his daughter's camp. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has paid glowing, but well-deserved, tributes to these two heroes in the following words:

"In the long history of his struggle with the Marathas after the sun of Maratha royalty had set in, the red cloud of Shambhuji's blood and the people's war had begun. Santāji Ghorpade and Dhanāji Jadhav were the two stars of dazzling brilliancy which filled the Deccan firmament for nearly a decade, and paralyzed the alien invader."[141] Words like these from one who is not easily carried by emotion are very high praises indeed.

Rājārām's flight to Gingee gives one more evidence of the great political foresight of Shivājī. By a wonderful prescience he had felt the necessity of establishing a long line of fortified possessions from Mahārāshtra to distant Tanjore, via Bangalore, Vellore and

Gingee, so as to form a new line of defence which he might utilize to his advantage if occasion or necessity arose. In the dire necessity caused by all-round Mughul efforts to crush the Marāthās by simultaneous invasions from different sides, it proved to be a godsend and when Rājārām found it impossible to hold Panhālā against the Mughul attack, he fled to Gingee "after undergoing many perils and hair-breadth escapes from the Mughal pursuers on the way."[142] After the romantic adventure of more than a month and a half's journey he at last settled in Gingee, far away from Mahārāshtra, in November, 1689, and was joined by his ministers and other officials. Henceforth, Gingee became the seat of the royal court and centre of Marāthā activity against the Mughuls. According to contemporary account, "the Chiefs of the Karnatak lands hailed Rājārām as an uncommon hero and made his cause their own. They brought him presents of money, provisions and materials and having been actuated with a spirit of vengeance against Muslims, offered every kind of service to the Maratha king."[143] The neighbouring city of Tanjore was the capital of a Marāthā State ruled by a cousin of Rājārām. In Gingee the king administered the affairs of State with the help of his Council of eight ministers, a system established by Shivājī, to which he added a ninth called the *Pratinidhi*, a post specially created for Pralhād Nirāji who had rendered most valuable service. As could be expected, Gingee was besieged by the Mughuls, but it was captured only after 8 years, on 7 February, 1698. Rājārām had left the place in preceding December and fixed his capital at Satara in October, 1698.

The Marāthās were inspired by high hopes during this long and arduous campaign. The Marāthā documents clearly state that the aim of this war was not only freedom of Mahārāshtra but "included even the conquest of Delhi, so as to make the whole sub-continent of India safe for the Hindu religion."[144] This laudable object was constantly preached to wean away many Marāthā Chiefs who had accepted service under the Mughuls. A stirring appeal was issued by Rājārām from Gingee on 22 March, 1690, of which an extract is quoted below:

"We have enlisted on arrival in the Karnatak forty thousand cavalry and a lac and a quarter of infantry. The local Palegars and fighting elements are fast rallying to the Maratha standard.... You must now put forth the sacrifice required on behalf of our religion. ...Aurangzeb has wronged you by threatening to convert you to his religion. He has already converted (*names follow*).... He also entertains further deep-rooted motives of a sinister nature against our nation, of which you must beware. The Nimbālkars and the Mānes have already deserted him and his ranks are being rapidly thinned. God is helping us. We are sure to succeed."[145] Many documents of this nature reflect the spirit of the people and there cannot be any doubt that during the last one or two decades of the seventeenth century Aurangzīb was faced with what may be truly described as a national war. "Animated by a desire to avenge their wrongs, the Maratha bands spread over the vast territories from Khāndesh to the south coast, over Gujarāt, Bāglan, Gondvan, and the Karnatak, devastating Mughal stations, destroying their armies, exacting tribute, plundering Mughal treasures, animals and stocks of camp equipage."[146] Aurangzīb began to realize that while he could easily win a battle over the Marāthās, it was very difficult for him, even with his vast resources, to cope with their guerilla tactics, particularly as they were very familiar with the lay-out and communications of the country, had the active and enthusiastic support of the people wherever they went and were inured to hardships, bad weather and simple food.

Moreover, Aurangzīb's shrewd attempts to win over the Marāthās by temptations of all kinds, though at first successful to a certain extent, gradually failed, as stern measures were taken to punish the wives, children and even other relations of the deserters, and the traitors to the cause of the Marāthās, if caught, were terribly persecuted. The justice or morality of the steps taken may be questioned, but they proved successful to a very large extent.

The guerilla warfare, which was the main cause of Aurangzīb's discomfiture in the long run, in spite of brilliant victories against Marāthā troops in battle, became the typical method of Marāthā aggressive warfare for more than a century and a half and led them to success after success all over India till their dream of establishing a *Hindu Pad Pādshāhī* was almost on the point of being realized. Though the beginnings of this type of warfare may be traced back to the days of Shivājī, it was fully developed in the last stages of the Mughul campaign in Mahārāshtra, particularly during the reign of Rājārām. It has been described as follows by Chitnis in his *Rajaram's Life* in the following words:

"The Mughal forces are huge in numbers, standing firm only in open ground. The Marathas on the other hand suddenly erupt at one place today and tomorrow elsewhere some fifty miles away. Then they come round again and execute unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight, plunder and fly away. They fall upon foraging parties, attack weakly held Mughal posts, capture strategic points and thus inspire confidence among their followers. They devastate Mughal territory from the river Godavari to Bhaganagar (Hyderabad), carrying away pack animals, horses and elephants, create confusion among the enemy, and remain concealed in unfrequented thickets widely apart and make a sudden dash upon the Mughal armies proceeding towards Jinji (Gingee), occasionally engaging in an open encounter and anyhow preventing them from reaching their destination. The Emperor (Aurangzīb) found himself nonplussed how to overcome these pests. They seemed to be ubiquitous and illusive like the wind. When the attacking Mughal forces had gone back, the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed again and resumed their attack as before."[147] Things came to such a pass that sometimes the Mughul commanders would rather bribe the Marāthās than fight them.

Santāji Ghorpade, the *Senāpati,* mentioned above, was reputed to be a "perfect master of guerilla warfare" and the fame of his wonderful achievements reverberated throughout Mahārāshtra. But, unfortunately, his biting tongue and boastful demeanour not only irritated his colleagues but even his superiors including Rājārām. The climax was reached when in the course of an altercation with his King, Rājārām, he bluntly told him: "Your position is all due to me. I can make and unmake Chhatrapati." This was too much even for the mild king. He dismissed Santājī and appointed Dhanājī as *Senāpati* in his place. This led to a quarrel between these two; from words they came to blows; and there was a free fight between them in June, 1696, in which Dhanājī was defeated and one of his prominent partisans was taken prisoner and trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. This unfortunate episode need not be pursued further and described in detail. Suffice it to say that Rājārām issued orders to capture Santājī, who fled from place to place, fought with the royal force, was defeated and ultimately killed under circumstances not exactly known.[148]

But this tragic incident did not affect the guerilla warfare of the Marāthās against the Mughuls. After the fall of Gingee Rājārām came back and, as Rāigarh was in the Mughul possession, established his seat of Government at Satara (1698). The war against the Mughuls was carried on with full vigour by several young Marāthā leaders who were destined to win name and fame in future. In a letter dated 22 December, 1699, Rājārām writes: "We have launched the full force of our armies against the Emperor.... led a furious attack upon the imperial camp ... captured the Emperor's own daughter; fell upon a convoy of ten thousand pack animals carrying supplies.... The enemy has lost all courage, and can make no effect against fort Satara. We now take no account of this powerful emperor whom, God willing, we shall soon put to rout."[149]

Subsequent events proved that Rājārām's boast was not without justification. But, unfortunately, he was not destined to witness the final triumph. He died shortly afterwards on 2 March, 1700, at the age of thirty. Rājārām's reign was an eventful one, paving the way for the future greatness of the Marāthās. But the credit for this must be given not so much to the king as to his wise counsellors and brave generals. According to Sardesai, "he possessed no dash or initiative, nor did he evince any personal valour.... There is not a single occasion recorded in his life on which Rājārām showed personal daring or capacity for government. ...His mind and body were both weak, due possibly to dissipation and the use of opium to which he is said to have been addicted. His virtue was of a negative kind, non-interference."[150]

One significant innovation in military administration made by Rājārām was big with future consequences. He introduced the system of granting lands to military commanders in lieu of cash money which was definitely opposed to the policy initiated by Shivājī and hitherto pursued. Its origin may, perhaps, be traced to the policy of Aurangzīb to make grants of lands to the Marāthā leaders to induce them to join the Mughuls. As a counterpoise the Marāthā Government probably felt it necessary to offer similar inducements. So they encouraged the Marāthā leaders to conquer lands from the Mughuls by holding out the promise that the lands so acquired would be their hereditary property. Perhaps want of funds to provide for the expenses of the Marāthā generals was an additional ground for such promise. For it is known that the leaders of Marāthā troops borrowed money on the mortgage of their prospective conquests, and it is very natural that the hope of acquiring hereditary property would add zeal and ardour to their military enterprises. But whatever may be the origin of the new policy, there is hardly any doubt that it led to the great Marāthā houses like those of Sindhia and Holkar, which led to the rapid extension of the Marāthā dominions in future, and at the same time it was the main cause of the disintegration of the Marāthā Empire.

But all these were in the womb of futurity when Rājārām died and, as stated above (p. 296), was succeeded by his son, four years old, bearing the proud name of his illustrious grandfather, Shivājī (III). It did not mean, at least theoretically, the deliberate exclusion of Shāhū, the son of Shambhūjī, for he was then in confinement in the Mughul camp. Tārā Bāi, the mother of the infant king, was a very capable administrator and "for a time inspired greater vigour and enthusiasm among the whole Marāthā nation than her husband had done."[151] All the generals and leaders rallied round her and the war against the Mughuls was carried on as before. "Tārā Bāi exhibited wonderful powers of organization and inspired one and all with a sense of devotion to the national service."[152] She managed the State with singular ability, a fact testified to even by Muslim writers. She herself guided the military operations moving to different forts and directing operations. To her belongs, to a large extent, the credit of the triumphant emergence of the Marāthās from the great fight with the Mughuls which practically terminated with the death of Aurangzīb in 1707.

IV THE JĀTS

1. *Origin and Early History*

The Jāts are a hardy tribe, pre-eminently agricultural, and well known for their valour, indefatigable energy, martial spirit and untiring perseverance. They are mostly tall, with fair complexion, dark eyes, long head, and "narrow and prominent but not very long" nose.[153] "The region mainly occupied by them may be roughly defined as bounded on the north by the lower ranges of the Himalayas, on the west by the Indus, on the south by a line drawn from Haidarabad (Sindh) to Ajmir and thence to Bhopal, and on the east by the Ganges."[154]

The tribal feeling is very strong among them and although all of them do not belong to the same religious fraternity but prefer different religions, viz, Hinduism, Sikhism and Islām, they cling tenaciously to their "tribal name as a proud heritage, and with it the tradition of Kinship."[155] Another important trait of their character is strong individualism. "The Jāt is, of all the Punjab races, the most impatient of the tribal or communal control and the one which asserts the freedom of the individual most strongly....He is independent and he is self-willed, but he is reasonable, and peaceably inclined if left alone."[156]

The system of caste distinction is not in vogue in the Jāt society, and so all the Jāts are on a footing of equality in so far as their social status is concerned. In their rural organisation they prefer election of headmen to succession by hereditary right. The origin of the Jāts, like that of the Rājputs, has been a subject of keen controversy. Some regard them as descendants of the nomadic Scythian hordes of Central Asia who invaded India through the north-western passes like the Śakas and the Hūṇas and settled in India. The close resemblance of the name alone is perhaps responsible for the theory that their forefathers were the nomadic Getae of the Oxus region. On the other hand, similarity of physical features, language and, to a certain extent, of religious and social institutions, lends support to the theory of Aryan origin of the Jāts, and eminent authorities like Dr. Trumpp, Beames, Sir Herbert Risley and Dr. Qanungo are in favour of it on most or all of these scientific grounds. It is on the whole more reasonable to regard the Jāts as Aryan settlers in India and not foreign invaders of a subsequent age like the Śakas and the Hūṇas.[157]

The Jāts claim that they are descendants of the ancient Yādavas. The Bharatpur princes, for example, regard themselves as of the same race as the Yādavas.[158] But we need not attach much historical value to such traditions, unsupported by positive evidence.

From the scanty information which we derive from different sources it does not appear that the Jāts played any significant role in the history of India prior to the reign of Aurangzīb, although stray incidents of their undaunted valour are referred to at different times.

In the third decade of the eleventh century they were bold enough to attack the army of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī on his return journey from Somnāth. It was to punish them that in the autumn of A.D. 1026 he undertook his seventeenth expedition to India. Both Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad and Firishta say that he marched to Multan with a large force, and on his arrival there, he constructed a fleet of fourteen hundred boats, each of which was furnished with iron spikes, projecting from the prow and sides. There were twenty archers in each boat, with bows and arrows, grenades, and naphtha. On receipt of information of this armament, the Jāts sent their families, together with their valuable articles, into the neighbouring islands, and, with a flotilla of four thousand boats according to some, and eight thousand according to others, met the enemies. A serious naval engagement followed in which they (the Jāts) were defeated, and almost all of them were either drowned or slain, and their women and children made captives.[159]

After the fall of Pṛithvīrāj in the second battle of Tarain in A.D. 1192, the Jāts of Hariyana, under their leader Jatwan, invaded Hansi and compelled its Muslim governor to take shelter in the fortress. Qutb-ud-dīn marched post-haste to his relief, and, on his approach the Jāt leader raised the siege and met him in an engagement in which, after a bloody contest, Jatwan was defeated and killed.[160]

Later on, references are found about their predatory habits in different places and in different times. Their activities seemed to have been kept in check to a great extent during the strong administration of the Surs and the Mughuls. As in the case of the Sikhs,[161] so in the case of the Jāts, the bigotry of Aurangzīb and the consequent disabilities, humiliations and sufferings of the Hindus excited the Jāts and caused great discontent among them.

The Mughul government had been following a policy "which left behind it a legacy of undying hatred.[162] One *faujdār* of Mathura, Murshid Qulī Khān Turkman (who died in 1638) had offended the Jāts by abduction of women from the villages and religious gatherings at Govardhan on the birth day of Śrī Kṛishṇa.[163] Abdun Nabi Khān, another *faujdār* of Mathura (August, 1660—May, 1669) "built a Jama Masjid in the heart of the city of Mathura (1661-1662) on the ruins of a Hindu temple. Later, in 1666, he forcibly removed the carved stone railing presented by Dara Shukoh to Keshab Rai's temple."[164] All these at last goaded the Jāts to break out into open rebellion.

2. *Revolt*

(a) *Gokla*

In 1669, the Jāt peasants rose under their leader Gokla, the Zamindar of Tilpat. Abdun Nabi, who opposed them, was slain in the action. The rebels then sacked the *parganā* of Saidabad, and disorder and confusion followed in the neighbouring district of Āgra also. Aurangzīb dispatched a powerful army under Radandaz Khān to suppress them, but it was of no avail, and the situation became so critical that the emperor himself had to proceed to the disturbed area. With undaunted courage, Gokla assembled twenty thousand men, met the imperialists at a place twenty miles off from Tilpat and fought against them most heroically, but his men were no match for the disciplined and well-equipped Mughul army led by Hasan 'Alī Khān, the *faujdār* of Mathura. Being defeated in the sanguinary battle, Gokla fled to Tilpat which was then besieged by the imperialists and it fell after three days. The imperialists lost 4,000 men while Gokla lost 5,000. Seven thousand Jāts, including the leader Gokla and his family, were made prisoners. Gokla was eventually slain at Āgra, and the members of his family converted to Islam.[165]

(b) *Rājārām*

But the spirit which Gokla had infused into his men did not die with him, and after several years, other capable leaders stepped into his place. They were Rājārām, son of Bhajja Singh, Chief of Sinsanī, and Rām Chehra, Chief of Sogor.[166] They gave military training to the Jāt peasants, equipped them with fire-arms, and gave them the semblance of an organized and regular army. They also built several small forts (*garhi*) in the midst of deep forests and erected mud walls around them for defence against artillery. These forts served as refuges in times of necessity, bases for military operations and places for storage of their booty. The road from Delhi to Āgra and Dholpur, and thence via Mālwa to the Deccan lay through the Jāt country, and the Jāts carried on plundering raids on this highway and the suburbs of Āgra. The emperor's long stay in the Deccan and consequent military weakness in Northern India had encouraged them to plunder the ill-guarded rich convoys passing through their country. Safi Khān, the governor of Āgra, was unable to check the lawless activities of Rājārām who had closed the roads to traffic, sacked many villages, and proceeded towards Sikandra, but Mir Abu-'l-Fazl, the *faujdār* of the place, succeeded in driving him back only after a stiff fight, thus saving the tomb of Akbar from being plundered.[167]

Rājārām became more daring and attacked Aghar Khān, the great Turānī warrior, near Dholpur, while on his way from Kābul to Bijāpur, and not only carried off a booty consisting of carts, horses and women but also slew the Khān with his son-in-law and eighty followers, when he was pursuing the raiders (1687).[168] Mīr Ibrāhīm, entitled Mahābat Khān, was also attacked, near Sikandra, on his way to the Punjab, but the raiders were driven back after a hard contest. After this, Rājārām sacked the tomb of Akbar, and damaging the building, carried away carpets, lamps, precious stones, and gold and silver vessels, etc. (1688).[169]

Highly perturbed at the atrocious deeds of the Jāts, Aurangzīb sent his grandson, Bīdār Bakht, to take charge of the military operations against them. Although the prince was a lad of seventeen only, he proved worthy of the charge imposed on him, and tried his best to improve the situation. An internecine war was then going on between the Shekhāwat and Chauhān clans of Rājputs in which the Shekhāwat clan secured the support of the Mughul *faujdār* of Mewāt, and the Chauhān clan that of Rājārām. When a severe battle was going on between the contending parties, the Jāt leader was killed by a Mughul musketeer (July, 1688).[170]

Bīdār Bakht then besieged the fort of Sinsanī but the Jāts harassed the Mughuls in every possible manner, by cutting off their food and water supplies and making incessant night attacks in their camps. In spite of these hardships, the Mughuls continued their siege operations with great tenacity, and at last captured the fort (1690).[171] Bishun Singh Kachhwā, *Rājā* of Ambar (Jaipur), who had been appointed *faujdār* of Mathura with special duty of suppressing the Jāts, surprised the fort of Sogor when its gate was found open to receive its supply of grain (21 May, 1691).[172]

Thus fell the two important strongholds of the Jāts, and their power was humbled for the time being but not crushed permanently. They remained quiet for some years till another formidable man arose to lead them.

(c) *Churāman*

This was Churāman (1695-1721), the son of Bhajja Singh and younger brother of Rājārām. Churāman started his career as a freebooter, and, within a short time, brought under his leadership one thousand infantry and five hundred horsemen. At first, he used to plunder wayfarers and merchant caravans, but, later on, when his strength increased, he sacked *parganās* also. He built a place of refuge in the midst of a thick forest about forty-eight *Kos* from Āgra and dug a deep moat around this refuge which was gradually made into a mud fort, subsequently known as Bharatpur.[173]

"Being more enterprising than those who had preceded him, he not only increased the number of his soldiers, but also strengthened them by the addition of fusiliers (musketeers) and a troop of cavalry, whom he shortly afterwards set on foot and having robbed many of the ministers of the Court on the road, he attacked the royal wardrobe and the revenue sent from the provinces."[174]

He re-occupied Sinsanī from the imperialists but could not retain it long and lost it again in October, 1705.

He had great capacity for organization and was a practical politician, who made "clever use of opportunities", whenever possible. Many of his activities and the full development of his power were seen after the death of Aurangzīb when the disturbed political conditions in the Mughul Empire due to the wars of succession among the sons of this emperor, and then among the descendants of Bahādur Shāh, afforded him suitable opportunities to achieve his objective.

The history of Churāman after the death of Aurangzīb will be treated in Vol. VIII.

V. THE BUNDELĀS

1. *Early History*

The origin of the Bundelā clan is extremely obscure. They themselves claim to be a branch of the Gaharwār clan and to have migrated from the country round Banaras. It is said that one Sohan Pāl came down to the Western part of the region, which later came to be called Bundelkhand, and about A.D. 1292 he managed to establish a small independent principality there. In the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., one Rudra Pratāp, ninth in descent from Sohan Pāl, rose to eminence, and in 1531 founded the town of Orchha and made it his capital. All the existing Bundelā ruling families are the direct descendants of Rudra Pratāp.

The Bundelās as a race possess sturdy physique and indomitable courage. The environs of their new surroundings greatly encouraged and fostered their restless spirit of adventure and enterprise. Bundelkhand was an absolutely wild tract and especially difficult of access in the rainy season. Its dense forests, the rapid streams and the steep hills shielded them from all outside invaders.

When Akbar ascended the Mughul throne, Rudra Pratāp's second son, Madhukar Shāh, was ruling at Orchha. Under his leadership the Bundelās gathered strength, extended their territories and were forged into a formidable force. All this raised Madhukar Shāh's political importance. After repeated Mughul expeditions he was forced into submission in 1578, but even later, more than one expedition had to be sent to keep him under check.

2. *Bīr Singh Bundelā*

Madhukar Shāh's reckless adventurous spirit was inherited by his second son, Bīr Singh, who took up the life of a freebooter soon after his father's death in 1592. Later, when Prince Salīm revolted against his father and set up his own Court at Allahabad, Bīr Singh took up service with him. Later, in 1602, at the instigation of Salīm, Bīr Singh intercepted Abu-'l-Fazl, then returning to Āgra from the Deccan, and murdered him near Antri (about 16 miles south of Gwālior). The Mughul forces relentlessly pursued Bīr Singh for this outrage during next three years but without any success. On Akbar's death, however, when Salīm ascended the throne as Jahāngīr, fortune smiled on Bīr Singh, who was duly rewarded with 3-*hāzāri manṣab*. Two years later Bīr Singh was made the ruler of Orchha State, thus replacing his elder brother, Rājā Rām Chandra (also known as Rām Shāh), who had to rest contented with the small principality of Chanderi.

Bīr Singh was a great favourite of Jahāngīr and hence 'he acquired such power as scarcely any other of the Rajas of India attained to.' The Bundelā power reached its zenith under him. He grew in wealth and power, and in later days when the imperial administration grew slack, he extended his own territories and brought under his rule vast neighbouring fertile tracts and even levied contributions from the neighbouring princes. He was a great builder as well. The palace-fortress and temple at Orchha and the magnificent palace at Datia were all built by him, and are most noteworthy as marking a definite stage in the evolution of mixed Hindu-Mughul architecture with peculiar elaborations characteristic of the local style. Bīr Singh was permitted by Jahāngīr to build a temple in Mathura at a cost of 33 lakhs of rupees, which was later turned into a mosque by Aurangzīb. Bīr Singh was a great patron of Hindī poetry; the great Hindī poet, Keshav, was a jewel of his Court.

Bīr Singh's reign, glorious as it was, left behind a legacy of bitter family feuds, which more than once threatened the very existence of the premier Bundelā State of Orchha. The descendants of the displaced ruler, Rājā Rām Chandra, and the other branches of the Orchha family formed an opposition group against Bīr Singh and his successors, and whenever any opportunity presented itself they asserted their own independence and cut themselves off from the parent State. Thus, the independent principalities of Chanderi, Datia and others ceased to follow the lead of the rulers of Orchha, and when occasion demanded they did not even hesitate to assist the Mughul forces in invading Orchha State.

3. *Jujhār Singh*

On Bīr Singh's death in 1627, his eldest son, Jujhār Singh, succeeded him. He went down to Āgra and paid homage to the new Emperor Shāh Jahān. He was confirmed in his rank and *jāgir* but soon after he left the capital without permission and began to prepare for his own independence at Orchha. In 1629 more than one imperial force began to close down on Orchha from different sides. Irich was attacked and taken. Any further opposition seemed useless and Jujhār Singh was forced into submission. He agreed to pay a large tribute and to send down a contingent of his force on service with the imperial army in the Deccan.

But Jujhār Singh could not long remain quiet. In 1634, he took the old Gond capital, Chaurāgarh, slew its Rājā, Prem Nārāyan, and seized his treasures. Shāh Jahān sent three armies to invade Bundelkhand from three different sides, wth Prince Aurangzīb as their nominal supreme commander. Devī Singh Bundelā, the great-grandson of Rājā Rām Chandra, who was offered the throne of Orchha, most readily assisted the imperial armies in this invasion. Thereupon, Jujhār Singh lost heart and removed his family from Orchha, which was stormed and taken by the Mughul troops in October, 1635. Jujhār Singh fled to Dhamuni and thence across the Narmada to Chaurāgarh. Mughul forces pursued him even further through the Gond country of Deogarh and Chanda. Jujhār Singh and his son Bikramajit were finally surprised by the Gonds when asleep in the jungles and done to death in December, 1635.

4. *Champat Rai Bundelā*

Devī Singh was installed as the ruler of Orchha (October, 1635), but the nobles of the Bundelās refused to bow to the traitor. They now rallied round Champat Rāi Bundelā of Mahoba, the great-grandson of Udayajit, the third son of Rudra Pratāp. Champat Rāi had all along been a close associate of Rājā Bīr Singh Dev and had earned the reputation of being a brave fighter and courageous leader of men. He had developed his small *jāgīr* into a principality of his own and had extended the bounds of its territories into eastern Bundelkhand at the expense of the Rājās who were still ruling there. He delighted in opposing the Mughul forces and fought both times on the side of Jujhār Singh, but he did not follow him in his flight. He crowned Jujhār Singh's infant son, Pṛithvīrāj, and raided the territories of Orchha. In the meanwhile, as Devī Singh had failed to restore peace and order in the Orchha State, it was taken out of his control and he reverted to his principality of Chanderi. Orchha continued to be without any ruler for the next six years.

All efforts of the various successive Mughul officers to restore peace and order in Bundelkhand failed. The boy-ruler, Pṛithvīrāj, was captured (April, 1640) and lodged in State prison at Gwālior, but Champat Rāi had escaped and was still at large. At last in May, 1642, Rājā Pahār Singh Bundelā, the younger brother of Jujhār Singh, who had all along loyally served the Mughul empire, was appointed the ruler of Orchha. Within a month Champat Rāi submitted to him and entered into his service with the approval of the Emperor. Peace and order was thus restored in Bundelkhand.

But the good relations thus established between Pahār Singh and Champat Rāi did not last long. Champat Rāi left Pahār Singh, took up service with Dārā, and accompanied him to the third siege of Qandahār. Bitter animosity now prevailed between Pahār Singh and Champat Rāi, and the former managed to bring Champat Rāi into disfavour with Dārā. Pahār Singh died soon after (1654), but Champat Rāi had his vengeance on Dārā four years later when he showed to Aurangzīb an obscure and out-of-the way, but a safe ford of the Chambal for his forces to cross it (May, 1658).

Champat Rāi fought for Aurangzīb in the battle of Sāmogarh and continued to be on his side till the advance of Shujā' towards Khajuhā, when he deserted from the army of Aurangzīb and returned home to take up his old game of robbery. He made extensive raids and rendered the Mālwa roads extremely unsafe. He robbed the territories of other Bundelā Chiefs also as freely as the Mughul dominions. But this could not continue long and in February, 1659, Aurangzīb sent a Mughul force under Subhakaran Bundelā against him, which was further reinforced some time later by Rājā Devī Singh Bundelā and other troops from Mālwa. Champat Rāi now became anxious to make peace, but all his overtures were turned down. He moved from one place to another, seeking shelter, but was relentlessly pursued and even his one-time friends and relatives declined to give him refuge. Most of the local Bundelā Chieftains, too, joined in this hunt. Finally, about the middle of October, 1661, he ended his life by committing suicide.

5. *Chhatra Sāl: his career up to 1707 A.D.*

Thus perished Champat Rāī, but his fourth son, Chhatra Sāl, who had accompanied his father in his last flight, escaped his father's enemies. A few years later, at the request of Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh, he was enlisted in the Mughul army and accompanied him to the Deccan. He fought well in the Purandhar campaign (1665) and the invasion of Deogarh (1667). But Chhatra Sāl did not feel happy while serving the Mughuls. He longed for a life of adventure and independence like that of Shivājī; hence he visited Shivājī and sought to enter his service (1670). Shivājī, however, advised him to return to his own country and promote local risings against Aurangzīb so as to distract the Mughul forces. Chhatra Sāl's efforts to win over loyal but experienced Bundelā leaders, like Subhakaran, to join him in his plan for a national rising against the Mughul Empire, failed. All the enthusiasm and efforts of Chhatra Sāl would have ended in nothing, had Aurangzīb not unwittingly come to his help by launching at this very moment upon the policy of temple-destruction which aroused universal indignation among the Hindus, and those of Bundelkhand and Mālwa prepared to defend the places of their religious worship. Hence, when Chhatra Sāl appeared in their midst to oppose the Mughul empire, he was hailed as the champion of Hindu faith and Bundelā liberty. The rebels elected him as their king. Memories of Champat Rāi were once again revived and the hopes of gains from plunder soon gathered round Chhatra Sāl vast hordes of Bundelās and discontented Afghāns who had settled down in these parts.

Chhatra Sāl's earlier raids were mostly directed against the Dhamuni district and the rich city of Sironj. The Mughul officers in charge of these places were unable to successfully resist Chhatra Sāl. Many petty chiefs now joined Chhatra Sāl and like the Marāthās he levied *chauth* and spared the places that paid it to him. As Aurangzīb became more and more deeply entangled in the Deccan, Chhatra Sāl took fullest advantage of the opportunity. He captured Kālinjar and Dhamuni and even looted Bhilsa. The range of his raids now extended up to Mālwa. In 1699, however, Chhatra Sāl had to face a temporary reverse at the hands of Sher Afghān, the *faujdār* of Ranod, but a year later, in the return fight, Sher Afghān was killed and there was none left in these parts of the country who would dare oppose Chhatra Sāl. Finally, in 1705, Firūz Jang induced Aurangzīb to make peace with this irrepressible Bundelā. Chhatra Sāl was granted 4-*hāzārī Manṣab* and he visited the emperor in the Deccan. He stayed there in peace till the death of Aurangzīb, when he returned to Buldelkhand.

6. *Bundelkhand in A.D. 1707*

Since the time of Akbar, Bundelkhand had been included in the *sūba* of Allahabad. The position had remained unchanged even in 1707. At this time, however, Bundelkhand itself was roughly divided into two main political units, eastern and western. In eastern Bundelkhand, Chhatra Sāl had carved out a big kingdom for himself. The long period of his continued opposition to the Mughul rule ended in 1705, and now there followed a period of about fifteen years during which Chhatra Sāl fully co-operated with the Mughul Empire. In western Bundelkhand there were two large Bundelā States, Orchha and Datia, which had remained undisturbed for the last fifty years, save what depredations Chhatra Sāl or his associates committed there during their innumerable raids. Rājā Udaut Singh was then ruling over Orchha and he continued to guide its destinies for another thirty years. Datia State once formed part of the Orchha State, but it had lately emerged as a separate State, mainly due to the continued loyal brilliant services of its two successive rulers, Rāo Subhakaran and his son Rāo Dalpat. Dalpat, however, was killed in the battle of Jajau, and for once in 1707 Datia was threatened with internal strife due to disputed succession. Again, there was the petty State of Chanderi ruled over by the descendants of Rājā Devī Singh, who was installed as the ruler of Orchha in 1735. There were also numerous other small *jāgīrs* and zamindāris interspersed with the imperial lands, which only added to the difficulties and disorders of the province.

APPENDIX

AKBAR'S MEWĀR POLICY

If one may use a modern term, Akbar opened his "peace offensive" against the Rājasthān States in 1562, when he married the daughter of Rājā Bharmal of Ambar. Abu-'l-Fazl writes that Bharmal offered his daughter (*AN*, tr. II, 243), but it is more probable that he was induced to do so and, in any case, there must have been exchange of diplomatic agents and views before the Rājā offered his daughter to Akbar.

During the next five years Akbar was busy with subduing various rebellions, and consolidating his position; but during this period, too, he remitted the pilgrim tax in 1563 and the *jizya* in 1564 (*AN*, II, 295, 317). There was, however, no response from the Rājasthān princes to these generous moves. Ultimately he must have been persuaded that force of arms was necessary to subdue Rājasthān, and that if Mewār were conquered other States would submit peacefully. This calculation was not wrong, for after the fall of Chitor several important Rājput States submitted voluntarily to Akbar (*AN*, II, 518, 522). Still Mewār was not conquered.

For the next few years Akbar was busy elsewhere and could afford to ignore Uday Singh. However, Akbar re-opened his "peace offensive" against Rājasthān after crushing the Gujarāt rebellion in 1573. Uday Singh had died the previous year, and Akbar possibly expected his son to submit tamely. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, several officers including Mān Singh, Jagannāth and Gopāl were ordered by Akbar to proceed from Gujarāt to Dungārpur by way of Īdar and from there to Āgra. Abu-'l-Fazl adds: "The Rana and other zamindars of the neighbourhood were to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, and the disobedient were to be punished." (*AN*, tr. III, 48-9). Mān Singh was opposed at Dungārpur, but he defeated the local army. He then went to Udaipur where he was by all accounts received cordially by *Mahārānā* Pratāp. Abu-'l-Fazl states that the *Mahārānā* "put on the royal *khilat*", but "owing to his evil nature he proceeded to make excuses (about not going to court) alleging that 'his well-wishers would not suffer him to go.'" (*AN*, tr. III, 57). Rājput chronicles are unanimous that Mān Singh took umbrage at Pratāp's refusal to sit with him to dine. It is not difficult to reconcile the two versions, but the main point is that both the Mughul and Mewār versions agree that at first the *Mahārānā* received Mān Singh with at least outward show of cordiality, but refused to attend the Mughul court.

However, the *Mahārānā's* behaviour must have been such as to make Akbar believe that he could still be persuaded to accept his terms. So a few months after Mān Singh's mission, his father Rājā Bhagwān Dās, after subduing Īdar, came to Gogūnda, the temporary capital of the *Mahārānā*. Abu-'l-Fazl writes that the *Mahārānā* expressed his contrition, and sent with Bhagwān Dās his son (*AN*, tr. III, 93). In the previous paragraph (ibid, 92) Abu-'l-Fazl has mentioned that Bhagwān Dās presented to Akbar "Umra, the son and heir of the Rana." But this Umrā or Amar was most probably the son of the Rājā of Īdar, whom Bhagwān Dās had just defeated. Before we discuss this point, we shall only note another mission sent by Akbar to the *Mahārānā.*

Shortly after Bhagwān Dās, Todar Mal also met the *Mahārānā*, but failed to accomplish anything. (*AN*, tr. III, 93). It is possible to conclude from Abu-'l-Fazl's laconic reference to Todar Mal's visit to the *Mahārānā* that the resources of diplomacy were exhausted and the issue could only be decided by war.

The point, however, to be considered is how far the *Mahārānā* was ready to accommodate the Mughul demand. Did he really send his son, Amar Singh, or agree to do so? The probability is against such a conclusion for the reasons given below.

In this connection Kavirāj Shyāmaldās justly points out the following statement in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*:

"The real point was that as Rana Amar Singh and his father, proud in the strength of their hilly country and their abodes, had never seen or obeyed any of the kings of Hindustān, this should be brought about in my reign." (*Tūzuk,* tr. I, 274). It is apparent, therefore, that Amar had never visited the Mughul court. Sir Thomas Roe, who was with Jahāngīr, when Karna, the son of *Mahārānā* Amar, came to the court also writes that this was the first time a descendant of Porus (i.e. Karna) visited the Mughul court. It is also to be noted that in 1614, peace was concluded by Prince Khurram with *Mahārānā* Amar Singh on practically identical terms, namely that he would send his son Karna to the Mughul court but would not attend himself, and Jahāngīr took it to be a great triumph, which indirectly shows that *Mahārānā* Pratāp never offered such terms.

There is another factor which has not yet been noticed by any historian. *Mahārānā* Pratāp had an unusually huge elephant called Rāmparsād, which was captured by the Mughul army during the battle of Haldīghāt, and brought to Akbar by the historian Badāūnī. In this connection Badāūnī writes: "....I came back to Fathpur with news of victory and brought with me the well-known elephant (the subject of dispute) from Rana Kika" (Badāūnī, tr. II, 234-35). A little later, Badāūnī again states: "Then the Amirs wished to send to the Emperor the elephant named Ram-parsad which had come into their hands with the spoil (and which His Imperial Highness had several times demanded of the Rana and he, unfortunately for him, had declined to surrender it)....," Badāūnī tr. II, 241. It is evident from Badāūnī that according to him the elephant was the cause of dispute. This may not be wholly true, but Abu-'l-Fazl corroborates Badāūnī to some extent, for describing the battle of Haldīghāt he states: "....Ram Parshad... that noted elephant—which had often been a subject of conversation in the sacred assemblies...." (*AN*, tr. III, 246) and among the booty brought by Badāūnī, he specially mentions Rām Parshād (ibid, 247). By sacred assembly, Abu-'l-Fazl meant Akbar's court. It is evident that the *Mahārānā* had refused to surrender to Akbar an elephant, though Akbar's weakness for elephants was quite well known. Is it likely that such an uncompromising man would agree to send his son to the Mughul court? We do not think so. Added to this is Abu-'l-Fazl's silence as to when Amar returned to his father. It seems to us, therefore, that Abu-'l-Fazl's uncorroborated testimony that Pratāp sent his eldest son to Akbar's court is wrong.

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1. *Memoirs of Bābur,* pp. 612-13. Bābur refers to Karmavatī as Padmāvatī.
2. Ibid., pp. 616-17.
3. Bayley, *Gujarat,* p. 350. *T.A.* III, pt.i, 350; pt.ii, 610-11. An inscription mentioned by Ojha (*History of Udaipur* p. 291) records the repair of certain Jain temples at Satrunjaya by Ratna Singh's minister Karma Singh with the help of a *farmān* of Bahādur. Ojha rightly points out that this *farmān* must have been issued at the instance of Ratna Singh probably during these negotiations.
4. According to the *Virvinod* (II, 5) a Rājput tradition persists that Sūrya Mal, afraid of the growing tension with Ratna Singh, induced his sister Karmavatī to send a *rākhi* to Humāyūn. But apparently nothing came out of this.
5. Bayley, *Gujarat,* 357.
6. Ibid., 370.
7. Ibid., *Virvinod,* II, 27.
8. "Tātār Khān expected that, as the Rānā had a large force at his disposal, he would offer battle and oppose his advance, but no opposition was made." Bayley, op. cit. 370.
9. Muhanote Nensi mentions (*Khyat,* Hindi tr. I, 54) that Vikramāditya's brother Uday Singh was given to Bahādur as hostage. But not only no other Rājput source, but not even any Persian source, mentions this event. Further, Nensi's statement that Bahādur's intention was to convert Uday Singh and adopt him as his (Bahādur's) successor seems to be quite improbable. Nensi further adds that Uday Singh, on learning of Bahādur's intention, fled from his camp, which led Bahādur to besiege Chitor for a second time.

   This may appear plausible, for Bahādur was offered practically the same terms which he ultimately obtained, before he opened the siege, and then suddenly returned, which apparently seems inexplicable. But Bahādur had good reasons to draw out of Chitor, as during his absence, Nizām Shāh had invaded Gujarāt.

   For a discussion of Nensi's story, see Ojha, *History of Udaipur,* I, 396, f.n. 3. Ojha also rejects Nensi's story partly on the grounds mentioned above. For Bahādur's personal obligation to Karmavatī, see Bayley, op. cit., pp. 305, 372.
10. *Virvinod,* II, 29.
11. Bahādur committed the same mistake, when after the fall of Chitor, instead of attacking Humāyūn, he prepared a strong defensive position relying on his artillery to drive off Mughul attacks. As a result, soon he was reduced to such straits, that one night he had to flee from his camp, and his army, till then victorious, never recovered from this shock.
12. *Virvinod,* II, 63-64. Muhanote Nensi, *Khyat,* Hindi, tr. I, 57. Ojha, *History of Udaipur,* I, 404.
13. Abbas Sherwani, *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, HIED,* IV, 406; Qanungo, *Sher Shah,* p. 332; Ojha op. cit., p. 406; G. N. Sharma, *Mewar and the Mughul Emperors,* p. 61. According to Sherwani, followed by Dr. Qanungo, Sher Shāh left Mewār in charge of two Muslim officers. There is nothing however to indicate that Uday Singh was driven out of Chitor. It is likely that these two officers were political agents.

    Though no chronicles record it, it is quite probable that Uday Singh had come to an understanding with Sher Shāh before he sent him the key. Sher Shāh's fight with Māldev had been a very close affair, and he must have thought it politic to be a friend of Māldev's enemy.
14. "In Rajputana Sher Shāh made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them to thorough subjection as he had done in other parts of Hindusthan. He found the task dangerous as well as fruitless. He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence", K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah,* 333.
15. AN, Tr. II, 443-44; Ojha, op. cit., 412; V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul;* 82, Sharma, op. cit.;Badāūnī, tr. II, 48.

According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Akbar one day jestingly remarked to Sakta Singh, a son of *Mahārānā* Uday Singh, that though most of the chieftains of India had paid him respect, the *Mahārānā* had not done so, so he proposed to punish him. Thus alarmed, Sakta ran away without leave to warn his father. This enraged Akbar who determined to chastise the *Mahārānā* (*AN,* II, 442; 462). What Abu-'l-Fazl overlooks is that up to 1567, the only State in Rajasthān which had paid homage to Akbar was Ambar.

Nizām-ud-dīn and Badāūnī relate that Akbar was enraged at Uday Singh for his giving asylum to Bāz Bahādur. This may have been a minor cause. What is surprising is first, that Akbar should have suddenly decided to attack Chitor, when from Uday Singh's past records he could have expected a peaceful surrender, and secondly that Uday Singh on his part should have contested the issue in 1567 instead of surrendering as he had done to Sher Shāh in 1543. This indicates that surrendering to Sher Shāh was a token surrender but Uday Singh realized that Akbar's intentions were quite different. If we ignore Tod's account of Uday Singh, which is usually accepted by modern historians, it would appear that instead of being a poltroon, Uday Singh was a cautious but determined man, without the dash and brilliant leadership of his illustrious son, but not altogether an unworthy sire. What is overlooked in the general condemnation of Uday Singh for not sharing the fate of the besieged garrison at Chitor is that he never surrendered to the Mughuls as did most other chiefs of Rājasthān. It seems to us, that under the circumstances, his decision to quit Chitor was the correct one, and the fact that the fort heroically held out for some time shows that he had some power of organization. It may be recalled that *Mahārāna* Pratāp left Kumbhalmer, almost under similar circumstances, but that does not reflect on his honour, and nobody would say of him as V. Smith, following Tod, says of Uday Singh that, "Udai Singh shamelessly abandoned the post of honour and hid himself in distant forests." V. Smith, op. cit. 86.

16. *Virvinod,* II, 75, 83.
17. For reference, see Sharma, op. cit., p. 71.
18. *AN*; tr. II, 466-67, Smith, op. cit., 88. Sharma, op. cit., 76.
19. *Virvinod,* II, 80-81. Ojha (op. cit., 414-15) apparently follows *Virvinod,* though he does not refer to it. Sharma, however, contests Ojha's view on the ground, that no other Rājput source mentions it, and that the *Amarakāvya vaṁśāvalī* states that he died on the spot. The verse quoted by Dr. Sharma, however, is corrupt, (p. 76, f.n. 61) and according to his correction (p. 252) should read as follows:

Dillīśa-saṁyukta-guṭī-prahasāt Śrī-Jaimalākhyo ravi-maṇḍala mahat I
Vibhidya paśchāt tridivaṁ prayātaḥ ..antaḥpure jvālita eva tad bhaṭaiḥ II

There is nothing in the verse to show that Jai Mal died on the spot; on the other hand *paśchāt tridivaṁ prayātaḥ* indicates that though he was hurt by Akbar's shot he died later.

Dr. Sharma's other contention is that no other Rājput source corroborates MM. Ojha. Here he is wrong, for, as pointed out, MM. Ojha probably got his facts from the *Virvinod.* It should be noted that Kavīrāj Shyāmaldās knew the other version and in a footnote remarks that Abu-'l-Fazl being on the enemy side did not know the truth.

20. *Virvinod,* II, 82.
21. Badāūnī, tr. II, 137, AN, II, 513-19; see also Ojha, *History of Bikaner;* I; 155-56.
22. Badāūnī, tr. II, 239.
23. The *Amarakāvya,* quoted by Shyāmaldās, gives certain information about Uday Singh which, if true, would show that he enjoyed considerable local power, *Virvinod* II, 87. Shyāmaldās's evaluation of Uday Singh (*Virvinod,* II, 86) is far nearer the mark than Tod's.
24. The custom in the Mewār royal family is that the successor to the throne does not attend the cremation of the deceased king, Ojha, op. cit., 423, f.n. 3.
25. Sharma (op. cit., 86, f.n., 14) points out that the State emblem "bears testimony to this day to the equal status given to the Bhils where both Pratap and a Bhil are standing on either side of Eklingji, the titular deity of Mewar."
26. "On seeing this circumstance the Rana could no longer hold his ground but left the ranks and fled, and confusion fell on the army of the Rana." Badāūnī, tr. II, 238.
27. Ojha, op. cit. 463-64; for a traditional account of Bhāmashāhā's (Pratāp's Prime Minister) administration of the treasury, *Virvinod,* **251.**

28. See Appendix.
29. *AN*, tr. III, 236-37. Akbar gave Mān Singh written instructions. For a description of the battle of Haldīghāt, see *AN*, tr. III, 244-47; Badāūnī, tr. II, 233-44. V. Smith's description of the actual battle is scanty (Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul,* 148-53) and he relies to some extent on Tod (*Annals of Rajasthan,* Routledge, 1914, I, 264-78) though he avoids Tod's palpable mistakes without pointing them out, as was done by Shyāmaldās (*Virvinod,* II, 154-55). See also Ojha, op. cit., 429-43, for the traditional account of the battle and for a very interesting quotation (p. 441, f.n. 1) from the unpublished Jagadis temple inscription; G. C. Sharma, op. cit., 91-106, gives the best account of the battle. He has consulted several unpublished Rājput chronicles and has discovered an interesting inscription. (p. 91, f.n., 18).
30. Badāūnī, tr. II, 240.
31. Badāūnī, tr. II, 241.
32. Badāūnī, tr. II, 247. Abu-'l-Fazl states: "The officers (i.e. Mān Singh and Āsaf Khān) from prudential motives did not go in quest of him, and on account of the difficulty in transporting provisions they came out of that stony land and reared the standards of victory in the open plain." (*AN*, tr. III, 259-60). This indicates that Mān Singh was forced to evacuate Gogūnda.
33. *AN*, tr. III, 269.
34. *AN*, tr. III, 267.
35. *AN*, tr. III, 272.
36. *AN*, tr. III, 274.
37. *AN*, tr. III, 274-5.
38. *AN*, tr. III, 277.
39. Abu-'l-Fazl does not give the date of Shāhbāz Khān's appointment, *AN*, tr. III, 339. But it is apparent from p. 337 (ibid) that it could not have been long after 11 March, 1578. Sharma (op. cit. 111) gives the date of Shāhbāz Khān's expedition as 15 October, 1577, which is evidently wrong; Sharma does not give any reference for this date.
40. Abu-'l-Fazl states that Bhagwān Dās and Mān Singh were sent back, "lest from their feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber (the Rānā)". AN, tr. III, 339. It appears that Mān Singh was still under some suspicion. It is possible, as stated in the *Tārīkh-i-Nizāmī* that he refused to devastate Mewār (Badāūnī, tr. II, 247, f.n. i). As we have seen, after the battle of Haldīghāt also Mān Singh's action or inaction gave rise to suspicion. *AN*, tr. III, 259-60.

40a. *AN*, tr. III, 340. The *Mahārānā* seems to have left the fort after this accident.

41. For an account of the besieged garrison, see, *Virvinod* II, 257; Ojha, op. cit., 447.
42. *AN*, tr. III, 355, 380. Shāhbāz Khān, like other commanders before him, seems to have thought that with the capture of Kumbhalgarh, Udaipur, etc. his task was finished.
43. Abu-'l-Fazl writes: "Owing to his (Shāhbāz Khān's) energy and good services, Rānā Pertāb became a desert-vagabond, and fell upon evil days. He thought every morning would be his last day, and blistered his feet with running about in terror." *AN*, tr. III, 459-60.
44. *AN*, tr. III, 661.
45. *AN*, tr. III, 705-06.
46. *Virvinod,* II, 159.
47. Ibid, II, 157.
48. *Amareśaḥ Khānkhāna-daranāṁ haraṇāṁ vyadhāt I*
   Suvāsinībat santoshya preshayāmāsa tāḥ punaḥ II
   (Rāj Praśasti, IV, v. 32. *Virvinod,* II, 588).
   Kumārastv-Amareśa nāmā Mlechchhā-bhimāna-
   kshayakāri-dhāmā
   Jagrāha vai Serapurāj-javena sa
   Khāna-khānasya-kalatram āpa
   (*Amarakāvya Vaṁśāvalī,* f. 45 (b).
   Quoted from Sharma, op. cit., 115, f.n. 119. Sharma quotes another Rājasthānī verse to the same effect.)
49. Ojha (op. cit. 467) accepts the same date as given in the *Virvinod,* (II, 164) but gives the Christian date as 19 January. The difference of ten days is probably due to Ojha's converting it into N.S. The *Mahārānā* was born on Jyeshṭha Śukla 13, 1493 V.S. 31 May, 1539).
50. V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul,* 151.
51. For details, see, Sharma, op. cit., 123. Ojha, op. cit., 491, 506.

52. *AN,* tr. III, 1155. It is not possible to find out the date of this expedition but it was in the 45th regnal year which began on 11 March, 1600, ibid, 1233.
53. *AN,* tr. III, 1233-34.
54. For the reasons which led to Sāgar's joining the Mughuls, see, *Virvinod,* II, 219-21. Sāgar is not mentioned in the *AN,* and it is possible that he came to Akbar's notice after the 46th year of Akbar's reign (1601), that is, the end of Abu-'l-Fazl's *Akbar-nāmā.* Sāgar however is several times mentioned in the *Tūzuk,* where he is referred to as Shankar.
55. *Tūzuk,* tr. by Rogers, I, 17.
56. Ibid, 26.
57. Ibid, 29.
58. Ibid, 50.
59. Ibid, 70, 73.
60. Ibid, 74, 90. Shyāmaldās gives a detailed account of Parvīz's campaign which, as he correctly states, is not to be found in Persian chronicles (*Virvinod,* II, 222-224). He states that Parvīz brought Bagha Singh to Jahāngīr (ibid, p. 223). Jahāngīr is silent about Bagha Singh's subsequent fate. Ojha (op. cit. pp. 480-81) is somewhat wrong in stating that Bagha's going to the Mughul court is not mentioned in any Mewār history, for the *Virvinod,* which Ojha has usually followed, definitely mentions him. Sharma (op. cit. 128) mentions that, Parviz, finding no hope of success, opened negotiations through Bagha Singh, but Sharma is silent about his coming to the Mughul court. Jahangir's evidence on this point seems to be conclusive, but it also shows that Amar was not at this time prepared to accept Jahāngīr's terms.
61. *Tūzuk,* tr. I, 76. At this time we find Rāi Singh and his son Dilip rebelling in Nagor, and Jagannāth Kachwa, who was operating against the *Mahārānā* sent to suppress this rebellion (ibid, 76); but Jahāngīr later pardoned them (ibid, 148).
62. *Virvinod,* II, 224 ff.
63. *Tūzuk,* tr. I, 146.
64. Ibid, 146-47.
65. Ibid, 155.
66. *Virvinod,* II, 225. It is stated that some Mewār soldiers entered the Mughul camp as fruit-sellers, really carrying rockets instead of fruits. At night, others, who were outside the camp, tied some lamp round the horns of buffalos and drove them towards the Mughul camp. This was the signal for firing the rockets near Mahābat's tent. When he came out he saw the rockets and moving lights in the forest, and about 500 Mewār soldiers rushing in. He overestimated their strength and ran away.
67. *Maāsir-ul-Umarā,* quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 130, f.n. 40-41. *Virvinod,* II, 225-7.
68. Jahāngīr states that 'Abdullah pursued the *Rānā* into the hills and when night came he (the *Rānā*) escaped with difficulty with his life, *Tūzuk,* tr I, 157.
69. Later Jahāngīr sent to his aid Safdar Khān and Badi'uz-Zamān, *Tūzuk* tr. I. pp. 200-201, 204-05. Shyāmaldās records that in 1884 a priest called Sukhānanda came from Nūrpur (Rājā Basu's capital) who had with him a copper-plate grant of land to one Vyāsa, chief priest of Rājā Basu, by Mahārāṇā Amar Singh. Shyāmaldās has reproduced this grant (*Virvinod,* II, 227-28). He also states that Amar gave an image of Krishṇa called Vrajarāj, which had been worshipped by Mīrābāi, to Rājā Basu which was still in the fort of Nūrpur. If this grant is genuine, then it would appear that Amar had entered into some sort of arrangement with Rājā Basu.
70. For reasons which led Jahāngīr to go to Ajmer, see, *Tūzuk,* tr. I, 249, 255; for sending Khurram, and the conduct of Khān A'zam, ibid 257-58. During his stay at Ajmer, Jahāngīr broke the image of Varāhāvatāra set up by Sāgar, (ibid, 254), or Shankar as he habitually refers to him. This shows the little esteem which Jahāngīr had for Sāgar. Jahāngīr also refers to him now, as one of his 'high nobles'. This indicates that Sāgar had by 1613 given up all pretences to the Mewār throne, or Jahāngīr, in order to arrive at a peace, had withdrawn Sāgar, so that Amar need have no reason to complain on that account.
71. *Tūzuk,* tr. I, 259 260. It should be noted that Jahāngīr not only recalled Khān A'zam, but imprisoned him in Gwālior (ibid, 261). Later, one night he dreamt Akbar saying to him: "Bābā, forgive for my sake the fault of 'Azīz Khān, who is the Khān A'zam." (ibid, 269). Jahāngīr is unlikely to have taken the drastic step of imprisoning Akbar's favourite foster-brother unless he was involved in something more serious than disagreement with Khurram. Khān

A‘zam had been carrying on treasonable correspondence with the ruler of Khāndesh during Akbar's reign and the letters were discovered by Jahāngīr (ibid, 79-80), yet Jahāngīr took no step against him except exposing his perfidy. It is possible that goaded by the high-handedness of young Khurram, ‘Azīz Koka had started negotiations with the *Mahārānā*, and after his downfall when Khurram conducted the campaign vigorously it was decided to come to terms.

72. *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 273.
73. Shyāmaldās began to write the *Virvinod* in 1879 (*Virvinod*, I, 184), but his present account is corroborated by the *Amarakāvya vaṁśāvalī* written just after V.S. 1732 (A.D. 1675) quoted by Sharma, op. cit, 135, f.n. 57. Possibly Shyāmaldās, who consulted all available records had seen the *Amarakāvya vaṁśāvalī*. For the account of the surrender to the Mughuls, see, *Virvinod*, II, 235-36.
74. This *farmān* was in Udaipur archives when Shyāmaldās wrote his history.
75. *Virvinod*, II, 237.
76. Jahāngīr writes that the *Mahārānā* "fell at Khurram's feet and asked forgiveness for his faults." (*Tūzuk*, tr. I, 276). But the author of the *Iqbāl-nāma* (text III, 536) states: "I as a Bakshi was present on the occasion and, therefore, I could clearly see that the Rana was making low salutation......." quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 136.

    Jahāngīr most probably got the report of this interview from Khurram, who left for Ajmer (where Jahāngīr was staying) with Karna on the afternoon of the day the *Mahārānā* visited him. Khurram naturally was anxious to bring this affair to a speedy termination which his grandfather had tried in vain, and therefore is quite likely to have impressed Jahāngīr by exaggerated accounts of *Rānā's* humility.
77. *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 276.
78. "As it was necessary to win the heart of Karna, who was of a wild nature and had never seen assemblies and had lived among the hills, I every day showed him some fresh favour....." *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 277.
79. Ibid, 278. I think it is permissible to imagine that the Empress and the Mughul ladies were curious to see the scion of the house which had defied the Mughul arms for nearly half a century.

    Jahāngīr's gifts to Karna are too numerous to be mentioned in detail. But the eagerness of the Emperor to please the Prince is matched by his poetic imagination. He writes: "On the 8th I gave Karna the mansab of 5,000 personal and horse, and gave him a small rosary of pearls and emeralds with a ruby in the centre which in the language of the Hindus is called Smaran (Sanskrit for 'remembrance')". *Tūzuk*, tr. I, 281. Jahāngīr had, a few days before, presented Karna with "a rosary of pearls of great value", ibid, 278.
80. Ibid, 289, 293. Jahāngīr also gave him some shawls etc.
81. Ibid, 296.
82. He died on Wednesday, *Māgh*, *Śukla* 2, 1676. V.S. Shyāmaldās gave the date in Christian era as October 30, 1620, *Virvinod* II, 266. Ojha however gives the date as 26 January, 1620. Ojha, op. cit., I, 507.
83. B.P. Saxena, *History of Shāhjahān of Delhi*, 37. Saxena does not identify Bhīm with the Mewār Prince, but Shyāmaldās states that he was the son of *Mahārānā* Amar, *Virvinod*, 285.
84. Saxena, op. cit. 50, 52. For a detailed account of Bhīm's activities from the Rājasthāni chronicles see, *Virvinod*, II, 285-88.
85. *Virvinod*, II, 270-73, 589. Among other proofs Shyāmaldās quotes a verse from the *Rājasamudra Praśasti* composed about 60 years after this incident which seems to be quite conclusive.

    Dillīśvarāj-Jahāṅgīrā tasya Khurrama-nāmakam I
    Putraṁ vimukhatāṁ prāptam sthāpayitvā nija kshitau II
    Jahāṅgīre divaṁyāte saṅge bhrātaram-Arjunam I
    Datvā Dillīśvaraṁ chakre so'bhut Shāhijahāṁbhidhah. II
86. For details of Jagat Singh's reign, see, *Virvinod*, II, 315-327 and Ojha, op. cit., II, 511-31
87. B.P. Saxena: *History of Shahjahan*, 320.
88. Ojha, op. cit., II, 533-34. Chandra Bhān's four letters in original Persian are reproduced in the *Virvinod*, II, 403-412.
89. *Virvinod*, II, 413-14.
90. Ibid, 414-15.
91. Five letters from Aurangzīb are printed in the *Virvinod*, II, 415-424. The letters are not dated, but the last letter carries the news of victory of the battle of

Dharmat (April 15, 1658). Aurangzīb evidently tried to enlist the help of the *Mahārānā*, but as the latter's replies are not published, it is not possible to say what help Rāj Singh rendered to Aurangzīb. It is evident from these letters that the Mewār contingent which was fighting in the Deccan (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, 1912 ed., I, p. 272) was with him during the war of succession.

92. Shāh Jahān had named this prince Saubhāgya Singh, but the *Mahārānā* did not like the name and changed it to Sultān Singh.

93. *Virvinod*, II, 425-431. Shyāmaldās published these documents from the Udaipur archives. Sir Jadunath Sarkar did not notice these in his *History of Aurangzīb* possibly because he had no access to the *Virvinod*, as, for unknown reasons, its circulation was prohibited till recently.

94. Ibid, 432-433.

95. Ibid, 437-443. *Mahārānā's* appeal is also reproduced in which he admits having gone to Krishnagarh for marriage without permission but claims that a Rājput is free to marry any Rājput girl, though further details are not given. Ibid, 440. In the *Rāja-samudra-praśasti* inscription, however, the allusion is quite clear.

śate saptadaśe pūrṇe varsha saptadaśe tatah
gatvā Kṛishṇagaḍe divya mahatyā senayā yutah
Dillīśārthaṁ rakshita yā Rājasiṁha nareśvaraḥ
Rāṭhoḍa Rūpasiṁhasya putryāḥ pāṇigrahaṁ vyadhāt

(*Rājasamudra-praśasti* VIII, vv. 29-30. *Virvinod*, II, p. 596-97). The *Rāja-vilāsa*, a work composed during the life of Rāj Singh gives the text of Chārumati's letter (quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 160, f.n. 30). It may be noted that Chārumatī's sister was married to Mu'azzam.

96. For details of Aurangzīb's Mārwār policy and subsequent war with Mārwār and Mewār, see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, III (1921 ed.), 322-373; B. N. Reu, *Mārwar kā Itihās*, Ojha and Sharma, op. cit.,

97. Sarkar, op. cit., 330.

98. This account of escape is based on Sarkar. But Shyāmaldās states that Durgā Dās fled away with the prince a day before the action took place (*Virvinod*, II, 828-29). This, however, does not seem to be probable, as after Ajit had been carried away, there would hardly be any reason for the Rāthors to fight the Mughuls in Delhi. Shyāmaldās also states that the other son of Jasvant Singh, named Dalathambhan, was brought to Delhi, and suggests as one of the possibilities that this child might have been brought up by Aurangzīb (ibid, 830). The difference between the two versions is due to the fact that Sir Jadunath based his account on Īsvardās and rejected the evidence of the *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, while Shyāmaldās relied exclusively on the latter work. For another version based on Rājasthānī chronicles, see Reu, op. cit., 254.

99. This *farmān* is given in the *Virvinod*, II, 885.

100. Rāj Singh is supposed to have written a letter to Aurangzīb protesting against the imposition of the *jizya*. Sir Jadunath Sarkar examined the letter thoroughly and came to the conclusion that it was written by Shivājī. (*Modern Review*, January, 1908, 21-23). Ojha, following Tod and Shyāmaldās, was of the view that Rāj Singh wrote the letter (Ojha, op. cit., 549-554). But Sharma (op. cit. 164) agrees with Sir Jadunath, and it also seems to us that the letter, which as usual was made current by Tod, could not have been written by Rāj Singh.

101. Sir Jadunath in the *History of Aurangzib*, III, 339, stated that Ajit's mother was a Mewār princess, and in the *CHI*, IV, 248, that she was Rāj Singh's niece. I cannot find this corroborated by any Rājasthānī chronicle and B. N. Reu doubts it (Reu, *Marwar Ka Itihas*, I, 257, f.n. 3), but Tod calls her a 'daughter of Mewar', *Annals*, 1957 ed. I, 307.

102. It is usually assumed that the *Mahārānā* took this defensive measure when the Mughul invasion seemed imminent. But the inscription on the portal at Deobārī is, according to Sharma, dated V.S. 1731=A.D. 1674, Sharma, op. cit., 165. f.n. 50.

103. Quoted by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., III, 336.

104. *Rājavilās*, X, vv I-22, f.n 137-40 quoted by Sharma, op. cit., 169, f.n. 66-7.

105. *Eka-mahā-masidi-vikhaṇḍita laghu-masidi-triṁśat I*
Devālaya-patana-rushaḥ prakāśita Bhīmasiṁha-vīreṇa II
Rāja-samudra-praśasti XXII, v. 29.

The *Rāja-samudra-praśasti* mentions the sack of Īdar, Vadnagar and Ahmadābād. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, apparently on the basis of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, mentions the sack of "Vadnagar, Visalnagar and some other rich cities of Gujarat......and the recovery of Idar". (Sarkar, op. cit. V, 1952 ed., p. 353).

But the *Rāja-samudra-praśasti,* XXII v. 28, definitely mentions the sack of Īdar, Vadnagar and Ahmadābād. We shall see later Durgā Dās and Durjan Sāl Hāḍā carrying a more daring raid into the heart of the Mughul empire. Therefore a lightning raid on Ahmadābād does not appear to be improbable.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar was of the opinion that prince Bhīm's raids took place after Akbar had rebelled (Sarkar, op. cit., III, 366). But these raids, as mentioned in the *Rājā-samudra-praśasti,* took place during the life of Rāj Singh, therefore before Akbar's rebellion. It may be noted that this *praśasti* is given in the *Virvinod* which was not available to Sir Jadunath.

106. *Rāja-samudra-praśasti,* XXII, v. 46.
107. This is the date given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., III, 353) who has used O.S. throughout his work. Shyāmaldās, probably using the N.S., gives the date as 3 November, 1680. The Indian date is *Kārtik, Śukla* 19, 1737, V.S. (*Virvinod,* II, 473).
108. Sir Jadunath Sarkar (op. cit., III, 367) states that *Mahārānā* Jai Singh "welcomed him with present and invited him to stay. But Udaipur was no more invulnerable to Mughul invasion than Jodhpur. Then Durgā Dās most chivalrously undertook to conduct Akbar to the Marāthā court....". Sir Jadunath Sarkar does not give any reference for this statement but most probably he was following Tod. I am relying here on Shyāmaldās (*Virvinod,* II, 653) who states that though Akbar had at this time some Mewār nobles to protect him, Jay Singh wrote to them not to bring Akbar to Mewār on any account, as peace talks were going on, but to escort him south to Shambhūjī's court. This appears more probable, for it is difficult to believe that Mewār could not give protection to Akbar, when it could do so to Ajit. Also, the Mughul had never been able to reach the place where the *Mahārānā* lived. Ojha (op. cit., II, 587) has followed Shyāmaldās.
109. *Virvinod,* II, 650.
110. Sir Jadunath calls him "Shyam Singh of Bikaner" (Sarkar, op. cit., III, 370) but the *Rāja-samudra-praśasti,* XXIII, v. 32 which we have followed here definitely identifies him.

    Rānā-śrī-Karnasiṁhasya-dvitīyas-tanayaḥbalī I
    Garibadāsas-tat-putraḥ Śyāmasiṁha ihā-gataḥ II

111. The *farmān* is printed in the *Virvinod,* II, 651-52.
112. For conditions of the treaty, see, Sarkar, op. cit., III, 370 and V, 216 and *Virvinod* II, 661-63.
113. Sarkar, op. cit., III, 369-70.
114. A'zam's letter is published in the *Virvinod,* II, 665-66. A'zam wrote a similar letter dated 24 Sha'ban (the year is not given), *Virvinod,* II, 662. It appears that he was extremely eager to come to terms with Jay Singh and gain his support. There is an initialled but unsigned treaty in the Udaipur archives, which Shyāmaldās ascribes to A'zam. This seems to be the terms A'zam would have offered to the *Mahārānā* if he became emperor.
115. In 1683 Aurangzīb appointed Mān Singh of Krishnagarh the *faujdār* of Pur, Mandal and Bednor, *Virvinod* II, 665.
116. This *farmān,* apparently issued in response to a petition by the *Mahārānā,* was signed by Aurangzīb on 6 July, 1690, *Virvinod* II, 669-72.
117. Sarkar, op. cit., V, 221, 226 (1952 ed.).
118. According to the *Khyāt,* Ajit was induced by the Mārwār nobles to come out of his hiding place in 1687 at the age of eight, and take part in the struggle, even before Durgā Dās's return from the Deccan, B. N. Reu, *Mārwar Kā Itihās,* I, 278. This is partly corroborated by Shyāmaldās who states that Ajit joined the army in 1687 at the age of eight, *Virvinod* II, 832. This appears to be incredible unless one assumes Ajit to have been more precocious than even Bābur. It is also stated in the Rājasthānī chronicles that more than once there were differences of opinion between the child Ajit and Durgā Dās, which probably means that some nobles wanted to remove Durgā Dās from his position of authority. But as the same sources state that all such differences were ultimately made up, it indicates that Durgā Dās was vindicated.
119. Īśvardās Nāgar, *Futūhāt-i-'Ālamgīrī,* Mss, 167a-168b, tr. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., V. 231. For the account of Durgā Dās, Sir Jadunath relied exclusively on Īśvardās, for he was a friend of Durgā Dās, had been a revenue collector at Jodhpur and had been entrusted by Shujā'at Khān, the governor of Gujarāt (under whom Īśvardās served) to act as the inter-

mediary between the Mughuls and Durgā Dās. In fact, the Rājasthānī chronicles, namely the *Ajitodaya* and *Ajitagrantha* written at a later date, and on which B.N. Reu relies for his *Mārwār kā Itihās,* give much less importance to Durgā Dās than is due to him.

120. Sarkar, op. cit., V, 236.
121. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* IV (1929), p. 27.
122. Ibid., p. 275.
123. Ibid., p. 276.
124. See Chapter VIII.
125. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 287-8.
126. Ibid., p. 288.
127. Ibid., p. 290.
128. Ibid., pp. 279-80.
129. Ibid., p. 282.
130. See Chapter VIII.
131. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 330.
132. Ibid., p. 334.
133. Ibid., p. 355.
134. For details, cf. ibid., p. 468.
135. For details, cf. ibid., pp. 343 ff., 471 ff.
136. Ibid., pp. 472-3.
137. Ibid., pp. 474-5.
138. According to J. N. Sarkar, Rājārām was crowned on 8 February (ibid., p. 481), but according to G. S. Sardesai he was proclaimed king on 9 February; *New History of the Marathas,* Vol. I, p. 319.
139. Sardesai, op. cit., I, 320.
140. Ibid.
141. Ibid., p. 321.
142. Ibid., p. 324.
143. Ibid.
144. Ibid., p. 328.
145. Ibid., p. 329.
146. Ibid.
147. Ibid., pp. 338-9.
148. For a detailed account, cf. ibid., pp. 337-9.
149. Ibid., pp. 341-2.
150. Ibid., pp. 342-3.
151. Ibid, p. 348.
152. Ibid.
153. Risley, *People of India,* p. 8.
154. K. R. Qanungo, *History of the Jats,* p. 1.
155. Ibid, p. 2.
156. Ibbetson, quoted in the *Punjab Glossary,* II. p. 366.
157. Qanungo, op. cit., pp. 6-9, 325; Elliot, *Memoirs of the Races of North-Western Provinces of India,* I, 135-137; Risley, op. cit., p. 6.
158. Growse, *Mathura* (1874), pp. 21-2.
159. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (Bibliotheca Indica), pp. 16-7; Firishta, Translated by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 81-2; *CHI,* III. p. 26.
160. *HIED,* II. 218; *CHI,* III. 41; Qanungo, op. cit., p. 32.
161. See p. 310.
162. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb,* III. 331.
163. *Maāsir-ul-umarā,* III. 422; J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 331-32.
164. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 331-33.
165. Ibid, pp. 333-36.
166. Sinsanī and Sogor are situated, respectively, 16 and 4 miles from Bharatpur.
167. J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 296-7.
168. Īśvardās, 164 b.
169. Ibid, 132 b. Manucci says, "They began their pillage by breaking in the great gates of bronze which it had, robbing the valuable precious stones and plates of gold and silver and destroying what they were not able to carry away. Dragging out the bones of Akbar, they threw them angrily into the fire and burnt them." Manucci, II. 320.
170. Īśvardās, 134 b; A.A., 311; J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., V. 299.
171. Īśvardās, 136b-137a; M.A. 334.
172. Īśvardās, 137 a and b; M.A. 340.
173. *Imad-us-Sadat,* 55.
174. Xavier Wendel, Fr. Ms. 41 as quoted in J. N. Sarkar, op. cit., V. 302.

CHAPTER XIII

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (I)

I. GUJARĀT

Sikandar and Mahmūd II (1526)

It has been noted in the previous volume that Sultān Muzaffar died on 5 April, 1526, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sikandar. After a reign of six weeks, Sikandar was assassinated by one of his disgruntled nobles and an infant son of Muzaffar was raised to the throne under the name of Mahmūd II (26 May, 1526). Taking advantage of the situation Bahādur, the fugitive son of Muzaffar, returned to Gujarāt.

Bahādur (1526-1537)

Bahādur had quarrelled with his father, Muzaffar, a few years before the latter's death, and had first taken refuge at Chitor and then with Ibrāhīm Lodī. He was present at the battle of Pānīpat but did not take part in fighting. After the battle, Bahādur is said to have been invited by some local nobles to fill the throne of Jaunpur, and on his way thither news reached him of the happening in Gujarāt. So Bahādur returned, and almost all the nobles except the murderers of Sikandar joined him. Their opposition was easily overcome and they were executed. After this, Bahādur turned against his brothers, and his closest rival Latif was severely wounded in an action, taken prisoner and died. The boy Mahmūd II and three other princes were poisoned by Bahādur, whom the humane Bābur rightly castigated as a "bloodthirsty and ungovernable young man". Only his brother Chānd Khān was left. This prince had taken refuge at the Mālwa court, and Sultān Mahmūd II of Mālwa refused to surrender him, which caused a rupture of good relations between Gujarāt and Mālwa and ultimately led Bahādur to conquer Mālwa.

War in the Deccan and Mālwa (1528-1531)

Khāndesh, which had for a long time acknowledged the supremacy of Gujarāt, was during this period ruled by Muhammad I, the son of Bahādur's sister. This prince and his ally, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh of Berār, appealed to Bahādur after being severely defeated by Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar and 'Amīr 'Alī Barīd of Bīdar.

So in 1528, Bahādur and his allies advanced against the Nizām Shāh and invested the fort of Daulatābād. But the Nizām Shāh put up a stiff resistance and cut off the supplies of the invading army, forcing Bahādur to retire. But Bahādur reopened the campaign after the rainy season of 1529 and, overcoming a stiff opposition, again besieged Daulatābād. While the operations were progressing satisfactorily, Bahādur was betrayed by his ally, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, who, suspecting that Bahādur had designs on the Deccan, retired to Bīdar. Negotiations for peace then began and finally both Burhān Nizām Shāh and 'Alā-ud-dīn Shāh were forced to sign humiliating treaties.

Bahādur next turned his attention to Mālwa. Mahmūd II of Mālwa, as has already been noted, had estranged Bahādur, by granting asylum to Bahādur's younger brother, Chānd Khān, and refused to surrender him. Mahmūd made his position worse by invading those portions of Mālwa which *Mahārānā* Sanga had annexed to Mewār. He thus forced Mewār to join Bahādur, who regarded Mahmūd II as a vassal of Gujarāt, since he was restored on the throne by Muzaffar II. Bahādur wanted Mahmūd to come and meet him, but as the latter persistently failed to do so, invaded Mālwa. Mahmūd literally made no resistance, and on 28 March, 1531, Māndū fell to the invaders. The *khutba* was read in Bahādur's name and the portion of Mālwa which still belonged to Mahmūd was annexed to Gujarāt.[1]

Bahādur and the Portuguese (I)

In 1528, Nuno da Cunha was appointed the governor of Portuguese India, with instructions to capture Diu. He arrived in India in October, 1529 and, while Bahādur was engaged in the siege of Māndū, a strong Portuguese fleet sailed from Bombay. It first captured Daman and then proceeded towards its main objective, namely, Diu. On 7 February, 1531, the fleet appeared near Shial Bet island, eight leagues to the west of Diu, which they captured after overcoming a stiff resistance. The bombardment of Diu began on 16 February, but no appreciable damage was done to the fortifications. So Nuno da Cunha, who was in charge of the expedition, left for Goa on 1 March, 1531, leaving a subordinate officer to cruise the gulf of Cambay. This officer systematically destroyed Mahuwa, Gogo, Bulsar, Tarapur, Mahim, Kelva, Agashi and Surat.[1a]

Bahādur and Silahdi

Now that the Portuguese menace was over, Bahādur turned to complete the conquest of Mālwa, parts of which like Gagrāun and

Mandasor were occupied by the *Mahārānā* of Chitor and other parts like Rāisen and Bhīlsa by a Hindu noble called Silahdi, both of whom had unwittingly helped Bahādur in conquering Mālwa. Indeed, Bahādur had, after the fall of Māndū, granted Ujjain, Bhīlsa and Ashta to Silahdi and graciously given him leave to depart after giving him three lacs of rupees and a large number of horses and elephants. But Bahādur now decided to crush Silahdi; the turn of Mewār would come later.

Apparently Silahdi was too strong to be attacked, so Bahādur managed to allay his suspicion and bring him to his court where he was given the alternative of embracing Islām or death on the ground of his having a number of Muslim women in his seraglio. As Silahdi temporized, he was thrown into prison and Ujjain and Ashta were conquered from his son. Bahādur then conquered Bhīlsa which having been under Silahdi for about two decades, had several temples which were destroyed by Bahādur, who next besieged Rāisen. Silahdi, alarmed at the turn of events, at last became a convert to Islām, but his brother Lakshman held out against the invading army and his son Bhupat went to bring help from Mewār.

Unfortunately the help from Mewār was not effective, and in the skirmishes that took place the Hindus were worsted. Ultimately, on the pretext that the fort would be delivered if Silahdi came in and managed to persuade his queen, he was brought inside. Silahdi's relatives then asked him "what the Sultan had given him in exchange for his own honourable position," and he told them "the *sarkar* of Barodah." They said, "Silahdi, your life is drawing near its end, you have not long to live. Why should you wish to live, and through fear of death, cast your honour to the winds? Death is thousand times better than this. We have thus resolved. We men will perish by the sword, and our women by the *jauhar*, that is, in the flames. Do you also, if you have the spirit, join us in this resolution." To this Silahdi yielded, and the women died in flames and the men sword in hand (10 May, 1532).[2]

First siege of Chitor, 1533

After the defeat of Silahdi, Bahādur turned against Mewār and, as a preliminary, sent his officers to capture Gagrāun and Mandasor, which had formed a part of Mewār since the time of *Mahārānā* Sanga. They also conquered Islāmābād, Hushangabād and other dependencies of Mālwa, which had fallen in the hands of *"zamindars"*, that is Hindu chieftains.[3]

His ostensible reason for attacking the country, which had sheltered him during his exile, was to punish Mewār for having attempted to help Silahdi. It should be recalled, however, that some time in 1531 or 1532 Bahādur received an embassy from Sultān Nusrat Shāh of Bengal, probably proposing some sort of alliance between Gujarāt and Bengal against the Mughuls. Bahādur gave a warm reception to the Bengali envoys, but nothing came out of this as Nusrat Shāh died soon after.[4] It is likely, however, that this possibility of an alliance with the Afghāns against the Mughuls, encouraged Bahādur to envisage an extensive empire, the preliminary to the building of which should be the complete control over Rājasthān that controlled the routes from Delhi and Āgra to Gujarāt. As we shall see, this ambitious policy led to his doom.

Bahādur's Chitor campaigns have already been described in some detail.[5] As a result of his first invasion of Mewār, which came to an end on 24 March, 1533, he gained, besides the indemnities, those territories of Mālwa which still appertained to Mewār. Besides this, Bahādur conquered Ranthambhor, Ajmer and Nagar.

One of the reasons which probably prompted Bahādur to retire from Chitor was the activities of Burhān Nizām Shāh and Amīr 'Alī Barīd of Bīdar, who had advanced up to Bir[6] (22° N. 76° 5′ E.). Bahādur sent an army under Muhammad Shāh of Khāndesh to co-operate with 'Imād Shāh of Berār, and joined him later. The Nizām Shāh was defeated, but Bahādur, it seems, was content to drive him out on these terms. He then returned to Māndū, and as Sikandar says, "the ambition of conquering Chitor again took possession of him".

Bahādur and the Portuguese (II)

But Bahādur's ambition was thwarted by the Portuguese invasion of Gujarāt coast.

In 1534, heavy reinforcements arrived from Lisbon and the Portuguese again advanced towards Diu. They opened their attack by capturing Daman, upon which, Bahādur concluded peace with them on the most humiliating terms "to secure the friendship of the Portuguese against the Mughuls". The conditions of the treaty, which was signed in December, 1534, were "that Bassein with all its dependencies by sea and land, should be made over to the King of Portugual for ever; that all ships bound for the Red Sea from the Kingdom of Cambay, should set out from Bassein, and return thither to pay duties; that no vessels should go to other ports without leave from the Portuguese; that no ships of war should be built in any ports belonging to the king of Cambay; and that he should no more give assistance to the Rumes."[7]

Bahādur and Humāyūn

The Mughul menace undoubtedly refers to Humāyūn, whom Bahādur had affronted in various ways. For several years Gujarāt had become the asylum for the rebel Afghāns whom Bahādur used to receive cordially. Thus, after the defeat of Silahdi, he conferred the fiefs of Bhīlsa and Chanderi on 'Alā-ud-dīn Ālam Khān, Humāyūn's rebel governor of Kālpī, and received very cordially 'Alā-ud-dīn Ālam Khān Lodī, a son of Buhlūl, who had managed to escape from Badakhshān where Babūr had imprisoned him. Soon he, and particularly his ambitious son, Tātār Khān, rose high in Bahādur's council and urged him to invade the Mughul dominions, to which, for the present, Bahādur prudently paid no attention.[8]

Bahādur's relation with Humāyūn up to this period was quite cordial and he had sent an embassy to the Mughul court in 940 A.H. (1533-34), though he had also sent some money to Sher Shāh, presumably to aid him; but while the wily Afghān accepted the much-needed money, no help came from him when Bahādur was in distress.

Matters however reached a climax when Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, who had twice rebelled against Humāyūn, escaped from prison and was granted asylum at Gujarāt (1534). Bahādur was probably at this time in Diu, where he might have gone to arrange a naval expedition against the Portuguese, when Humāyūn wrote to him either to hand over Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā to him or to expel the Mīrzā from Gujarāt. Bahādur took this as a challenge to his sovereignty, and hastily concluded the treaty with the Portuguese mentioned above, in order to be free to meet the Mughuls.

Humāyūn might or might not have known of Bahādur's help to Sher Shāh, but like all weak men who suddenly become resolute, was inexorable in his demand that Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā be at least turned out of Gujarāt. The correspondence began with a letter from Humāyūn in which he urged Bahādur to act in a friendly spirit, and was followed by another in which Humāyūn expressed surprise at Sultān Bahādur's unfriendly conduct.[9] Apparently these mild remonstrances failed to elicit a favourable reply, so Humāyūn sent another letter, more peremptory in tone, making it clear that failure to comply with his demand must lead to war. Bahādur in his reply refused to satisfy Humāyūn, and charged him with bad intentions for having marched to Gwālior while he (Bahādur) was busy with the Portuguese, which undoubtedly refers to the Portuguese invasion mentioned above.

It seems that Bahādur had agreed to the humiliating peace terms of the Portuguese in order to be free to meet the Mughul menace. So he seized the opportunity afforded by Humāyūn's temporary absence from the capital to put down some disturbances in the eastern region,[10], and sent Tātār Khān with a large army from Ranthambhor to harass the Āgra region, and two smaller forces under 'Alā-ud-dīn and Burhān-ul-mulk to harass the Kalinjar and the Nagar regions. Bahādur then advanced to Chitor, determined to conquer it. With Ranthambhor and Chitor in his hands, it would be impossible for a Mughul army from Āgra to invade Gujarāt, while the Mārwār route would also be safe so long as he had Nagar and Ajmer under him. He would also be in a position to help Tātār Khān when the conquest of Chitor was accomplished, and his instructions to Tātār was not to engage in a general action till he came with the main army.

But Humāyūn took very quick and resolute action. He sent 18,000 horse under 'Askarī, Hindal and several veteran generals against Tātār, who in disregard of Bahādur's instructions engaged the Mughuls and died fighting; the other two raiding parties, under 'Alā-ud-dīn and Burhān-ul-mulk, also seem to have been thoroughly defeated. Humāyūn now seized the opportunity which Bahādur provided him. Bahādur's subsidiary armies were gone, while his main army was immobilized around Chitor; so Humāyūn set out from Āgra probably on 18 February, 1535[11] and, subduing Rāisen quickly reached Sarangpur in Mālwa. As soon as news of his advance reached Bahādur, he decided to finish the siege of Chitor before fighting Humāyūn.

In this connection, two interesting anecdotes are related, one by the Muslim and the other by the Rājasthān chroniclers. According to the first, Bahādur's decision to continue the siege of Chitor instead of fighting Humāyūn was influenced by his conviction that Humāyūn would not attack him while he was fighting the Hindus, and this prognostication came true. According to the Rājput chronicles, Rānī Karmavatī, the mother of the reigning *Mahārānā,* appealed to Humāyūn to come to her son's aid and sent him a *rākhī* (ritualistic wristband or thread which binds a man and a woman as brother and sister); but Humāyūn, though inclined to help her at first, ultimately did nothing.

It is difficult to judge the historical value of these two interesting stories, but it is evident that Humāyūn did not afford any relief to the besieged garrison at Chitor, nor did he have any compunction about invading Mālwa while Bahādur was fighting the Hindus. Indeed, Humāyūn followed consistently the policy which was of the greatest benefit to him, and seems to have been all along dictated by self-interest rather than calls of chivalry or religious brotherhood. Thus while Bahādur was tied up in Chitor, Humāyūn proceeded to Ujjain and easily captured this important city. However, Chitor fell on 8 March, 1535, and as Bahādur took the road to Mālwa, Humāyūn also marched north, and the two armies met at Mandasor.

Here Bahādur committed the fatal mistake of entrenching himself behind a barricade on the advice of his Turkish gunner, Rūmī Khān, who, unknown to him, had turned a traitor for not receiving Chitor as his fief as originally promised by Bahādur. The result of this defensive tactics was disastrous. Soon, food became so scarce that the Gujarāt army practically ceased to be a fighting unit, and one night Bahādur secretly left it to its fate (25 April, 1535)[12] and fled to Māndū, pursued by Humāyūn, who was now joined by the traitor Rūmī Khān. Rūmī Khān seduced Silahdi's son, Bhupat, who opened a gate to the Mughuls, and Māndū fell to Humāyūn. Bahādur fled again, this time to Chāmpāner, but having placed it under trusty generals he took refuge at Diu.

End of Bahādur

At Diu, Bahādur found himself completely destitute; so he had to turn to the Portuguese once more, and on 25 October, 1535, a treaty was concluded at Diu[13], under which the Portuguese promised to help Bahādur by land and sea in exchange for permission to erect a fort at Diu, but the latter retained the right of collecting revenues of that port. The Portuguese help amounted to very little and the Portuguese utilized this opportunity to complete their fortification. It is possible that Bahādur granted this important concession to the Portuguese with the hope that he might escape with their help if Humāyūn followed him to Diu.

This contingency, however, did not arise and taking advantage of popular support and collecting soldiers from Chitor, Ranthambhor and Ajmer[14] Bahādur managed to drive the Mughuls out of Gujarāt by the beginning of 1536. Circumstances forced Humāyūn to leave Māndū for Āgra in May, 1536, and though Bahādur was never destined to recover Mālwa, the Mughul menace was gone.

Bahādur immediately turned towards Diu, and began negotiations with Turkey for a naval expedition. The help came after his death. For the incidents that followed Bahādur's visit to Diu the Muslim and the Portuguese chronicles give different versions. The fact, however, is that while negotiations were proceeding, Bahādur was induced to come and meet the Portuguese governor on board a Portuguese vessel. What happened thereafter is not very clear; apparently the Portuguese wanted to capture him, and as he tried to escape, his barge was attacked by the Portuguese and he jumped into the sea. As he called out for help and tried to swim, a Portuguese sailor struck him with a halbert, as did others, till he was killed (February, 1537).[15]

Successors of Bahādur

Bahādur left no son, hence there was some uncertainty regarding succession after his death, which was increased by the frivolous claim to the Gujarāt throne made by Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā, the fugitive Mughul prince, on the ground that Bahādur's mother had adopted him as her son. But the nobles wisely selected Miran Muhammad Shāh of Khāndesh, the nephew and constant ally of Bahādur, but that prince died on his way to Gujarāt. Hence the nobles selected eleven-year-old Prince Mahmūd Khān, son of Bahādur's brother Latif Khān, who had been brought up under surveillance. He was enthroned on 10 May, 1538, as Mahmūd Shāh III.[16]

Mahmūd III (1538-1554)

Mahmūd, being a boy, the government was conducted by three nobles, namely, Imād-ul-mulk, Daryā Khān and 'Ālam Khān Lodī. Soon after, Daryā Khān managed to assume complete power and drove Imād-ul-mulk out of Gujarāt (1538).

Though the Muslim chroniclers describe these court intrigues in great detail they are completely silent about the most important event of the first year of Mahmūd's reign, namely, the Turko-Gujarāt attempt to drive the Portuguese from Diu, which is described by Portuguese and Turkish historians.[17] It has been related above that before his death Sultān Bahādur had sent an appeal for help to Sulaimān, the Magnificent, of Turkey (1520-1568), in response to which a Turkish fleet, and considerable number of soldiers arrived at Diu some time after the death of Bahādur. Sulaimān Pāshā's instruction was to destroy the Portuguese fleet but he engaged the Turkish troops in a siege of Diu. The siege continued for several months, and though the fort was severely damaged and its defenders practically exhausted, yet Sulaimān Pāshā failed to capture the fort and sailed away. One of the reasons for failure was undoubtedly the gallant resistance of the Portuguese, but the main reason seems to be the character of Sulaimān Pāshā, who even in that age was noted for his cruelty, and treated the Gujarātis like defeated enemies. As a result, the joint venture, which had great prospect of success, failed to accomplish any of its objects, namely, the destruction of the Portuguese fleet and recovery of Diu.

End of Daryā Khān and 'Ālam Khān

Daryā Khān remained in power for about five years, at the end of which period the Sultān, unable to tolerate his overbearing manners, one night fled to Dhandhuka, where he was cordially received by its fief-holder, 'Ālam Khān. Daryā Khān raised a boy of obscure origin to the throne, and advanced with a huge army to meet Mahmūd and 'Ālam Khān, and though he defeated them, his troops gradually deserted him and he was forced to flee to Burhānpur (1543).

Soon, however, 'Ālam Khān became so powerful that Mahmūd found that by driving away Daryā Khān he had merely changed masters. 'Ālam Khān and other nobles also were disgusted by Mahmūd's profligate habits and lowly friends, and having confined him to a citadel conspired to blind him and divide the kingdom among themselves. But Mahmūd forestalled their design by a daring coup and was at last able to have the reins of government in his own hand (1545).

Epic of Diu

In 1546 Mahmūd again attempted to recover Diu, and this event has been characterized by the Portuguese historians as the "Epic of Diu"[18] on account of the severity of the contest. It seems, however, that before the siege of Diu began, a strong fort was built at Surat to save it from Portuguese depredation, and it is from this time that the importance of Surat as a port begins.

The siege of Diu began on 20 April, 1546, and continued till 11 November, 1546, when the Gujarāt army was decisively defeated by a comparatively small Portuguese force. The Portuguese governor then rebuilt the battered fort and left for Goa which he entered in a triumphal procession reminiscent of the Roman days, while the Portuguese navy cruising along the Gulf of Cambay set about destroying the peaceful coastal towns including the ancient port of Broach. "This action", says one Portuguese historian, "being so famous amongst our soldiers as to give him who was called Menezes (the captain of the fleet) the surname of *Baroche,* as the ruins of Carthage gave Scipio the name of Africanus."[19] The unfortunate soil of India has had to suffer many depredations by foreign invaders and by native rulers, but nothing comparable to the cruel barbarism of the Portuguese vandals possibly ever happened before or since.

In 1548, Mahmūd III again began to make preparations for investing Diu, and the Portuguese made adequate arrangements for defence. But nothing came out of it.

Internal administration and death

The administration had been decaying since the time of Bahādur and Mahmūd did nothing to improve it. He was a profligate young man and, as if to atone for his vices, took stern measures against the Hindus. The Hindus had been enjoying inalienable right over a considerable part of Gujarāt by virtue of a settlement made during the reign of Mahmūd's ancestor, Sultān Āhmad I (1411-1443), who found that this was the only way of maintaining peace with the war-like chieftains. Mahmūd resumed these lands,[20] by what tyrannical methods we do not know. But immediately the frontier chiefs of Īdar, Sirohi, Dungārpur, Bānswārā, Lonawārāh, Rājpiplā and the chiefs on the banks of the Mahindri, Halod "and other strongholds on the frontier" broke into rebellion. The Muslim historians claim that these disturbances were put down and that "no Rājput or Koli was left who did not devote himself to agriculture... Every one of them was branded on the arm, and if any Rājput or Koli was found without the brand he was put to death."[21] But this seems more like a pious wish than a statement of fact, for these States continued to flourish long after Mahmūd's dynasty had passed into oblivion. Indeed, this Hindu rebellion may have been one of the main causes for the rapid downfall of the Gujarāt Sultānate.

Resumption of the *Wanta* grant was not the only tyranny practised against the Hindus. As Sikandar puts it: "In the reign of Mahmūd, Muhammadan law and rule was so stringently enforced that no Hindu could ride on horseback in any city, nor dare enter a *bazar* without a patch of red on the back of a white garment, or a patch of white on red one, or to wear a dress all of one colour. Infidel observances, such as the indecencies of the *Holi,* the orgies of the *Diwali,* and the practice of idol worship, and the ringing of bells were not allowed in public, and those who practised them in private did so with fear and trembling."[22]

Sikandar was born (1553-54) during Mahmūd's reign and presumably heard these stories from his father and brothers. The stories apparently are exaggerated, and there is no reason to assume that Mahmūd had such an efficient administration that he could carry out these measures in a country which was predominantly Hindu. But the rules were issued and Hindus were subjected to petty tyranny wherever possible, so that Mahmūd, who treated the Muslim divines with great respect and benevolence, could claim to be the champion of Islām, and thereby possibly induce foreign Muslims to join his service. The result was that his instruments of oppression, the Muslim nobles, concentrated power in their hands, while Mahmūd gave himself up to voluptuous pleasure. He was poisoned by his cup-bearer in 1554.

Mahmūd had a horror of providing an heir who might contest the throne and therefore used to procure an abortion whenever a woman in his seraglio became pregnant. Hence a distant kinsman of Mahmūd was raised to the throne as Ahmad III.

Ahmad III (*1554-1561*)

For seven years Ahmad III was the nominal ruler of Gujarāt, while the nobles divided the kingdom among themselves into practically independent principalities. The shifting combination of the greedy nobles started the country on the road to speedy disintegration, and the confusion was increased by the influx of groups of Afghāns.

After about five years of tutelage under I'timād Khān, the noble who had raised him to the throne, Ahmad fled, but was captured by I'timād who kept him under surveillance as before. Ahmad later foolishly attempted to hatch a plot against I'timād who had him assassinated in April, 1561.

Muzaffar III (*1561-1572*)

The death of Ahmad posed another problem of succession but I'timād produced a child called Nathu and swore that he was a son of Mahmūd III. Though this does not seem to be probable, I'timād's story was accepted by the nobles and the child ascended the throne under the title of Muzaffar III. The history of Muzaffar's reign is a record of continuous strife among the nobles in the midst of which I'timād managed to retain his regency until he was driven away by a Gujarāt noble called Chingīz Khān and some Mīrzās, that is, fugitive Mughul princes. I'timād Khān thereupon fled to Durgāpur, and sent a message to Akbar, who was then besieging Chitor, to come and occupy Gujarāt. Akbar, however, could not respond to this invitation immediately.

Chingīz Khān's power was short-lived and he was murdered by one of his Abyssinian officers. The result was I'timād's return to power, and the occupation by the Mīrzās of Broach, Surat, Barodā and Chāmpāner; Hindu feudatories began to assert their power and the Rāo of Cutch and the Jām of Nawanagar began to issue coins.[23] We need not trace the dreary history of Gujarāt for the next few years till I'timād again invited Akbar to invade Gujarāt. Akbar marched from Fathpur Sīkrī on 2 July, 1572, and when he approached Ahmadābād unopposed in the following November, Muzaffar was found hiding in a corn field and brought in. He duly made his submission (November, 1572) and was granted a small allowance.[24]

II. KĀSHMĪR[25]

Muhammad

We have noticed in the previous volume that Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne for the fourth and last time in A.D. 1530.[25a] Next year Kājī Chak advanced with an army, while Kāmrān sent another under Mahram Beg to conquer Kāshmīr. In this predicament Kājī Chak responded to the call of Abdāl Makri, who was in virtual control of affairs, and their combined forces met the Mughuls. At first the Mughuls carried everything before them, and occupied the capital, but later the Kāshmīrī resistance was more successful; the Mughuls were forced to negotiate peace and after receiving a few presents were allowed to depart peacefully.

Kāshmīr was then divided among the five great nobles, who suffered Muhammad to retain the crown lands, but soon after Mīrzā Haidar invaded Kāshmīr.

Mīrzā Haidar, born in the Dughlāt tribe, a branch of the Chagtāi Mughuls, was Bābur's cousin. Mīrzā Haidar was at that time serving under Sultān Sa'īd Khān of Mughulistān and, along with Sa'īd Khān's son, Mīrzā Sikandar, invaded Kāshmīr in 1532. Like Kāmrān, Mīrzā Haidar at first was quite successful, but later dissension arose amongst his home-sick officers, and he had to retire from Kāshmīr by the middle of 1533, after concluding peace with Mīrzā Muhammad who gave his daughter in marriage to Mīrzā Sikandar.

The only other notable incident in the reign of Muhammad was a severe famine graphically described by Prājyabhaṭṭa who adds that Abdāl Makri and other nobles relieved the distress of the people by feeding them.[26]

Shams-ud-dīn to Mīrzā Haidar's second invasion

Muhammad died in the middle of 1537, and was succeeded by his son Shams-ud-dīn. The hostility amongst the powerful nobles flared up and Kāshmīr again had to suffer prolonged civil war, as a result of which Kājī Chak managed to secure control of the government.

Shams-ud-dīn died after a reign of about three years and was succeeded by Nazuk Shāh.[27]

The year of Nazuk Shāh's accession (1540) saw Humāyūn's defeat at the battle of Kanauj. This was followed by a precipitate flight of the Mughuls as described above.[28] All the principal Mughul leaders assembled at Lahore, and there Mīrzā Haidar suggested that Kāshmīr should be conquered. This plan had the merit of giving the Mughuls a base in India which could be easily defended against Sher Shāh; also Mīrzā Haidar had been approached by Abdāl Makri and Regi Chak to invade Kāshmīr. But, for various reasons Humāyūn did not accept the Mīrzā's plan, though he allowed him to depart for Kāshmīr and gave him four hundred soldiers.

Kājī Chak on hearing of Mīrzā Haidar's invasion defended only one route, but Mīrzā avoided that route and entered Kāshmīr by the Punch pass on 2 December, 1540. Possibly the Mīrzā received adequate support within the country, for Kājī Chak, without any further attempt to oppose the Mughul invader, hastened to Sher Shāh for help. Mīrzā Haidar thus conquered Kāshmīr without practically having to fight for it.

Mīrzā Haidar allowed Nazuk Shāh to continue as king with Abdāl Makri as the *wazir,* and after the latter's death, his son Hassan Makri was appointed as the *wazir.* Meanwhile Kājī Chak had been cordially received by Sher Shāh, who gave him 5000 horse under the command of Afghān officers. With this force Kājī entered Kāshmīr in the spring of 1541. An indecisive battle was followed by a stalemate, but ultimately a decisive battle was fought in August 1541, in which the Mīrzā with inferior numbers defeated the Afghāns, and forced them and their protege, Kājī Chak and Daulat Chak, to flee to India. The Chaks thereafter made a few more unsuccessful attempts to regain their power, but the death of Kājī Chak due to fever in 1544, and of Regi Chak in action two years later, relieved Mīrzā Haidar temporarily of any danger from that side.

These victories made the Mīrzā master of Kāshmīr. Now he attempted to conquer the semi-independent provinces of the kingdom, such as Kishtwār as well as Bāltistān and Ladakh. These adventures met with varying degrees of success, but resulted in the dispersal of his forces. The weakness of the Mīrzā's position became apparent in 1549, when Haibat Khān Niyāzī, Islām Shāh's rebel governor of Lahore, being defeated moved towards Kāshmīr. While on the way he met Daulat Chak and Ghāzī Chak who proposed a joint invasion of Kāshmīr, but Haibat, instead of falling in with the proposal sent an envoy to Mīrzā Haidar who sent a large amount of money to induce Haibat to leave Kāshmīr. Thereupon the frustrated Chaks went to Islām Shāh, and Mīrzā Haidar countered their move by sending a present of saffron to Islām Shāh. Islām later sent an envoy with rich presents to Kāshmīr, and Haidar gave him suitable presents.

Mīrzā Haidar, like other Mughul princes, was a great patron of art and literature. His description of the Hindu temples is delightful reading, so that in contrast his religious orthodoxy comes as a surprise. He was a bigoted Sunnī, and as soon as he felt secure, began to persecute the Nurbakshiya sect, who at that time had an influential following in Kāshmīr. Abu-'l-Fazl also charges him with misgovernment.[29] Possibly the Mīrzā was a good soldier, lacking in administrative ability. To this was added his religious fanaticism and he further alienated the Kāshmīrīs by transferring his allegiance to Humāyūn after the latter conquered Kābul and Qandahār in 1545.

Trouble broke out in 1551 and the Mīrzā sent a force towards Punch under his cousin Qarā Bahādur but he was disastrously defeated and imprisoned by the Kāshmīrīs under Husain Makri and Idi Raina, who were soon after joined by Daulat Chak, and their combined force marched towards Srinagar. As Mīrzā Haidar prepared to proceed against them, serious rebellions broke out in Bāltistān, Ladakh and other places and everywhere his small garrisons were overpowered and either driven off or destroyed. Still the Mīrzā set out to oppose the main Kāshmīrī army who had fortified themselves at Mānar near Khānpur. As he had a small force, the Mīrzā decided to risk the hazard of a night attack, during which he died of a chance arrow (October, 1551).[30]

End of the Shāh Mīrī dynasty

The history of the decade following the death of Mīrzā Haidar, ending in the assumption of sovereignty by the Chaks, is rather confusing. At first the nobles accepted Nazuk Shāh as Sultān, a *roi faineant,* the real power being in the hands of Idi Raina, the prime minister, who had taken a prominent part in the actions against Mīrzā Haidar. Idi Raina, however, was able at the beginning to gain the support of the powerful houses of the Chaks and Makris by judicious distribution of favour. Thus when in 1552 Haibat Khān Niyāzī again invaded Kāshmīr, an army under Idi Raina, Daulat Chak and Husain Makri, successfully opposed him. In the action that followed, Haibat Khān and his wife Bībī Rābi'a, who displayed great courage fighting by her husband's side, lost their lives, and the Afghāns were routed.

Soon after the defeat of the Afghāns, civil war broke out in Kāshmīr between Idi Raina, supported mainly by the Makris, and the Chaks led by Daulat Chak in which Idi Raina was defeated and, while flying, died accidentally. Daulat Chak thereupon assumed the office of the prime minister, deposed Nazuk Shāh, and set up Ibrāhīm, the son of Muhammad, on the throne (1552).

From this time the ascendancy of the Chaks was complete though the Shāh Mīrī kings were allowed to rule for another decade. Dissension, however, broke out among the Chaks a few years later when Daulat Chak married his aunt, the widowed mother of Ghāzī Chak. Ghāzī Chak managed to capture Daulat Chak, and after blinding him, became the prime minister. He immediately deposed Ibrāhīm and crowned his brother Ismā'īl, and on his death in 1557, Ghāzī set up on the throne his nephew and Ismā'īl's son, Habib. Four years later (1561) Ghāzī set aside Habib on the ground of incompetence and ascended the throne himself. But, as has been noted above, Ghāzī had been the virtual ruler of Kāshmīr from the time he became the prime minister.

The period of Ghāzī's prime ministership was disturbed by local rebellions which he was able to crush. Some of the rebels, however, sought the help of Abu-'l-Ma'ālī, the disgraced noble of Akbar's court, who collected some Mughul and Kāshmīrī soldiers and invaded Kāshmīr in 1558, but was disastrously defeated. The disgruntled nobles then sought the help of Qarā Bahādur, one of Mīrzā Haidar's lieutenants, but his expedition, too, met the same fate, and he escaped to Akbar. There were other disturbances which Ghāzī managed to quell, but the expedition which he sent to Ladakh was a failure.

In his old age Ghāzī was attacked with leprosy and entrusted his brother Husain Khān with the task of government. Soon certain incidents antagonized the two brothers, and Husain usurped the throne in 1563 after deposing Ghāzī and blinding his son Ahmad.

Husain's reign also witnessed the usual civil wars, but the most important incident of his reign was an apparently trivial affair which first interested Akbar in the fate of Kāshmīr. Two intemperate Mullās, one a Shiah and the other a Sunnī, began by abusing each other and ended with the Shiah Yūsuf wounding the Sunnī Habib, and a special tribunal composed of Sunnīs condemned Yūsuf to death. It was at this time that Mīrzā Muqim, Akbar's envoy, came to Kāshmīr. Muqim was welcomed with great respect by Husain, who now referred the dispute to the Mughul plenipotentiary and a case was started against the Sunnī divines for having executed Yūsuf when he had merely wounded the Sunnī qāzī. As a result of this enquiry a few Sunnīs were executed. Soon Muqim left Kāshmīr, laden with rich presents and Husain's daughter to be married to Akbar.[31] But the disreputable conduct of Husain and his advisers so angered Akbar, that he declined to accept the presents and Husain's daughter had to return to Kāshmīr. Muqim was in his turn judged by 'Abdun-Nabī and others and on their advice put to death by Akbar. On hearing this Husain fell seriously ill; his nobles deserted him and joined his brother, 'Alī Khān, who soon forced Husain to abdicate in his favour (1569).

'Alī Shāh's reign was as disturbed by civil disturbances as that of his predecessors. In 1571, 'Alī Khān Chak attempted to seize the throne but was ultimately defeated and captured. Next, 'Alī Shāh's son and successor Yūsuf, murdered Ghāzī Shāh's surviving son, so that there might be no rival claimant to the throne. 'Alī Shāh then sent a force against his son and it seemed that a war between father and son was inevitable, but the *wazir* intervened and effected a reconciliation. A few years later two princes of the Shāh Mīrī dynasty, who had taken refuge in Hindusthān, attempted to capture Kāshmīr, but were defeated. One of the princes died fighting while the other managed to escape.

The most important event in 'Alī Shāh's reign was his acceptance of Mughul suzerainty. In the middle of 1578, Akbar sent two envoys, namely, Mullā 'Ishqi' and Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn to Kāshmīr, as Abu-'l-Fazl says, "in order that they might guide that sitter in the hills ('Alī Shāh) to obedience."[32] The result was that 'Alī Shāh had the *khutba* recited and coins issued in the name of Akbar. Why 'Alī Shāh performed these acts is not known, but he undoubtedly provided Akbar the pretext for considering Kāshmīr as a vassal State.

In 1579 'Alī Shāh died of an accident while playing polo, and though most of the nobles were in favour of his son Yūsuf, 'Alī Shāh's brother, Abdāl, decided to contest the throne. Abdāl, however, was defeated and killed in battle. Yūsuf ascended the throne, but within two months the nobles drove him away and raised Sayyid Mubārak, the *wazir*, to the throne. Within a few months, however, the nobles imprisoned Mubārak and set up one Lohar Chak on the throne.

In the meantime, Yūsuf Shāh, despairing of success, came to Lahore to seek Mughul help from Mān Singh who brought him to the court at Āgra where he was received by Akbar in January, 1580.[33] Akbar promised Yūsuf the necessary help and deputed Mān Singh and another officer for the purpose, with whom Yūsuf left in August, 1580. But by the time he arrived at Lahore some Kāshmīrī nobles, afraid of the Mughul troops, opened negotiations, and Yūsuf managed, though it is not clear how, to detach himself from the Mughuls and raising a small force of Kāshmīrīs entered his kingdom. This time fortune favoured Yūsuf and he was able to defeat his enemies. Lohar Chak was captured and blinded.

Resistance to Yūsuf however continued though he managed to overcome all opposition. But in 1581 envoys came from Akbar and Yūsuf hastened to welcome them at Baramula. He then sent his third son Haidar to the imperial court with rich presents. He was allowed to depart after a year, and this time Akbar demanded that Yūsuf himself should come and wait on him. This Yūsuf was not prepared to do and he sent his eldest son Ya'qūb to the imperial court in 1585. Shortly afterwards, while Ya'qūb was still there Akbar decided to invade Kāshmīr.

Some modern historians have condemned Akbar for his unprovoked aggression. It is, therefore, necessary to remember that Akbar could justifiably have looked upon Kāshmīr as a feudatory State on the basis of 'Alī Shāh's reciting the *khutba* and striking coins in his name. This relation became even more pronounced when Yūsuf came to him for support to win his throne; Yūsuf then dispensed with Mughul support, but that would hardly change his status in Akbar's view. Moreover, when Akbar demanded Yūsuf's presence at the imperial court, the latter, instead of an unequivocal refusal, prevaricated by sending his sons. Akbar alleged in one of his letters that Yūsuf's son Haidar was not fit for service, and Ya'qūb was 'somewhat mad.'[34] There can hardly be any doubt that diplomatically Akbar's conduct was correct, and that Yūsuf had put himself in an indefensible position by failing to assert his independence at the proper time. It is also extremely doubtful if Yūsuf had ever sustained any idea of independence as we understand it today. When the Mughul army under Bhagwān Dās began to enter Kāshmīr the nobles counselled resistance, but Yūsuf decided otherwise and surrendered at the earliest possible opportunity (about 24 February, 1586).[35]

Yūsuf's surrender did not stop fighting. His son Ya'qūb crowned himself and carried on the struggle against the Mughuls. At first the Kāshmīrī resistance halted the Mughul advance, but ultimately some landlords let the Mughuls pass through their villages, whereupon the Kāshmīrīs came with proposals of peace. It was agreed that Akbar's name should be mentioned in the *khutba,* coins struck in his name, and revenues from the mint, saffron, shawl, etc., should be collected by imperial superintendents and paid to the imperial treasury.

It is difficult to determine, who entered into this treaty-relation with Akbar. Abu-'l-Fazl says: "As the army had been harassed, these proposals were accepted by the endeavours of Yūsuf, the ruler of Kāshmīr."[36] But Yūsuf was at this time in the Mughul camp, so he seems to have acted as an intermediary between his son Ya'qūb and the Mughuls. This conclusion is to some extent supported by Prājyabhaṭṭa who states that after Yūsuf's surrender Ya'qūb became the king.[37] On 7 April, 1586, Yūsuf was presented at the court. As mentioned above (p. 148) Yūsuf was imprisoned.

According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Akbar "had resolved upon restoring Kashmir to him (Yusuf) but the imperial servants represented that he ought to have some punishment for his backslidings, and that Kashmir should first be conquered and afterwards restored to him. H.M. accepted this view, and made him over to Raja Todar Mal."[38] A year later Yūsuf was released and given a fief in Bihār.[39]

Akbar has been severely criticised by some modern historians for his treatment of Yūsuf. It is no doubt impossible to justify Yūsuf's imprisonment, but the statement that it led Bhagwān Dās to commit suicide seems to be absurd.[40]

The terms of the treaty, as might be foreseen, were not honoured by Ya'qūb. Had he, however, administered the country well, he might have defied the mighty Mughul, secured as he was behind the formidable mountain passes. But Ya'qūb, instead of rallying the country around his throne, divided his supporters by his anti-Sunnī policy. He could not expect any support from the Hindus either, for the Chaks had alienated them by imposing the *jizya*.[41] Rebellion broke out which he suppressed, but some disgruntled nobles approached Akbar for help, and the emperor, who had been dissatisfied with the treaty negotiated by Bhagwān Dās, seized this opportunity to send an army under Qāsim Khān to conquer Kāshmīr (8 July, 1586).[42]

The difficult terrain and inclement weather helped the Kāshmīrīs, though Qāsim Khān overawed a section of the Kāshmīri army, and a large number of officers capitulated.[43] But the resistance led by Ya'qūb persisted till Qāsim Khān was replaced by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān.[44] Mīrzā Yūsuf seems to have been able to cope with the situation successfully so that it was possible for Akbar to visit Kāshmīr. He left Lahore on the eve of 7 May, 1589, the day after the death of Miyān Tānsen, and reached Srinagar on 15 June, 1589.[45] On 21 July, 1589, Ya'qūb opened negotiations for his surrender through his brother Abiya and on 7 August offered his formal submission.[46]

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1. For the annexation of Mālwa, see above, Vol. VI, p. 186.
1a. Danvers, F.C.: *The Portuguese in India* (London, 1894), pp. 395-401.
2. *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, tr. Bayley (MSB), p. 364; Nizām-ud-dīn gives a slightly different version of this speech, *TA*. tr. III, pt. i, 366. The date of the fall of Rāisen is given in *MSB*, p. 365.
3. *MSB*, pp. 367-68. Bahādur also invaded Gondwana and captured a fort called Kanur.

4. *History of Bengal,* II, ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, p. 157.
5. Above, p. 329.
6. *MSB,* p. 373.
7. Danvers, op. cit., pp. 405-06; 416.
8. Abu-'l-Fazl relates that Bahādur who was present in the first battle of Pānīpat was extremely impressed by the fighting quality of the Mughuls, *A.N.* tr. I, 294.
9. Dr. S. K. Bannerji has given translation of the earlier letters from the Arabic *History of Gujarat,* (S. K. Bannerji, *Humayun Badshah,* pp. 99-111). Sikandar says that only Humāyūn's third and last letter and Bahādur's reply to the same have been preserved which he quotes, *MSB,* 375-380. Bahādur's last reply to Humāyūn was quite frank and outspoken and he accepted Humāyūn's challenge. The story given by Sikandar and other historians is that Bahādur, who was illiterate, had this letter drafted by a man who had a grouse against Humāyūn, and gave orders for its despatch while under influence of drink without consulting his ministers. Next morning when the Ministers learnt about it, Bahādur agreed to change it but the messenger had already departed and in spite of best efforts could not be recalled. This story appears to be apocryphal; Bahādur was justified in asserting his right to grant asylum to Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā.
10. Dr. S. K. Bannerji, on the authority of the *Āīn* (II, 184), states that Humāyūn had gone to Kānār in the Kālpī district (Bannerji, op. cit. 73). Dr. Iswari Prasad, who does not give any reference, states that Humāyūn had proceeded up to Kanauj on his way to Bengal. (Iswari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun,* p. 68).
11. For Bahādur's plan of campaign and Humāyūn's activities see *A.N.* I, pp. 293 ff. According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Humāyūn advanced from Āgra on 9 November, 1534. But this date seems to be too early. I have therefore followed the date given by Gulbadan Begam, *Humāyūn-nāma,* tr. pp. 131-32.
12. *A.N.* tr. I, p. 303. Sikandar gives the date as 3rd Ramazan 941 A.H., 25 March, 1535; *MSB* gives the date as 20th Ramazan 941 A.H. which Bailey converts into 25 March, 1535, which seems to be a mistake.
13. Danvers, op. cit., 417.
14. For the defeat of the Mughuls in Gujarat, see above pp. 47-50. Sikandar states that the troops which helped Bahādur to defeat Yādgār Nāsir Mīrzā came from the garrison of Chitor, Ajmer and Ranthambor, *MSB,* 393.
15. The Portuguese historians accuse Bahādur of having intended to capture the Portuguese Governor treacherously. Erskine went into the problem thoroughly and put the entire blame on the Portuguese (W. Erskine, *History of India, Babur and Humayun,* II, 95, f.n.). But Bahādur either intended to play some trick after allaying the suspicion of the Portuguese or was biding his time for the Turkish fleet's arrival, *MSB,* pp. 395, 327; Danvers, op. cit., 425.
16. *MSB* does not give the date but states that Mahmūd ascended the throne in 943 A.H. (A.D. 1536-1537).
17. Both Sikandar and Hājī-ud-dabir completely ignore this event, though the latter describes Gujarāt's attempt to recover Diu in 1546. For this encounter see M.L. Dames: "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century," *JRAS,* January, 1921, 15-20; E. Denison Ross, "The Portuguese in India and Arabia", *JRAS,* January 1922, 13 ff. R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India,* 244-60, Danvers, op. cit., 425-39.
18. For details see M.S. Commissariat: *Studies in the History of Gujarat,* pp. 7 ff. and *History of Gujarat,* pp. 436-57.
19. Quoted by Commissariat, *History of Gujarat,* p. 451.
20. "A fourth part of Gujarat, called Banth (Wanta), was in the hands of Rajputs and Grassiah" *MSB* 439. *Wanta* meant the enjoyment by the landlord of one fourth of a village. Forbes, *Rās-mālā,* II, 270-71.
21. *MSB,* 439.
22. *MSB,* 439-40.
23. A few copper coins bearing the name of Mahmūd-bin-Latif in Persian and the name of the Rāo of Cutch in Nāgarī have been found, from which Hodivala

concluded that the Hindu princes were minting coins during the reign of Mahmūd III. S. H. Hodivala: "The unpublished coins of Gujarat Sultanate" *JBBRAS* 1926, 32-33. But minting copper coins was of little importance.

24. For details of Akbar's Gujarat campaign, see above pp. 125, 133, 145. Though Muzaffar did not take any part in the Gujarāt rebellion of 1573 he escaped from surveillance in 1578, and took refuge in Junagad, where he collected sufficient men to start a rebellion, and in 1583, captured Ahmadābād and declared himself King. He defeated several imperial officers, but was severely defeated by 'Abdur-Rahīm, who got his title of Khān Khānān for his action against Muzaffar. Muzaffar then took refuge in Cutch, where the historian Nizām-ud-dīn pursued him. Muzaffar continued to give trouble till 1591-92 when he was captured and is reported to have committed suicide.

25. The proper name is Kāśmīra. But as it is also a modern name it is usually written without any diacritical mark or as Kāshmir or Kāshmīr (as in this book). The form Kashmīr used in *CHI* seems to be erroneous. (Ed.).

25a. Vol. VI, 386. In an article published in 1956 I had shown that possibly Muhammad's restoration in 1530 was the beginning of his fifth reign (A. K. Majumdar: 'A note on the chronology of the Sultans of Kashmir in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*', *JASBL*, XXII, 92), but as all the authoritative texts assigned him only four reigns, I did the same. Dr. M. Husain in his *Kashmir under the Sultans* p. 296 (1959) has assigned five reigns to Muhammad; though he has noticed my article he has not taken into consideration the objections which prompted me to assign four reigns to Muhammad instead of five. I am therefore following the chronology proposed in my article mentioned above.

26. *Rājataranginī*, (RT. Peterson's ed.) pp. 351-52, vv. 347-361.

27. For the relationship between Nazuk and Muhammad, see Vol. VI, 385. M. Husain states that Shams-ud-dīn was succeeded by his brother Ismā'īl. From the *RT*, p. 355, v. 399 ff., however, it seems that Nazuk succeeded Shams-ud-dīn. Abu-'l-Fazl's testimony is conflicting. In the *Āīn* (II, p. 375, 2nd ed.) Abu-'l-Fazl has given a list of kings from which it would appear that at the time of Mīrzā Haidar's invasion Ismā'īl was reigning, while in the *Akbar-nāma*, he states that "At that time (i.e. during Mīrzā Haidar's second invasion) a person called Nazuk Shāh—having a name that was no name—was the reported sovereign". *AN*, I, 402. Unfortunately M. Husain does not discuss this problem at all and does not give any reference for his statement (p. 130) that Ismā'īl succeeded Shams-ud-dīn, and that Mīrzā Haidar set up Nazuk Shāh on the throne (p. 133). We have therefore followed the statement of *RT* which is corroborated by the *AN*.

28. See above pp. 55 ff.

29. *AN*, I, 405. For Mīrzā Haidar's appreciation of Hindu temples see *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* tr. by Elias and Ross, p. 427.

30. M. Husain, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 140.

31. M. Husain (op. cit., p. 156) writes that Husain's daughter was intended to be married to prince Salīm. But these incidents happened in A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569-70), the year in which Jahāngīr was born; therefore the girl must have been intended for Akbar.

32. *A.N.*, III, 356.

33. Ibid., 409; Yūsuf's surrender to Akbar is graphically described by Prājyabhaṭṭa.
Śamasta-prithivī-pāla-Jalāladīna-bhūpateh I
Charanaṁ śaraṇī-kartum yayau Yūsuba-bhūpatiḥ II
RT (Peterson's ed.) p. 376, v. 637.
Of Yūsuf's return it is stated:—
Jalāladīna-bhūpāla-pāda-darśana-harshitaḥ I
Āyayau vatsare yāte Śrīmān-Yūsuba-bhūpatiḥ II
Ibid., p. 377, v. 643.

34. Haidar Malik: *IOMS*, p. 185; quoted by Beveridge, *AN*, III, 550, f.n.

35. *TA*, II, 760-61, *AN*, III, 724; these incidents are quite graphically described in the *RT*. pp. 679-82, vv. 661-695.

36. *AN*, III, 725.

37. *Pañcha-varshā=śritān=bhogān-bhuktvā Yūsuba-bhupatiḥ I*
Jallāladīna-bhūpāla-sevanārtham athā=gamat II
Gate tasmin mahīpāle Bhagavad=dāsa-sainikam I
Yākuba nāma tat-putraḥ prājyaṁ rājyam=athā-grahīt II
RT (Peterson's ed.) p. 382, vv. 694-95.
Prājyabhaṭṭa then relates in some detail Ya‘qūb's attempt to defend Kāshmīr against the next Mughul invasion under Qāsīm Khān, but never mentions Yūsuf. That is, so far as Kāshmīr was concerned Yūsuf's reign came to an end with his surrender.

38. *AN*, III, 738-39.

39. *AN*, III, 801.

40. "......Akbar refused to ratify the treaty which Bhagwān Dās had made, and broke faith with Yūsuf by detaining him as a prisoner. The rājā, sensitive on a point of honour, committed suicide". (W. Haig, *CHI*, III, 293). Haig as usual does not give any reference but the only authority for this statement can be Badāūnī, who states that Bhagwān Dās had given safe conduct to Yūsuf and when Akbar imprisoned him, the rājā struck himself with a dagger, but recovered soon after (Badāūnī, II, 364). But, as V. Smith pointed out, Badāūnī was singularly misinformed about the fate of Yūsuf, and his statement may therefore be rejected. V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghul*, 240. M. Husain (op. cit. 178) seems to reject Smith's contention but does not give any reason for doing so. [It is noteworthy that even *CHI*, IV, p. 136 differs from what is stated in *CHI*, III as quoted above, Editor].

41. *Pura-chakka-kulo-tpannair-bhūpair—jāti-virodhataḥ I*
Brāhmaṇebhyas—tadā daḥḍo grihītaḥ kila vārshikaḥ II
RT, p. 400 v. 885.
The persecution of the Brāhmins seems to have been quite severe and there were some forced conversions too, for Prājyabhaṭṭa adds:
Uttamo Bāhmaṇo deśam tatyāja mlechhadūshitam I
Tatyāja madhyamo lajjām jātim tatyāja chā=dhamaḥ II
(ibid v. 888).
Akbar remitted the *jizya*.
Tādṛśān Brāhmaṇān jñātvā Jallaladīna-bhūpatiḥ /
Chakka-vaṁsa-krama-yātam vipra-daṇḍam nyavārayat /
The Chaks were religious fanatics and there can be no doubt that they were persecuting the Hindus. Akbar's conquest must have come to them as a liberation and that is probably the reason why Prājyabhaṭṭa refers to him in very flattering terms.

42. Mīrzā Shāh Rūkh was sent first, but was recalled as "his heart was not in the work." *AN*, III, 747. It appears that the conquest of Kāshmīr was undertaken somewhat light-heartedly. Several officers gave their opinion as to the strategy which should be adopted in conquering that hilly country and Abu-'l-Fazl naively adds: "Though the writer of the noble volume frequently pointed out excellent methods for conquest, there was no good result," that is, Akbar did not accept his historian's plan for a difficult campaign. Presumably he had become cautious after Bīrbal's death. However, Akbar called a meeting of astrologers, who predicted "that if some energy were exerted the conquest would be quickly made". This excellent advice was accepted and Qāsīm Khān was selected for the command. *AN*, III, 752.

43. *AN*, III, 787.

44. Qāsīm Khān had probably become tired of the constant fight. From what Abu-'l-Fazl says (*AN*, III, 796) it may appear that Qāsīm Khān was recalled for his high-handedness but later (p. 798) Abu-'l-Fazl states that "Qasim Khan too got disgusted and petitioned for recall". He reached the court in February, 1588 (ibid, 805).

45. *AN*, III, 817, 827.

46. *AN*, III, 839, 846.

CHAPTER XIV

MUSLIM RESISTANCE TO MUGHUL IMPERIALISM (II)

THE FIVE SULTĀNATES OF THE DECCAN

I. *General Review*

It has already been shown in Volume VI, Chapter XI, how the forces of disintegration worked in the Bahmanī kingdom and ultimately brought about its dissolution. With the weakness and incapacity of the central government, the provincial governors became all-powerful within their jurisdictions, and one by one, five autonomous States came into existence, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur, Berār, Golconda and Bīdar. The process of disintegration started with Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk, the governor of Junnar, who refused to obey the behests of Qāsim Barīd, the Prime Minister of the *roi fainéant,* Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī (1482-1518), and in A.D. 1490 assumed independence in the city of Ahmadnagar founded by him. His example was followed by Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the governor of Bijāpur, and Fathullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the governor of Berār, in the same year. These governors enjoyed full autonomy within their respective jurisdictions,[1] and owed only nominal allegiance to the Bahmanī Sultān at Bīdar. Sultān Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Telingāna, also followed their footsteps in 1518[1a] after the death of Mahmūd Shāh. On the demise of Qāsim Barīd in 1504 his son, Amīr Barīd, controlled the administration of the decadent Bahmanī kingdom. But with the flight of Kalimullāh, the last Bahmanī Sultān, from Bīdar in A.D. 1528, Amīr Barīd was relieved of his phantom Sultān who, at first, went to Bijāpur and thence to Ahmadnagar, and breathed his last in 1538. Like the four autonomous States mentioned above, Amīr Barīd thus had one such unit, but he never formally assumed the title of "Shāh", and it was his son 'Alī Barīd, who succeeded him in A.D. 1542 and assumed the title of "Shāh".[2]

In Berār, the *khutbā* was read in the name of 'Imād-ul-Mulk for the first time in A.D. 1529.[3] So far as Bijāpur was concerned, it was Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, the fourth ruler (1535-1557), who took the title of Shāh[3a] and in regard to Golconda, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, the third ruler (1550-1580), called himself Shāh. But it is not of much importance if any ruler out of sentiment did not assume the regal title; the fact remains that when there was no scion of the ruling dynasty on the Bahmanī throne and the Sultān ceased to function, the provincial governments mentioned above who had so long acknowledged allegiance to the Bahmanī emperor acquired the position of sovereign monarchs.

Five independent Sultānates thus came into existence; namely, the 'Ādil Shāhī of Bijāpur, the Qutb Shāhī of Golconda, the Nizām Shāhī of Ahmadnagar, the Barīd Shāhī of Bīdar, and the 'Imād Shāhī of Berār. Of these, Berār and Bīdar were ultimately absorbed by their respective powerful neighbours, Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. Berār was annexed in A.D. 1574 and Bīdar in A.D. 1619. Some modern writers are of opinion that Bīdar was annexed by Bijāpur in A.D. 1609, but this view does not seem to be correct, for Bīdar helped Malik 'Ambar in his struggle with the Mughuls as late as 1616.[4] According to the *Basātīn-us-Salātīn* it fell in 1619,[5] and this date is accepted by Sir Wolseley Haig.[6] Of the rest, viz., Golconda, Bijāpur, and Ahmadnagar, the last two played very significant roles in the Deccan and shaped the history of south of the Narmada for a long time. "The heritage of the Bahmanis passed into the worthy hands of Nizam Shah and Adil Shah. Ahmadnagar and Bijapur now became centres which fully kept up the traditions of Islamic dominion and Islamic culture founded by the Sultans of Kulbarga."[7]

The respective positions of the five Sultānates were as follows: Ahmadnagar was situated to the south of Khāndesh and north of Bijāpur. Berār was on the north-eastern side of Ahmadnagar, and when the former was annexed by the latter, the north-eastern boundary of Ahmadnagar also touched the south-eastern boundary of Khāndesh. Bīdar was situated on the eastern and south-eastern sides of Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar respectively and "Golconda's western boundary was mostly identical with the eastern frontier of Bīdar." So Bīdar was surrounded by the three powerful kingdoms of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda.

The most important feature of the Deccan politics was the keen rivalry and frequent warfare among the three big States, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda for hegemony of the Deccan. As all these three had the same object in view, the repeated trials of strength arising out of their selfish greed not only disturbed peace and tranquillity in that region but often retarded the progress of Islām there. The small States of Berār and Bīdar were also not immune from rivalry and warfare, and they joined hands with one party or the other as suited their own purpose. But here one question naturally arises: how could Berār and Bīdar survive such a long time in the teeth of opposition from their powerful neighbours? This was possible mainly because of the natural jealousies and animosities of the great powers who were interested more in annihilation of their rivals than crushing the small States. Moreover, the rival States were always alert in maintaining the balance of power in the Deccan and did not like to tolerate any accession of strength of their adversary. This hindered the big powers from swallowing the weaker and smaller States and it also partly accounts for the prolonged life of the latter.

Although efforts were made from time to time to make up the differences of the States by marriage and other friendly alliances, they could not pave the way for lasting peace. The bitterness with which their wars were sometimes carried on led one or other of them even to take the assistance of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara to crush its adversary, and it was only on rare occasions that we find them acting together for a common cause. It was for the first time in 1564 that the four Sultāns of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Bīdar agreed to unite and proceed against Vijayanagara and ultimately fought together in the battle, popularly known as the battle of Talikota, in 1565. Malik ‘Ambar's adroitness again knit together Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda to stem the tide of Mughul aggression in the south.

The period which witnessed such turmoil and frequent warfare in the Deccan also produced some of the best administrators and statesmen like Malik ‘Ambar and Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II, of whom any country may be proud. "Malik Ambar," says Sir J. N. Sarkar, "is one of the three true statesmen that Islam in southern India has produced, and in some respects he is the greatest of them. In constructive genius and the combination of high military capacity with administrative skill, he towers above Khvāja Mahmūd Gāvān and Sir Salar Jang."[8]

Fine specimens of architecture were produced both at Golconda and Bijāpur. The architectural works at Bijāpur are "marked by a grandeur of conception and boldness in construction unequalled by any edifice in India." It was also during this period that under the patronage of some of the Sultāns of the Deccan, historical literature in Persian flourished there. Among them special mention may be made of *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* of Muhammad Qāsim Firishta, *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* of Mīr Rafī-ud-dīn Shirāzī, both written during the reign of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shah II, *Futūhāt-i-‘Ādil-Shāhī* of Fuzuni Astarabadi written during the reign of Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh and *Tārīkh-i-*

Muhammad Qutb Shāh completed in the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shāh.

II. *THE NIZĀM-SHĀHĪ KINGDOM OF AHMADNAGAR*

In A.D. 1490, Malik Ahmad, the governor of Junnar, assumed independence within his jurisdiction and henceforth he had only slender tie of allegiance to the central government.

Malik Ahmad "was the son of Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahrī, originally a Brahmin of Vijayanagara, whose real name was Timabhat, the son of Bahrlū. In his infancy, Nizām-ul-Mulk Bahrī was taken prisoner by the Bahmanī Sultān Ahmad Shāh, converted to Islām, and given the name of Malik Hasan. He was brought up and educated along with Prince Muhammad and from his father's name he was called Bahrlū, but the prince being unable to pronounce the word Bahrlū called him Bahrī, whence he was known as Malik Hasan Bahrī. Subsequently he was put in charge of the royal hawks, and the word for hawk being Bahrī, it became a part of his title."[9] He was a man of talents and, by degrees, rose to a very high position, wielding great authority in the State. He also obtained the grand appellation of Nizām-ul-Mulk.[10]

On the demise of his father, Malik Ahmad assumed the appellation of his father, and from this the dynasty is known as the Nizām Shāhī dynasty. He had built a city on the bank of the river Sina, beautified it with fine buildings and gardens, named it after him Ahmadnagar, and made it the seat of his government. This city held a more convenient and strategically better position than Junnar.

One of his great achievements was the conquest of the hill fortress of Daulatābād after prolonged efforts. The acquisition of such an important fortress greatly enhanced his power and prestige. Besides this, he took possession of the hill fort of Antur and several other places belonging to Khāndesh and compelled the Rājā of Baglāna to pay him tribute. In this manner he not only extended the territory of his State but also consolidated his power. He breathed his last in A.D. 1509.

He never called himself 'Shāh' and, as has been stated before, owed nominal allegiance to the Bahmanī Sultān. Firishta praises him for continence and modesty,[11] and he was an efficient general, good administrator and fond of duelling; it was during his time that the system of duelling was introduced in Ahmadnagar and thence it spread to other places in the Deccan.[12]

Burhān Nizām Shāh I (*1509-1553*)

On the demise of Ahmad, his son Burhān, a boy of seven, was installed in his place. Mukammal Khān, who held a high position in the State, was appointed minister and regent, and his son entitled ‘Azīz-ul-Mulk was appointed commander of the household troops. The father and son exercised uncontrolled sway over all affairs of the State. But the pride and insolence of ‘Azīz-ul-Mulk became intolerable to some of the nobles and they conspired to remove both the father and son from their high position. They wanted to accomplish this by removing Burhān and raising his younger brother Rājājī in his place. But this plot was not successful and the plotters had to leave Ahmadnagar and take shelter in Berār where they excited ‘Alā-ud-dīn ‘Imād Shāh to invade Ahmadnagar. ‘Alā-ud-dīn proceeded against the Nizām-Shāhī kingdom with a large army but sustained a severe defeat and was compelled to retreat to his capital Ellichpur, leaving everything including his horses and elephants in the hands of his enemies.[13] Being pursued he fled to Burhānpur, and, at last, a peace was concluded between the two States with the aid of the ruler of Khāndesh, but quarrel over the possessions of Māhūr and Pāthrī, the last of which was the ancestral home of the Nizām-Shāhī rulers, brought them again into conflict. Burhān, however, conquered both these places and succeeded in retaining possession of them.[13a]

In 1524, Ismā‘īl, the ruler of Bijāpur, met Burhān at Sholāpur, and an alliance was formed between them. His (Ismā‘īl’s) sister, Bībī Mariyam, was married to Burhān. The underlying motive which prompted him to contract such an alliance was to strengthen his position for retrieving the losses he had suffered at the hands of Kṛishṇadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, and punishing Amīr Barīd, the arch-enemy of Bijāpur.

But unfortunately the alliance could not create the desired feeling of cordiality. Asad Khān, the minister and envoy of Ismā‘īl, had promised in the name of his master to give the fort of Sholāpur as marriage dowry to Burhān[14] but his master professed ignorance of such authorization and refused to part with it. Burhān was eager to occupy it, and made alliances with Amīr Barīd and ‘Imād Shāh.[14a] In the following year, the confederate army marched against Sholāpur, but they were defeated near the frontier of Bijāpur, and Burhān, “overcome with the extreme heat of the day,” was carried away from the battlefield in a dead faint. His losses were heavy. Thus Burhān was unable to occupy this border fortress which was always a bone of contention between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar.

In 1527 Ahmadnagar again came to arms with Bijāpur when the latter had taken up the cause of Berār for the recovery of Pāthrī, but in the following year we come across a rare occasion when Bijāpur joined hands with Ahmadnagar against the combined armies of Berār, Khāndesh and Gujarāt. Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt made the position of Burhān precarious. Both the fortresses of Ahmadnagar and Daulatābād were besieged and Burhān had to purchase peace on payment of an indemnity and causing the *khutba* to be read in the name of Bahādur.[14b]

In 1531 war commenced between Bīdar and Bijāpur for the possession of Kalyāni and Qandahār. Amīr Barīd had promised to surrender these places to Bijāpur but did not act up to his promise and Ismā'īl marched to occupy them by force. As it was not possible to fight alone against Bijāpur, Amīr Barīd sought the assistance of Burhān, who at first tried to desist Ismā'īl from attacking Bīdar, but when he found that his endeavour did not produce the desired effect, he joined Amīr Barīd and moved against Bijāpur with twenty-five thousand cavalry and sufficient artillery. But he sustained a severe defeat in the engagement that followed and fled post haste to Ahmadnagar.

In the following year there was an attempt to arrive at an understanding between Burhān and Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh by dividing the Deccan between the two. A meeting was arranged between them and both agreed in fixing their respective zones of aggrandizement. It was settled that Ahmadnagar might take up the conquest of Berār, and Bijāpur that of Golconda.

In accordance with these terms Ismā'īl, who now joined hands with Amīr Barīd, proceeded to Golconda and laid siege to the fortress of Kovelaconda,[15] but, all on a sudden, he fell seriously ill and expired (1534). The whole plan was upset, partly due to his sudden death and partly on account of the disputes occurring between Burhān and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I.

In 1537, Burhān adopted the Shiah faith and although there was a Sunnī rising against him, he quelled it within a short time. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, who was a Sunnī, joined the Sunnī kings of Gujarāt and Khāndesh and made a plan to parcel out Ahmadnagar among them, but Burhān frustrated their plan.

There was no end of hostility between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar. As both these kingdoms desired supremacy in the Deccan, none could cease taking up arms against the other so long as the power of the adversary was not crushed or sufficiently reduced. Under such circumstances excuses for attacks were never wanting. Encouraged by a dissension between Ibrāhīm and his Shiah minister, Asad Khān Larī, Burhān formed an alliance with Bīdar and invaded Bijāpur. Although crowned with temporary success he had to face reverses in the long run and to conclude a treaty with Ibrāhīm on condition of restoration of Sholāpur which he had captured in the course of the war (1542).

His defeat and consequent restoration of Sholāpur to Ibrāhīm were too much for him to bear and he wanted to recover it as well as "the district of Pānj Tappā or the five heights on the Bijāpur border."[16] It was with the purpose of enlisting the support of Jamshīd, the Qutb-Shāhī ruler, that he fought on his side against his brother Ibrāhīm, who, with the assistance of 'Alī Barīd, had been trying to oust Jamshīd. Before launching upon an offensive against Bijāpur, Burhān succeeded in the formation of a quadruple alliance with Jamshīd, Daryā 'Imād Shāh and Rāmarāja of Vijayanagara. It was arranged to invade the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom from different directions (1543). The forces of Vijayanagara proceeded from the south and laid siege to Rāichūr; Burhān and Daryā 'Imād Shāh besieged Sholāpur, and Jamshīd, taking advantage of the absence of 'Ādil Shāhī forces on the Telingāna border, seized Kāknī, constructed a strong fort there and occupied the whole territory up to the walls of Gulbarga. It was extremely difficult for Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to repulse the attacks of his enemies, and with the object of creating a diversion he and his ally 'Alī Barīd marched to Parenda in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, and laid siege to it. This compelled Burhān and Daryā to give up the siege of Sholāpur and proceed to Parenda; Jamshīd also moved there. The two hostile parties met at Khāspurī, about three miles from Parenda, and, in the engagement which followed there, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh and 'Alī Barīd were defeated and fled to Bīdar. Jamshīd Qutb Shāh chased them as far as the walls of Bīdar and then returned to his country. Finding him detached from the confederacy, 'Alī Barīd took courage and invaded Golconda. The former received information of this when the enemy was only eight miles from the capital. Leaving a garrison for the defence of Golconda he created a diversion by an invasion of Bīdar. As soon as 'Alī Barīd heard this he left Golconda and retreated towards his capital. He met Jamshīd on the way where after an indecisive battle, both of them agreed to retire to their respective dominions.[17]

After some time Jamshīd Qutb Shāh moved for an offensive against Bīdar, and on hearing of it, 'Alī Barīd marched to oppose him. A battle was fought at Narayankhera without any decisive result, but the campaign ultimately terminated in favour of Jamshīd who occupied the districts of Kaulās and Narayankhera.

Getting an assurance of aid from Burhān, Jamshīd Qutb Shāh again marched against Bīdar. He occupied the hill fort of Medak, whereas Burhān and his ally Daryā took possession of Ausa and Udgir. 'Alī Barīd received assistance from Bijāpur, but in spite of this reinforcement he was defeated by Jamshīd Qutb Shāh who, after the victory, retired to Golconda. On the advice of Asad Khān Larī, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh decided to come to terms with Burhān and Rāmarājā by offering some concessions to them. He ceded the district of Pānj Tappā to Ahmadnagar and sent presents to Rāmarājā. Thus Golconda was isolated.

A secret understanding was also arrived at between Burhān and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh allowing the former free hand in his policy of aggrandizement in Bīdar, and the latter was allowed a similar advantage in Vijayanagara.[18]

After these, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh sent Asad Khān against Jamshīd whom this general attacked with all his might. Jamshīd was compelled to give up the siege of Yādgīr in which he had been engaged and also leave the fort of Kāknī which was destroyed. He was closely pursued to the gates of Golconda where in the battle which ensued Jamshīd was defeated. As Asad Khān found it beyond his power to occupy this impregnable fort, he retreated and came back to Bijāpur.

Burhān attacked the fort of Qandahār belonging to Bīdar, and captured it. 'Alī Barīd, who was unaware of the secret arrangement between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur, hastened to Ibrāhīm for assistance, but the latter, finding this a suitable opportunity for the annexation of Bīdar, confined him in prison.[19] After this, he moved to the south and conquered several places of the Vijayanagara kingdom. But his enhancement of power and territory was viewed with alarm by Burhān who attacked Sholāpur. Both these Sultāns now requested Jamshīd for assistance. The latter left Golconda, and without joining any party, took up his position between the two contending parties. He also received messages from 'Alī Barīd requesting him for deliverance from his present miserable condition. The position of Jamshīd was then really enviable; all the three Sultāns were waiting in suspense for his favour and he exhibited his tact by sticking to his policy of neutrality to the last and, at the same time securing the release of 'Alī Barīd from Ibrāhīm and re-instating him on the throne of Bīdar (A.D. 1548).[20] He thus kept Bīdar as a buffer State between him and the powerful kingdoms on the west.

The relation between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur remained as strained as before; Burhān resolved to invade Bijāpur once more and with this end in view contracted an alliance with Vijayanagara. It was arranged to besiege Kalyānī which belonged to 'Alī Barīd, now ally of Ibrāhīm. Burhān invested it and Ibrāhīm proceeded there to render assistance to his ally, but he was defeated with considerable loss of men and money. At this, the garrison lost courage and surrendered.

But Ibrāhīm was not dismayed by this discomfiture and he marched to Parenda which he occupied easily. Leaving this fortress in charge of an officer he laid waste the neighbouring districts and went back to Bijāpur. Burhān recovered it without any difficulty, as the officer in charge of it, out of fear, had fled away even when he (Burhān) was many miles away from it. On his arrival at Bijāpur the timid officer was put to death.

On hearing of the preparations of Ibrāhīm for the recovery of Kalyānī, Burhān again joined hands with Vijayanagara. It was agreed that the border fortresses, Mudgal and Rāichūr, situated between the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā, should be conquered by Vijayanagara and that Rāmarājā should assist Burhān in recovering Sholāpur. The allied army occupied Mudgal and Rāichūr and also captured Sholāpur within three months.

In 1553 Burhān and Rāmarājā again invaded Bijāpur and proceeded as far as the fort of Bijāpur which was invested, but the Nizām Shāh fell seriously ill and he was compelled to return to Ahmadnagar where he expired.

Husain Nizām Shāh I (1553-1565)

Burhān left six sons, of whom Husain succeeded to the throne of his father, and of his five brothers, 'Ābdul Qādir fled to Berār, Khudābanda to Bengal and the three others, Haidar, 'Alī and Mīrān Muhammad Baqir to Bijāpur.

During this reign, the old quarrels between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur continued. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's position was, for the time being, strengthened by the arrival of two influential Nizām Shāhī nobles, Khvāja Jahān Deccani and Saif-'Ain-ul-Mulk, in Bijāpur. According to their advice Ibrāhīm took up the cause of 'Alī and it was agreed that if the latter would succeed in winning the throne of Ahmadnagar, the forts of Sholāpur and Kalyāni would be given to Bijāpur. 'Alī, with a contingent of two thousand cavalry, marched towards Ahmadnagar with a view to enlisting the support of the Nizām Shāhī nobles and then to attack Husain, but he met with little success. Ibrāhīm had besieged the fort of Sholāpur and Husain, making an alliance with Daryā 'Imād Shāh, marched with him to raise the siege. Both the parties met in the vicinity of this fort and drew up their forces in battle array. A sanguinary battle was fought, but Ibrāhīm, suspecting the treachery of Saif-'Ain-ul-Mulk, fled from the battlefield and retreated to Bijāpur. Husain also then retired to his own dominion. Although 'Ain-ul-Mulk tried to prove his guiltless conduct and sincere loyalty to 'Ādil Shāh, it was of no avail. Thus, goaded to desperation, he became a rebel (1555) and Ibrāhīm's force had to sustain several defeats in his hands till at length he was driven out of Bijāpur only with the assistance of Vijayanagara. He re-entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar with permission of Husain but the latter treacherously put him to death.[21]

War however did not cease long in the Deccan and Husain made an alliance with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh with the primary object of conquering Gulbarga, situated in the territory of Bijāpur. Both the Sultāns then invested it (1557). Finding it impossible to resist their attacks, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I sought the assistance of Rāmarājā who immediately marched with his army towards Gulbarga. At the request of Rāmarājā, the Qutb Shāh agreed to mediate for a settlement between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. Moreover, with a view to arriving at a peaceful solution among the parties Rāmarājā met the contending parties "at the junction of the Bhima and the Krishna" and "a peace was now effected to the mutual satisfaction of all parties."[22]

Shortly after this conference, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh died, and his son, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, ascended the throne of Bijāpur (1557). He tried by all possible means to retain the alliance with Rāmarājā and even went to Vijayanagara to offer his condolence on the death of a son of the latter.[23]

Taking advantage of the accession of a new monarch on the throne of Bijāpur, Husain Nizām Shāh, in concert with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, invaded the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh sought the assistance of Rāmarājā who marched with an army towards Ahmadnagar. Both 'Alī and Rāmarājā requested Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to join them, as he was indeed obliged to do under the terms of the compact arrived at by the four parties, and Ibrāhīm joined them reluctantly. On the approach of the enemies in his territory, Husain Nizām Shāh retreated to his kingdom, and unable to resist them, retired to Paithan, on the Godavari, leaving a garrison in the fortress of Ahmadnagar for its defence. He solicited the aid of Berār, Khāndesh and Bīdar but no relief came from these quarters. Khān Jahān, brother of ‘Alī Barīd, who had gone over from Bīdar to Berār, dissuaded Daryā ‘Imād Shāh from rendering assistance to Ahmadnagar and eventually joined ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh.

The confederate army penetrated as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar and after carrying on depredations in the places *en route*, laid siege to it. The garrison baffled all attempts of the besiegers to capture it and expected that the enemy would be compelled to raise the siege and retire with the advent of the monsoon. At the same time, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh who had full sympathy for Husain, felt perturbed at the enhanced strength of Bijāpur and maintained secret communications with Husain and the besieged, whom he assisted in all possible manner. When these things leaked out, ‘Alī and Rāmarājā became highly incensed and demanded explanation from Ibrāhīm who decamped at night and proceeded towards Golconda.[23a]

In the meantime, Daryā ‘Imād Shāh had sent a large army under Jahāngīr Khān for the assistance of Husain. He cut off the supplies of the besiegers and reduced them to a sad plight. All these compelled the besiegers to raise the siege of Ahmadnagar and move to Ashti whence one party was despatched against Parenda[24] and another to Ausa.[25]

The kingdom of Ahmadnagar had suffered a lot and there was still no end of suffering. In order to save his country from further devastation, Husain felt the imperative necessity of immediate peace with his enemies. He therefore sent envoys to Rāmarājā for peace and at last it was concluded on three conditions laid down by Rāmarājā. These were: (1) Husain should cede Kalyāni to Bijāpur, (2) he should put to death Jahāngīr Khān whose activities placed the besiegers in a miserable condition, and (3) he should also make personal submission to Rāmarājā.[26] All these conditions were ultimately fulfilled by Husain.

Meanwhile Husain had troubles with the Portuguese also. They had sought his permission to construct a fort at Revdanda, near Chaul. But instead of giving them permission he constructed a fortress on the site selected by them, and had also detained their ambassador. At these, the Portuguese governor of Goa invested the fort and brought further reinforcement when Husain had to sue for peace. A treaty was concluded on condition that neither Husain nor the Portuguese should build any fort either at Revdanda or at Chaul.

Although peace was concluded with Bijāpur and Vijayanagara, Husain could not forget the losses he had sustained and the humiliations he had undergone. Naturally he was on the look out for revenge, and with this end in view, he met Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh in the vicinity of Kalyāni. He gave his daughter Jamal Bibi in marriage to Qutb Shāh and thus strengthened his position (1563). As soon as the ceremonies of the nuptials were over they besieged Kalyāni.

Under these circumstances Rāmarājā again came to the assistance of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and the Sultāns of Bīdar and Berār, too, joined hands with them. Finding the Sultān of Golconda absent from his kingdom, Rāmarājā despatched an army under Venkatādri to invade the southern districts of Golconda. On the approach of this confederate army Husain gave up the siege of Kalyāni, and, sending his family to the fort of Ausa, he, along with Ibrāhīm, proceeded against the enemies; but untimely rain and storm created great havoc in their camps. Their tents were blown down, and the guns, stuck in the quagmire, became mostly useless, as out of seven hundred only forty could be removed for use. On the following morning the enemies attacked the camp of Ibrāhīm, who took to flight and reached Golconda with difficulty. Husain also was compelled to retreat to Ahmadnagar but, considering it unwise to stay there, he left a garrison in it for its defence and retreated to the fort of Junnar. The enemies laid siege to the fortress of Ahmadnagar and carried on depredations in the neighbouring areas. On the advice of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, they raised the siege and proceeded towards Junnar in pursuit of Husain, who, on their approach retreated into the neighbouring hills, leaving instruction to his men to cut off the supplies of the enemies and to harass them in every possible manner. His troops did these so effectively that the movement of the confederate army was checked, and, on the approach of the monsoon they gave up the pursuit in the inaccessible hills and again invested the fort of Ahmadnagar. The army of Vijayanagara had encamped on the bank of the river Sina, but heavy rains causing sudden spate in the river during the night carried away many men. In consequence of this disaster the siege was abandoned and the confederate army marched to Golconda. All attempts of Ibrāhīm to repel the attacks of Rāmarājā proved abortive; many places were ravaged and one fort after another occupied. Thus fell Pangal, Kovelaconda, and Ganpura, etc., and the Qutb Shāh, at last, had to purchase peace by the cession of Pangal and Ganpura.[27]

Rāmarājā had fully realized the weakness of the Muslim States of the Deccan due to their mutual hatred, jealousy and disunion, and took advantage of it. The quarrels between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar and his repeated armed assistance in deciding their struggles enhanced his power to a great extent which adversely affected the safety of these kingdoms. The position of Vijayanagara was now unique in the Deccan. It had humbled the powers of both Ahmadnagar and Golconda, and the condition of Bijāpur was also far from satisfactory, for 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had also been compelled to cede some of his territories, viz., Yādgīr and Bagalkot to Vijayanagara. The Muslim kings took alarm at the increase of power of the Hindu kingdom which had been invited more than once to intervene in the affairs of the Deccan. Moreover, the existence of such a wealthy and powerful neighbour was in itself a source of perennial danger to them. According to Firishta, the excesses committed by the army of Vijayanagara in the territory of Ahmadnagar were also responsible for a feeling of revenge against that kingdom.[28]

When the Muslim States of the Deccan became fully aware of the mischief which some of them had committed by inviting Rāmarājā to intervene in their affairs, a serious attempt was made by them to unite against their common adversary and strike, if possible, a serious blow at him. But how could it be done? Neither 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh nor Husain Nizām Shāh was willing to approach each other direct. Firishta says that 'Alī took the initiative in forming an alliance of the Sultāns of the Deccan and he sent an envoy to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh with a view to bringing about an agreement between him and Husain.[29] It was Ibrāhīm who undertook to accomplish it and there is no denying the fact that he played a very important role in the formation of an alliance between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar, the two arch-enemies. Husain Nizām Shāh's daughter, Chānd Bibi, was married to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, and Sholāpur, which had been one of the important causes of their quarrel, was given as her marriage dowry; Murtazā, the heir of Husain, was married to Hadiya Sultānā, the sister of 'Alī.

Bīdar, too, joined this confederacy, but Berār stood aloof on account of the treacherous murder of Jahāngīr Khān by Husain.

Before formal declaration of war, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh demanded restitution of Yādgīr, Bagalkot, Rāichūr and Mudgal from Vijayanagara, and when Rāmarājā refused, the Deccani powers made it a plea for declaration of war.[30] The allied army marched towards the south and reached the small town of Talikota in Bijāpur territory, about twenty-two miles to the north of the Krishna, on 26 December, 1564. They assembled there and it is from the name of the place of assemblage that the battle is popularly known as the "battle of Talikota", although the actual fighting took place about twelve miles south of the Krishna, and hence at a considerable distance from this town. The battle is also known as that of Rakshasi-Tangadi, as these two villages of Rakshasi and Tangadi lie at a comparatively less distance from the actual site of the battle, but they were also situated on the northern bank of the Krishna. The actual site of the battle was probably Bannihatti, on the confluence of the Maski river and its southern tributary.[31]

When Rāmarājā received information of the movement of his enemies, he also made necessary arrangements to face them, and he had sufficient confidence in his strength. Though it is difficult from the figures furnished by different historians to form an accurate idea of the number of troops the contending parties had assembled, there is no doubt that they mustered an unusually large number, the like of which had never been assembled in any battle in the Deccan. The forces were arranged in the same time-honoured fashion of right, left, centre, vanguard and rear. The Deccani forces were commanded by 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh on the right, Husain Nizām Shāh in the centre, and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and 'Alī Barīd on the left. Husain's powerful artillery under Chelepi Rumi Khān, an officer of great distinction, was placed in the centre. On the Vijayanagara side, the centre facing Husain Nizām Shāh was in charge of Rāmarājā himself; in spite of his old age he commanded his troops from a litter. The right wing was commanded by Rāmarājā's brother, Venkatādri, who was to oppose Ibrāhīm and 'Alī Barīd, and the left was entrusted to Tirumala, another brother of Rāmarājā, to oppose 'Alī.

The battle took place on Tuesday, 23 January, 1565. The Vijayanagara army commenced attack in right earnest and the right and left wings of the confederate army were thrown into such disorder that their commanders were almost prepared to retreat when the position was saved by Husain who opposed the enemy with great valour. The fighting was then continued and the loss of lives on both sides was heavy. But it did not last long and its fate was determined by the desertion of two Muhammadan commanders under Rāmarājā. Caesar Frederick, who visited Vijayanagara in 1567, said that each of these commanders had under him seventy to eighty thousand men and the defeat of Vijayanagara was due to their desertion.[32] Rāmarājā fell into enemy's hands and was beheaded on the order of Husain. His army fled pell-mell in various directions and the victors pursued the defeated as far as Anagondi, in the vicinity of Vijayanagara, the capital city. The loss of the latter was appallingly heavy and it was estimated that about one hundred thousand men perished in battle and in pursuit. "The plunder was so great, that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired reserving the elephants only for their use."[33]

Then followed the sack and destruction of the magnificent city of Vijayanagara. Before the arrival of the victorious army there, came the robbers and jungle folk of the neighbourhood who looted whatever they could get. "The third day saw the beginning of the end....for a space of five months Vijayanagara knew no rest. The enemy (i.e. the victorious army) had come to destroy, and they carried out their object relentlessly.... Never perhaps in the history of the world has such havoc been wrought, and wrought so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next, seized, pillaged and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors beggaring description."[34]

The so-called battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi is one of the most decisive battles recorded in the whole history of India. It shattered the military strength of Vijayanagara and inflicted on it such irreparable damage that it was no more possible for it to regain the glorious days of the past.

The Muslims undoubtedly won a great victory over their rival and rejoiced at their grand success; Mudgal and Rāichūr were then easily recovered and added to Bijāpur. The territories of Golconda which had been wrested by Rāmarājā were also recovered.

But the union of the Sultāns for concerted action was temporary, and as soon as the dread of the great Hindu kingdom was gone, they again commenced their dynastic quarrels, and their mutual hatred and jealousy hampered their onward march.

Shortly after his return to Ahmadnagar, Husain died (1565), as a result of leading an intemperate life, and his minor son Murtazā Nizām Shāh I then ascended the throne.

Murtazā Nizām Shāh I (1565-1588)

During the minority of Murtazā, his mother, Khānzāda or Khūnza Humāyūn Sultānā, became regent and managed the affairs of the State for several years, at the end of which Murtazā took the reins of government in his own hands.

During the king's minority, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I had led a campaign against Vijayanagara which sought the aid of Ahmadnagar. In order to create a diversion with an intent to put a stop to 'Alī's policy of aggrandizement in the south, the Queen-mother invaded Bijāpur, upon which its Sultān was forced to recall his forces from Vijayanagara. But no great engagement took place between them and there were only several skirmishes, after which the Queen-mother retired to Ahmadnagar.

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh could not forget this unprovoked attack by Ahmadnagar, and mismanagement in its administration by the Queen-mother afforded him an opportunity to invade it. His forces succeeded in wresting some territories from Ahmadnagar and his general Kishvar Khān constructed a fortress in the newly conquered area and named it Dhārūr. It was at this stage when things were being mismanaged by the Queen-mother and her favourite brothers, 'Ain-ul-Mulk and Tāj Khān, that Murtazā seized the reins of government in his own hands.

Next he proceeded towards Dhārūr with all haste and, on reaching the precincts of the fort, laid siege to it. A lucky incident hastened its fall. Kishvar Khān, who was in charge of its defence, was killed by an arrow while conducting the defence and this was followed by the flight of the garrison and evacuation of the fort. The lost grounds were thus recovered by Murtazā who then invaded the territory of Bijāpur in conjunction with Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, but this was ultimately foiled by intrigues which led to a breach between Murtazā and Ibrāhīm.

In 1569-70 Murtazā in alliance with 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and the Zamorin unsuccessfully invaded the Portuguese possession of Chaul.[34a]

The most important achievement of Murtazā was the annexation of Berār in A.D. 1574. This considerably enhanced the territory, power and prestige of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, and although a pretender with the aid of Mirān Muhammad Shāh, the ruler of Khāndesh, tried to revive the kingdom, it proved abortive. Not only the pretender and the forces of Khāndesh were driven back, but the kingdom of Khāndesh, even to the very gates of Burhānpur, the capital city, was ravaged and Mirān Muhammad had to take refuge in the fortress of Asirgarh and eventually purchase peace on payment of a large sum of money to the Nizām Shāh.

During this reign, Ahmadnagar reached its greatest territorial extent. On the west, it was bounded by the Arabian sea, from Bassein to Bankot, on the north it touched the southern frontier of Khāndesh and "on the north-east it included Berār, which was bounded on the north by the river Tapti and the eastern and southern boundaries of which were enclosed by the Wain Gangā, Warda, and Pain Gangā rivers; the line, subsequently coming through the Godavari and the boundary of Bīdar, moved first in the south-western direction, and passing Ausa and Sholāpur, it took a north-western course, serving as the northern boundary of Bijāpur till it reached Bankot."[35]

On the death of 'Alī in 1580, his nephew Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II ascended the throne of Bijāpur and taking advantage of the minority of the Sultān, Murtazā invaded Bijāpur but was defeated. Within a few years of the accession of Ibrāhīm the marriage of his sister Khadīja was celebrated with Murtazā's son, Mirān Husain, but the marriage alliance failed to establish peace between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur.

Of all the actions of Murtazā his cruel and inhuman treatment of his faithful minister Chingīz Khān, whom he put to death by administering poison on the false accusation that he had been trying to make himself independent in Berār, deserves the strongest condemnation. The insinuation came from the king's favourite, Sāhib Khān, in order to feed fat his grudge on the minister, and it was too late when the Sultān discovered the truth.[36] This reminds one of the treacherous plot against Mahmūd Gāvān, the famous minister of the Bahmanī kingdom.

The last years of Murtazā's life were embittered by his loss of mental equilibrium which specially manifested itself in the unjustified suspicion of his son Mirān Husain whom he suspected of dethroning him. To get rid of the Prince he set fire to his bed clothes, locking the door of the room from outside, while he (the Prince) was asleep. The latter was startled by the smoke in the room, and was rescued, and ultimately carried in secret to the fortress of Daulatābād with the help of his well-wishers. He soon took vengeance on his father and caused his death by suffocating him in a close heated bath (1588).[37]

Firishta, the historian, had become a close confidant of Murtazā Nizām Shāh during his last days, and escaped untimely death at the hands of Husain Nizām Shāh, being the latter's class mate.

Husain Nizām Shāh II (1588-1589)

On the death of his father, Mirān Husain ascended the throne with the title of Husain Nizām Shāh II. He was a cruel and worthless Sultān who wasted his time in wine and pleasures. His cruelties and excesses were so intolerable that he was dethroned, imprisoned, and, at last, put to death. His reign lasted a little more than ten months.

Ismā'īl Nizām Shāh II (1589-1591)

Ismā'īl, a cousin of Husain II, who was now raised to the throne, was the younger son of Burhān-ud-dīn, brother of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. During the reign of the latter, Burhān had made a fruitless attempt to seize the throne, but having been defeated, took shelter in Bijāpur. He made another effort but, this time, too, met with a similar fate, and he then went to the Mughul Emperor Akbar whose service he entered. But his two sons, Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl, were left behind in the fortress of Lohargarh where he had once been confined.

During the reign of Ismā'īl the real power was in the hands of Jamāl Khān, the leader of the Deccani party. He belonged to the Mahdavī sect and persecuted all those who did not belong to it. During the tumult following the murder of Husain he had ruthlessly put to death many foreigners and now he seized the properties of those who had escaped massacre, compelling them (including the historian Firishta) to leave Ahmadnagar. But these persecutions had their natural reactions and dark clouds enveloped the political horizon of Ahmadnagar. The discontented nobles headed a revolt to drive away Jamāl, and at the same time, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, who bore hatred and anger against this leader for his religious persecutions and who was anxious to bring back his widowed sister Khadīja to Bijāpur, sent Dilāvar Khān with a large force to invade Ahmadnagar. With great intrepidity Jamāl met the two enemies successively. At first he defeated his internal enemies and forced them to fly to Burhānpur. Then he proceeded against Dilāvar Khān and met him at Ashti. The two armies remained face to face for fifteen days without any action and, at length, on the request of Jamāl Khān, peace was concluded between them on two conditions, viz. (1) Khadīja should be sent back to Bijāpur, and (2) Ahmadnagar should pay a war indemnity (1589).[37a]

Ismā'īl's father, Burhān, who had been eager to gain the throne occupied by his son, took permission of Akbar to proceed to the Deccan. The Mughul Emperor proposed to render military assistance to him, but Burhān politely and tactfully refused to accept it, as that would have made him an object of hatred in the eyes of his country-men and would have brought him under obligation to the Mughuls. He went to the Deccan, and with the assistance of some of the Nizām Shāhī nobles, made an attack on Berār but was defeated. He was forced to take shelter in Khāndesh where he succeeded in securing the aid of its ruler Rājā Alī Khān. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II also promised him assistance. Ahmadnagar was then invaded from two sides—on the north, by Burhān and Rājā 'Alī Khān, and on the south, by the army of Bijāpur under Dilāvar Khān. Jamāl Khān first proceeded to the south against Dilāvar Khān whom he defeated at Dhārāseo. Next he proceeded towards the north and met Rājā 'Alī Khān and Burhān at Rohankhed but he was slain in the battle. His death was followed by a flight of his army along with Ismā'īl who was captured and then confined by his father (1591).

Burhān Nizām Shāh II (1591-1595)

Burhān was an aged man when he ascended the throne. He annulled the orders of Jamāl Khān regarding the Mahdavī sect and passed order for the death of its followers with the result that they left the kingdom. The Shiah religion was re-established and the foreigners, who had been expelled by Jamāl Khān, were recalled.[38]

This reign witnessed the renewal of the old conflict between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. The defeat of Dilāvar Khān, the Bijāpur general, at Dhārāseo, was a signal for his downfall. He had to leave Bijāpur and go to Ahmadnagar where he was cordially received by Burhān and appointed in his service. Ibrāhīm requested Burhān to send Dilāvar back to Bijāpur along with the three hundred elephants which had fallen into the hands of Jamāl Khān at the battle of Dhārāseo. At the instigation of Dilāvar, Burhān not only refused compliance but invaded Bijāpur (1592). Finding no opposition he continued to advance in the territories of Bijāpur and strengthened his position by repairing the fortress of Mangalvedha, on the bank of the Bhimā. Instead of encountering the enemy in an open field, Ibrāhīm despatched a strong detachment of Marāthā cavalry to cut off the supplies of the enemies and harass them in every possible manner. They made the position of Burhān so intolerable that he was obliged to march back to his own country to replenish his provisions. This being done, he proceeded towards Sholāpur, but the forces of Bijāpur inflicted a severe defeat on him. This so adversely affected his position that he was compelled to conclude peace with Bijāpur and demolish the fortress of Mangalvedha, repaired by him.

In the same year (1592) Burhān made an attack on the Portuguese fortress of Chaul. Although he had some advantages at the initial stage, he suffered heavily when reinforcements arrived for the assistance of the garrison. With the increased strength, the Portuguese not only defended Chaul but, taking the offensive, reduced the fort which Burhān had constructed in the neighbourhood, killing more than twelve thousand Nizām Shāhī soldiers. Farhād Khān, the commander of Ahmadnagar, was taken prisoner.

After this discomfiture, Burhān made preparations to attack the Portuguese once more, but this did not ultimately materialize, as he marched to the aid of Ismā'īl who had rebelled against his brother Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. But on reaching Parenda, he learnt that Ismā'īl had already been captured and put to death by his brother, and retired to Ahmadnagar, where he fell seriously ill. Ibrāhīm II, who was highly annoyed with Burhān for supporting Ismā'īl, despatched an army against him and defeated and killed his commander Uzbak Khān. This news gave Burhān a rude shock in his weak health which further deteriorated, confining him to bed.

Burhān nominated his elder son Ibrāhīm as his successor, but Ikhlās Khān, an influential Nizām Shāhī noble, taking up the cause of Ismā'īl, the younger son, proceeded against the Sultān who, inspite of his illness, personally took the field and defeated the rebels. The prince then fled to Parenda. But the exertion of the campaign was too much for the Sultān who expired on the day following his return to the capital (1595).[39]

Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh (1595)

Ibrāhīm then ascended the throne under the title of Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh, but his reign lasted a few months only. Miyān Manjhū became prime minister, and the Sultān as well as the minister granted pardon to Ikhlās Khān for his past conduct. But the latter, forgetting the gratitude he owed to the minister, arrayed a strong opposition against him, although he as well as Miyān Manjhū belonged to the same Deccani party. The motive behind such action of Ikhlās Khān was only self-aggrandizement at the expense of the prime minister. When the affairs in the realm were thus heading towards a crisis, the envoy of Bijāpur was insulted, and Ikhlās Khān prevailed on the young Sultān, who was given to dissipation, to declare war against Bijāpur. Miyān Manjhū's efforts to avoid it was of no avail, and, to make matters worse, Ibrāhīm was slain in the sanguinary battle which ensued between these two kingdoms.

Chaos and Confusion

Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh's death was followed by the flight of his army, and the victors returned to Bijāpur laden with rich booty.

This was a signal for serious confusion and disorder in the Ahmadnagar kingdom which continued unabated for most of the time till its annexation by the Mughuls. During this period, the leading nobles looked to their own interests alone instead of devising any common programme for the welfare of the realm. Parties of different interests had existed even during its infancy, and their selfish greed sapped its vitality, but with the incapacity and weakness of the Sultāns they became more powerful and brought about its final annihilation. Within a short time following the death of Ibrāhīm, four parties organized by different Nizām Shāhī nobles arose to contest the throne. Chānd Sultān, the aunt of the late Sultān and widow of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, championed the cause of Ibrāhīm's infant son, Bahādur, whom she proclaimed as the rightful Sultān; she became regent and appealed to the subjects for peace and amity, but in vain. The leader of the second party was Ikhlās Khān who declared a child called Moti, procured by him, as the legal sovereign. The third party was organized by Ābhang Khān,[39a] an Abyssinian noble, who was the supporter of Shāh 'Alī, the son of Burhān Nizām Shāh I; and the fourth party was led by Miyān Manjhū, who declared his nominee, Ahmad, as the real successor to the Nizām Shāhī throne, and proclaiming him Sultān, captured and imprisoned Bahādur. But it was soon found out that Ahmad was an impostor, and due to keen opposition of Ikhlās Khān the position of Miyān Manjhū became extremely critical. The latter took shelter within the walls of Ahmadnagar and applied to Prince Murād, the son of Akbar, then governor of Gujarāt, for assistance. Akbar had already decided to attack Ahmadnagar and given instruction to Murād to that effect. The invitation of Miyān Manjhū afforded a suitable opportunity to carry out his design and the Prince, accompanied by Rājā 'Alī Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh, and Khān Khānān Abdur Rahīm moved towards Ahmadnagar (1595).

In the meantime Miyān Manjhū had defeated his rival Ikhlās Khān and repented of having called in Mughul assistance. He joined Chānd Sultān in her endeavour to save the kingdom from Mughul aggression and implored the assistance of Bijāpur and Golconda. As regent, Chānd Sultān undertook to manage all affairs of the kingdom and offered a stiff resistance to Murād who had besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar. At this juncture she appealed to Ābhang, Khān, Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II for help. All of them responded to her request and 'Ādil Shāh despatched twenty-five thousand cavalry under the command of Suhail Khān, an eunuch, and the Qutb Shāh five to six thousand cavalry.[40]

Ikhlās Khān and Miyān Manjhū along with the army of Bijāpur and Golconda advanced to the assistance of Chānd Sultān.

Prince Murād became anxious when he heard of these heavy reinforcements coming to the relief of Ahmadnagar. The progress of the siege was undoubtedly slow owing to the jealousy and differences of opinion between him and the Khān Khānān, and without wasting any more time he laid mines. Although a breach was made in the wall of the fort, it was not possible for the besiegers to enter into it due to the gallant resistance of the besieged led by the valiant Chānd Sultān. During the night the breach was repaired under her superintendence, and thus the capture of the fort remained as difficult as before. Adding to their hardships, the Mughuls were experiencing shortage of provisions. On the other hand, Chānd Sultān, too, was badly experiencing want of provisions and was in grave anxiety about the defence of the fort. Both sides were thus on the look out for an opportunity to terminate the war, and, at last, a treaty was concluded between them on conditions of recognition of the suzerainty of the Mughuls and cession of Berār by Ahmadnagar (March, 1596).[41]

On the return of the Mughuls, Bahādur was proclaimed Sultān and Muhammad Khān appointed prime minister. Miyān Manjhū expected that Ahmad would have preference to other rivals, but when this was not possible in a peaceful manner, he wanted to accomplish it by a trial of strength. Chānd Sultān again appealed for aid to Ibrāhīm II who asked Miyān Manjhū to repair to Bijāpur with Ahmad, and on their arrival there, both of them were taken into the service of Bijāpur.

The difficulties of Chānd Sultān did not end with their exit from Ahmadnagar, and more troubles were in store for her. The high-handedness of Muhammad Khān was too much for her and the nobles to bear. Once more she appealed to Ibrāhīm II to help her to tide over the difficulties. The latter again despatched an army under Suhail Khān to Ahmadnagar with instruction to render all possible assistance to her. Muhammad Khān opposed Suhail Khān who besieged him in the fort of Ahmadnagar for four months. Thus placed in a critical position, Muhammad appealed for aid to the Mughuls, but the garrison, highly dissatisfied at this, seized him and made him over to Chānd Sultān who appointed Ābhang Khān in his place. Thus she got rid of her internal foe but there was recrudescence of trouble with the Mughuls.

Her relations with them were far from cordial. They had occupied some territories of Ahmadnagar including Pāthrī not ceded to them by the last treaty, whereas Gawilgarh and Narnāla, the two fortresses of Berār, were still in possession of the officers of Ahmadnagar. Thus, when causes for renewal of a war already existed, the appeal of Muhammad Khān for aid to the Mughuls furnished the latter another important ground for an offensive.

Realising the gravity of the situation, Chānd Sultān appealed to Bijāpur and Golconda for assistance, which both of them gave. A combined army of about sixty thousand cavalry marched towards Berār, and in the vicinity of Sonpet, on the Godavari, a severe battle took place between them and the Mughuls for two days in which the latter came out victorious (1597).[41a] But, in spite of this, their progress was much hampered due to serious differences of opinion between Prince Murād and the Khān Khānān, and Akbar had to recall the latter, deputing Abu-'l-Fazl instead.

There was lack of unity in the Nizām Shāhī camp, too, and quarrels had been going on between Chānd Sultān and Ābhang Khān. The latter besieged her in the fort of Ahmadnagar, and taking advantage of the absence of the Khān Khānān, attacked and besieged the Mughul officer in charge of the fortress of Bir.

Abu-'l-Fazl could not improve the position of the Mughuls and on 12 May, 1599, Prince Murād died of intemperance. Under these circumstances Prince Dāniyāl, the youngest son of Akbar, and the Khān Khānān were sent to the Deccan, and with a view to conducting the campaigns more vigorously the emperor himself proceeded to the south, making his headquarters at Burhānpur. An army was despatched to besiege Asir, and Prince Dāniyāl and the Khān Khānān were directed to proceed against Ahmadnagar.

Ābhang Khān raised the siege of Ahmadnagar and marched to oppose the Mughuls, but "finding himself out-manoeuvred and unable to withstand the Mughul's forces" he went back to Ahmadnagar for amicable settlement of his differences with Chānd Sultān; but when this was not possible, he retired to Junnar. The Mughuls reached Ahmadnagar without opposition and invested it.

At this critical juncture, Chānd Sultān, seeking the advice of Jīta Khān, an eunuch and officer of rank, gave out that her past experience convinced her of the danger of placing reliance on the Nizām Shāhī officers and, in her opinion, it would be proper to cede the fort to the Mughuls on condition of safe passage of the garrison and the young Sultān to Junnar. At this Jīta Khān at once came out shouting that she was in league with the Mughuls for surrender of the fort. A mob headed by Jīta Khān then rushed into her apartment and put her to death (July, 1600). Her murder sealed the fate of the kingdom, and in the following month, the Mughuls stormed and occupied the fort.[41b]

Thus, Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughul Empire and the young Sultān, Bahādur Nizām Shāh, sent as a State prisoner to the fortress of Gwālior where he was confined for the rest of his life. Among the booty which the Mughuls received was a valuable library.[42]

Malik 'Ambar

But although the capital city and its adjoining places were occupied by the Mughuls and made a separate *sūba* of the empire, an extensive part of the kingdom remained in possession of the influential Nizām Shāhī nobles like Malik 'Ambar and Raju Deccani. They acted independently of each other and owed no allegiance to any king. It was to the credit of the former that he revived the fallen kingdom and imparted to it a fresh lease of life.

Malik 'Ambar was born in an obscure Abyssinian family in 1549. He was originally a slave of Khvāja Bāghdādī who had purchased him in Bāghdād. He was then sold at Ahmadnagar to Chingīz Khān, the minister of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. Chingīz Khān had one thousand slaves and 'Ambar was one of them. The sudden death of his master threw 'Ambar in a helpless condition and for more than two decades he struggled hard, serving sometimes as an ordinary soldier in Ahmadnagar and sometimes in Bijāpur. But these could not satisfy an ambitious man like him. When Ābhang Khān was opposing Bahādur, he joined his service and was soon promoted to the rank of a commander of one hundred and fifty horsemen in reward for his good services.

After some time he started his career as an independent chieftain, and disorder and confusion then prevailing in the country afforded him a suitable opportunity for his adventurous activities. At the time when the Mughuls were busy in the siege of Ahmadnagar, he, by his repeated sallies on the unruly men of the borders, made their lives so miserable that they were compelled to come under his leadership. These soon swelled the number of his followers to two thousand and five hundred, and encouraged by such successes, he continued from one daring act to another till he made a sudden sally on Bīdar whose army he defeated. This victory enhanced his resources in men and money. After this, he became bold enough to make surprise attacks on the Mughuls in Ahmadnagar and plunder them. His followers continuously increased and many Nizām Shāhī nobles joined him, adding to his strength and prestige.[43] Thus he became the most powerful factor in the Nizām Shāhī politics and "brought under his possession the Nizām Shāhī country from the Telingana borders as far north as within one *kros* of Bir and four of Ahmadnagar and from twenty *kros* west of Daulatābād to within the same distance of the port of Chaul."[44]

Having thus made his position strong he took up the cause of the fallen Nizām Shāhī dynasty which he wanted to reinstate at all costs. He was wise enough not to aspire after kingly position, and although there were obstacles in his way he surmounted them with his iron will. Bahādur and other members of the family were State prisoners at Gwālior and to bring them back was out of the question. He was, however, successful in finding out a scion of the Nizām Shāhī family in 'Alī, the son of Shāh 'Alī, then residing in Bijāpur. It has already been stated how two fruitless attempts were made, one by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I and later on, by Ābhang Khān, to place Shāh 'Alī on the throne of Ahmadnagar. He was now of advanced age and Malik 'Ambar, inviting his son, placed him on the throne with the title of Murtazā Shāh Nizām-ul-Mulk (1600).

Murtazā Nizām Shāh's coronation took place at Parenda which was fixed "as the temporary capital of the kingdom, and Malik 'Ambar became Prime Minister and *Vakil-us-Sultānat* (Regent of the Kingdom) and gave his daughter in marriage to the king."[45]

Murtazā II who ruled from A.D. 1600 to 1630 was Sultān only in name and the whole governmental machinery was run by Malik 'Ambar. The latter had to solve various problems of the revived kingdom including its protection from internal enemies and Mughul aggression. In place of chaos and confusion he soon established law and order and then diverted his attention to the self-seeking nobles, the most formidable of whom was Raju Deccani, who had brought under his possession a great part of the fallen Nizām Shāhī kingdom and who, in order to fulfil his selfish design, was dragging the country to a crisis. Taking advantage of this rivalry the Mughul general, Khān Khānān, started an offensive campaign against 'Ambar, and this was directed against his territory on the Telingāna border. In one of the battles there, viz., at Nander, he was wounded (1602), and the war finally terminated in a treaty "marking out their respective boundaries."[46]

After this, 'Ambar compelled the conspirators like Farhad Khān and Manjhan Khān to leave the kingdom and take shelter in Bijāpur.

In 1607, ‘Ambar transferred the capital to Junnar on account of its strategic importance and for efficient conduct of campaigns against Raju, as it was situated at a comparatively less distance from Daulatābād, the headquarters of the latter, than Parenda.[47] Circumstances now favoured the Abyssinian chief to subdue his rival. The oppression of Raju created a feeling of deep discontent among his subjects, including the soldiery, and the latter, deserting the cause of their master, joined ‘Ambar and complained to Murtazā Nizām Shāh II about Raju’s oppression, requesting him to deliver them from their awful situation. Finding this a good opportunity, the Abyssinian chief marched against him with a large army. Although Raju tried hard, he could not defend for long due to lack of support from his followers, and the fort of Daulatābād was captured by the Nizām Shāhī army. He became a prisoner, and his territory was incorporated in the Ahmadnagar kingdom.[48] He remained in prison for three to four years, but when there was a conspiracy to create a rebellion in his favour ‘Ambar put him to death.[49]

Thus, it was due to the untiring zeal and efforts of the Prime Minister that the fallen kingdom was revived and its borders extended. Party bickerings were removed and the structure of the government was built on a strong foundation. His occasional differences with the Sultān were also always made up.

‘Ambar then turned his attention towards the Mughuls who, since the accession of Jahāngīr, were engrossed in their affairs in the north-west due to the revolt of Prince Khusrav and the siege of Qandahār by Shāh ‘Abbās, the King of Persia. Commencing his offensive against them, ‘Ambar recovered many of the lost territories of Ahmadnagar. The Khān Khānān was thus placed in a miserable condition and recalled to Āgra by the Emperor (1608) who, with a view to improving the situation, gave him a reinforcement of twelve thousand cavalry.

‘Ambar’s anxieties increased when he heard of this reinforcement, and he took steps to form an alliance with Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II. His requests to ‘Ādil Shāh “were three-fold; first, to render him military assistance against the Mughuls, so that he might fight them successfully.” He said, “It is my design to fight the Mughul troops so long as life remains in this body. It may be that through your Majesty’s daily increasing fortune I shall expel the Mughuls from the Deccan.”[50] The second request was “to hand over to him, for the safety of his family and the collection of rations, the fort of Qandahār which the ‘Ādil Shāh had wrested from the Nizām

Shāhī kingdom some time back, and the third request was to bring the two states together into a close bond of union by matrimony."[51]

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II was also desirous of forming an alliance with Ahmadnagar in order to check Mughul aggression in the south and it had been one of the principal reasons for his assistance to 'Ambar in placing a scion of the old Nizām Shāhī family on the throne. At the request of 'Ambar, ten thousand select cavalry were despatched to Ahmadnagar, the fort of Qandahār was returned, and a matrimonial alliance formed between the two kingdoms by the marriage of 'Ambar's son Fath Khān with the daughter of Yāqūt Khān, a nobleman of Bijāpur, who was in high favour with the Sultān. Subsequently, another auxiliary force of three to four thousand cavalry was also despatched from Bijāpur to Ahmadnagar.[52]

'Ambar had already besieged Antur and wrested it from the Mughuls. Even with his reinforcement the Khān Khānān could not improve the situation due to discord and disunion in his camp. So, in 1609, Jahāngīr sent Prince Parvīz to the Deccan as Governor of Berār and Khāndesh, and with supreme command to lead the campaigns, and another general named Khān Jahān Lodī was also ordered to proceed there. But in spite of these, the Mughul position, instead of improving, deteriorated further. The Khān Khānān's plan of surprise attack on 'Ambar ended in disaster. He was continuously harassed by the light Marāthā cavalry of Ahmadnagar, well-trained in guerilla tactics, and his condition became so precarious that he had no other alternative but to patch up a disgraceful treaty with 'Ambar and retire to Burhānpur (1610).[53]

After conquering the surrounding places the Nizām Shāhī army had besieged the fort of Ahmadnagar which, too, fell. These exploits enhanced the power, prestige and extent of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. Its capital was then transferred from Junnar to Daulatābād, a place of greater strategic importance.

The heavy losses which the Mughuls had suffered were too much for them to bear and the Khān Khānān was recalled and Khān Jahān was promoted to take up the command in his place, but as petty wranglings among the officers continued unabated in the Mughul camp, nothing could be done to improve matters.

At last, a better plan was devised to invade Ahmadnagar from two sides—one by 'Abdullah Khān, who was appointed Governor of Gujarāt with instruction to lead the expedition by way of Nasik and Trimbak, and the other under the joint command of Rājā Mān Singh and Khān Jahān Lodī to proceed by way of Berār. Eager to gain the full credit of the victory, 'Abdullah Khān moved on without keeping in touch with the other party and entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Fully alive to the situation, 'Ambar followed his guerilla tactics as before and his Marāthā bands harassed 'Abdullah Khān's army in all possible ways. Although 'Abdullah penetrated almost as far as Daulatābād, he found his position so precarious that he was compelled to retire, pursued and continually harassed by the Nizām Shāhī forces up to the border of Baglan. With heavy losses he returned to Gujarāt, and when Rājā Mān Singh and Khān Jahān heard of his retreat, they, too, retired (1612).[54]

After this victory, the capital of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom was transferred to Khirki, about ten miles off from Daulatābād. Situated in a hilly region, it had natural barriers for protection against invasions from outside. It had originally been a small village but 'Ambar peopled and beautified it with fine buildings. "The grandeur and beauty of this new capital found encomium even in the pages of Mughal history; the *Maasir-i-Rahimi* says that it was not only the best city in the Deccan but the like of it was not to be found even in Hindusthan."[55]

'Abdullah Khān was severely reprimanded by the Emperor for his indiscreet actions and the Khān Khānān was again directed to proceed to the Deccan with his sons including Shāh Navāz Khān.

Taking advantage of desertions of some of the Nizām Shāhī nobles, Shāh Navāz Khān moved direct towards Khirki. In the meantime, Malik 'Ambar had made alliances with Bijāpur, Golconda, and Bīdar, all of whom responded to his call and despatched necessary quotas of troops to his aid. 'Ambar remained at Khirki with forty thousand cavalry and another force was sent to harass the Mughuls and check their advance. But the Nizām Shāhīs proved powerless against the superior strength of Shāh Navāz Khān who defeated them and marched towards Khirki. 'Ambar came out and met the Mughuls at Rosalgarh, near Khirki. Here, in the sanguinary battle which ensued, he was defeated, sustaining heavy losses in men and materials (1616).

The Mughuls then entered the Nizām Shāhī capital and carried on destruction in it, but they did not pursue the defeated.[56] The effect of the victory was only temporary and could not much alter the situation. Despite the presence of Prince Parvīz in the Deccan for seven years, there was no tangible progress in the Mughul campaigns and he was therefore transferred to Allahābād while Prince Khurram was ordered to proceed to the Deccan. Before his departure he was conferred with the lofty title of "Shāh" (1616)[56a] and the emperor himself proceeded to Māndū for better guidance of the campaigns.

The Prince, at first, opened diplomatic negotiations with Bijāpur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar and offered them proposals of peace on two conditions, viz., restitution of the conquered territories and payment of tribute. Weary of the struggle and afraid of the extensive preparation of the Mughuls, both Bijāpur and Golconda accepted these terms and 'Ambar, fearing the enmity of these combined powers, found no alternative but to come to terms by the surrender of Ahmadnagar with its contiguous places and the *Parganās* of Bālāghāt previously wrested from the Mughuls.[57]

The Abyssinian hero took this step only to ward off a crisis and wait for an opportunity to regain the lost territories.

An undue parade of the Prince's success was made when he met his father at Māndū and among the marks of distinction, he received the lofty title of "Shāh Jahān" and the special privilege of a seat near his father in darbar (October, 1617).

'Ambar's opportunities came after two years when Jahāngīr was in Kāshmīr, Shāh Jahān busy in the siege of Kāngra and the Mughūl officers in the Deccan engaged in petty bickerings and rivalries. He made alliances with Bijāpur and Golconda, and with about sixty thousand cavalry marched towards Ahmadnagar, recovering the lost places, and besieging it. An army was left to carry on the siege, while he marched triumphantly towards Berār. He besieged Burhānpur, crossed the Narmada and plundered the environs of Māndū.

Shāh Jahān was once more directed to proceed to the Deccan. 'Ambar, who did not like to take the risk of an open engagement with Shāh Jahān, gave up the siege and retreated. But the Prince gave the Deccanis a hot chase and pursued them to the very gates of Khirki, and occupied the city after 'Ambar had removed Murtazā II with his family to Daulatābād. The Mughuls destroyed the fine structure of Khirki and 'Ambar, realizing the insecurity of his position, opened negotiations for peace. Shāh Jahān had also to contend with many difficulties. So, he decided to accept the offer of peace. Besides promising to restore the territories occupied from the Mughuls in the course of the last two years, 'Ambar agreed to surrender "fourteen Kros of the adjoining country" to them, and moreover, the three kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda consented to pay fifty lakhs of rupees as tribute.[58]

But who could foretell then that Prince Shāh Jahān would step into the Deccan as a fugitive and suppliant for aid to the Abyssinian antagonist about two years later to save himself from the wrath of his father? Malik 'Ambar who was then not on good terms with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II and who was anxious to gain Mughul assistance in order to defeat his enemy, gave an evasive reply to the Prince.

But what are the factors which contributed in creating a rift between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur? First, the fort of Sholāpur was a frequent bone of contention between them. Secondly, taking advantage of disorder and confusion in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar in 1600, Ibrāhīm II had annexed a portion of it; and not to speak of giving it back, he cherished further designs of aggrandizement. The Bijāpur Sultān came to realize that the revived kingdom of Ahmadnagar under the leadership of an able general and statesman like 'Ambar was really a menace to the safety of Bijāpur. The Bijāpur nobles also viewed with extreme jealousy the ascendancy of an Abyssinian slave to such a height of power and strength in the neighbouring kingdom and eagerly looked forward to bring about his downfall. Moreover, the Nizām-Shāhī deserters like Farhād Khān and others who were in Bijāpur service, widened the gulf between these two kingdoms. Fuzuni, the author of *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī,* wrote as a Bijāpuri partisan, and it is difficult to believe him when he ascribed the cause of rupture of 'Ādil Shāh with the Abyssinian leader to "bad behaviour and inordinate pride and insolence"[59] of the latter. But it may be mentioned here that 'Ambar was eager to regain the territories which had been forcibly occupied by Ibrāhīm II.

When feelings in Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur were thus strained, both tried hard to join Mughul alliance with a view to inflicting a stunning blow to the other. But the Mughuls decided in favour of Bijāpur, and 'Ambar was left alone against a formidable confederacy. He realized the gravity of the situation and removed Murtazā II to the fortress of Daulatābād for safety. He then went towards Golconda and realized from the latter the fixed subsidy (*zar-i-mukarrari*) which had been in arrears for two years and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with it.[60]

Thus strengthening his position, he marched against Bīdar which had been under the domination of Bijāpur since 1619. By a surprise attack he defeated the Bijāpur army and pillaged the city. His next move was against Bijāpur itself and Ibrāhīm II, unable to oppose him in an open fight, withdrew into the walled city which was besieged by the Nizām Shāhī army. Driven to such an extremity

‘Ādil Shāh recalled his contingents under Mulla Muhammad Larī from Burhānpur where they had been sent to join the Mughul service in fulfilment of the terms of his alliance with them. As a result of his appeal for Mughul assistance, the Mughul governors of Ahmadnagar and Bir, with many other officers of distinction, marched in conjunction with Mulla Muhammad Larī for the relief of Ibrāhīm II. Alarmed at this heavy reinforcement, ‘Ambar repeatedly appealed to the Mughul officers not to support Bijāpur, and to allow Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur to settle their own differences, but in vain. They forced him to raise the siege of Bijāpur and retreat to his own country, but closely pursued by them. Thus, goaded to the last extremity, he fell back “on Bhatvadi, about ten miles south-east by east of the fort of Ahmadnagar, and on the western bank of the Keli Nadi, a feeder of the Sina.”[60a] Here he exhibited uncommon bravery and resourcefulness in dealing with this desperate situation. By cutting the embankment of the Bhatvadi lake he filled the adjoining areas with mud and water and rendered it impossible for his enemies to approach the place. A heavy rain worsened the situation. To make their position still more miserable, ‘Ambar carried on surprise night attacks, plundering the enemy-camps and making it impossible for them to receive any supply of provisions. Scarcity of food made the sufferings of the army so distressing that many deserted their camp. The rival parties had encamped at a distance of two or three *kros* only, and, at length, both of them arranged their forces for an open engagement. ‘Ambar’s talents as a general never shone forth more brilliantly than in this battle. The Mughuls and their Bijāpur allies sustained a severe defeat and their losses, too, were heavy (1624).[61] Many Mughul and Bijāpur commanders fell into the hands of their enemies and Mulla Muhammad Larī was slain.

The battle of Bhatvadi was indeed one of the most decisive battles in the history of the Deccan. The victory saved Ahmadnagar from annihilation and engendered great confidence in the minds of the victors about the superiority of their military tactics and strength. It was a wonderful feat on the part of ‘Ambar and humbled the pride of his adversaries.

After sending the prisoners to Daulatābād, ‘Ambar hurried towards the fort of Ahmadnagar which was besieged. Leaving a detachment to continue its siege he marched against Bijāpur, which, too, was invested as Ibrāhīm II had taken refuge within this walled city. He also attacked and occupied the territories of the ‘Ādil Shāhī kingdom upto the Mughul frontier in Balāghāt. Sholāpur was also invested and occupied within a short time (1625).[62]

In the meantime, another force had been despatched against Burhānpur, the Mughul commander of which, unable to resist, retired into the fort which was besieged.

When 'Ambar was thus in a favourable position, Shāh Jahān, driven from the north, again came to the Deccan and an alliance was formed between them. According to the arrangement, the Prince co-operated with the Nizām Shāhī force in pressing the siege of Burhānpur. Despite three successive efforts the fort could not be taken, and with the approach of Prince Parvīz and Mahābat Khān, who had been chasing the rebel prince, the siege was abandoned. Later on, the rebellion of Mahābat Khān and the close attention of the Mughuls to subdue him, afforded a suitable opportunity to 'Ambar to drive away the Mughuls from the Deccan, but his death in May, 1626, put an end to this checkered career. Before his death he had the satisfaction of seeing that he left intact the independence of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.

Malik 'Ambar was one of the greatest personalities that Islām produced in the Deccan and his wonderful abilities drew admiration even from his enemies, the Mughuls. From obscurity he rose to a position of the highest distinction, re-established and rejuvenated a fallen kingdom in the teeth of opposition of the Mughuls at the height of their power, gave it a well-organized government and consolidated it as far as practicable. He was a man of undaunted heroism, indefatigable energy and uncommon perseverance. He was a general of rare genius who remodelled the militia on a sound basis, best suited to the hilly regions of his adopted country. The guerilla tactics, so well organized by him with the Marāthā bands, highly strengthened his position, and at times, the Mughuls showed their bankruptcy in dealing with him.

Great as he was as a general, he was no less famous as a politician. His actions were always characterized by due caution and foresight. He showed his skill not only in the revival of the fallen kingdom but also in the formation of a powerful anti-Mughul coalition with the neighbouring States of Bijāpur and Golconda and it was only at the fag end of his career that a rift occurred with Ibrāhīm II "which threw the latter into their common enemy's arms."

He was also undoubtedly one of the greatest statesmen in the Deccan. By removing lawlessness and other disintegrating forces he established a strong but benign government, based on sympathy and goodwill of the people, both Hindus and Muslims. He was tolerant to the Hindus, and no historian has stigmatized him for the demolition of any temple or other place of worship. The Hindus and the Muslims were equally eligible for government service and many Marāthās like Shāhjī, the father of Shivājī, Sharifjī and Vithalrāj occupied high rank in the Nizām Shāhī government.

His wise revenue system is another instance of his farsightedness and constructive genius. Although new in the Deccan, it was based primarily on what Rājā Todarmal had introduced in northern India and some parts of Gujarāt and Khāndesh. 'Ambar's objects "were threefold: first, the good of the peasantry, secondly, encouragement and promotion of agriculture, and thirdly, enhancement of the Government revenue."[63]

Lands were classified as good or bad according to their fertility and he took great pains and a number of years to ascertain the average yield of lands. He abolished revenue farming and relieved the peasantry from oppression of the land farmers. At first, revenue was fixed as two-fifths of the actual produce in kind, but later on, the cultivators were allowed to pay in cash "representing about one-third of the yield." Although an average rent was fixed for each plot of land, actual collections depended on the condition of crops, and they varied from year to year.[64] Such kind and sympathetic consideration on the part of the government gave satisfaction to the peasants, and encouraged cultivation of waste land.[65] This not only enhanced production but also augmented government revenue.

Malik 'Ambar was the last prop of the Ahmadnagar kingdom and his death was the beginning of its end. His eldest son, Fath Khān, was unscrupulous and incapable of holding the position of his father. Dissatisfied with his king, Murtazā II, he opened negotiations with the Mughuls, and at their suggestion, put him to death, and raised his son, Husain, a boy of ten, to the throne, with the title of Husain Nizām Shāh III.

Husain Nizām Shāh III (1630-1633)

Fath Khān was not sincere to the Mughuls and did not act up to his promise. So, Shāh Jahān, who was then the Mughul Emperor, took steps to punish him, and along with the boy king, he had to take shelter in the fortress of Daulatābād. Unable to resist for long, he was compelled to submit before the superior arms of the Mughuls (1631). But he again broke his pledge to them and they then proceeded against him and besieged Daulatābād. After a blockade of about four months they succeeded in capturing it (1633). The young king Husain was sent as a State prisoner to the fort of Gwālior for the rest of his life and Fath Khān taken into the Mughul service.[65a]

Thus came to an end the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and although an attempt was afterwards made by Shāhjī with the assistance of Bijāpur to revive it by setting up a scion of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, it proved abortive (1636).

III. *THE 'ĀDIL-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BIJĀPUR*

Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān (1490-1510)

The founder of this dynasty was Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān, the Bahmanī governor of Bijāpur, who assumed independence in 1490. In his early life he was a Georgian slave and sold to Mahmūd Gāvān at Bīdar, but according to Firishta, he originally belonged to a royal family, being the son of Sultān Murād II of Turkey, who died in 1451 and was succeeded by his eldest son Muhammad. On his accession, the latter gave orders for the execution of his brothers, including Yūsuf, who was saved by the extraordinary skill of his mother. She managed to substitute a slave boy for execution and sent her own son to Persia with the help of a Persian merchant. He was secretly brought up in Persia, and when he was seventeen years of age, he came to India and was sold as a Georgian slave to the Bahmanī minister Mahmūd Gāvān. From Firishta's writings it appears that he was satisfied as to the truth of the story.[66]

By dint of his abilities as well as patronage of his new master, Yūsuf rose from one position to another till he became a person of prominence in the Bahmanī kingdom. Finally, he occupied the high position of the provincial governor of Bijāpur, and taking advantage of the weakness of the Bahmanī Sultān, he assumed a position of independence, in reality, though not in name.

The city of Bijāpur was made the seat of his government. He had a formidable enemy in Qāsim Barīd, the powerful minister and *de facto* ruler of the Bahmanī kingdom, who was extremely jealous of his growing power. Qāsim Barīd formed an alliance with Narasa Nāyaka, the Regent of Vijayanagara, and Bahādur Gīlānī, the ruler of Konkan, and they invaded Bijāpur. Narasa Nāyaka attacked the Krishnā-Tungabhadrā *doab* and captured both the fortresses of Rāichūr and Mudgal. Unable to repel all the attacks of his enemies at a time, Yūsuf made peace with Vijayanagara by the cession of the above two forts and then drove away Bahādur Gīlānī. Next, he marched against Qāsim Barīd who, in the meantime, had joined with Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk and Khvāja Jahān of Parenda. He met them in the vicinity of Naldurg where Qāsim

Barīd was defeated, and after this, a treaty was made between Yūsuf and Malik Ahmad.

As soon as he got rid of his enemies, Yūsuf directed his attention to recover Rāichūr and Mudgal, and Narasa Nāyaka marched to oppose him. In the battle which ensued, 'Ādil Khān was severely defeated and, driven to a precarious condition, he took recourse to a stratagem, inviting Narasa Nāyaka and his young king Saluva Timma, with the nobles and officers for a peace conference and killing most of them by a treacherous attack; the king and the regent anyhow escaped death. After this, Yūsuf recovered both Rāichūr and Mudgal.[66a]

In response to a request for assistance by Mahmūd Shāh, the Bahmanī Sultān, in his campaign against Bahādur Gīlānī, 'Ādil Khān despatched a contingent of five thousand cavalry to him. This helped his own cause as well, as it was with the assistance of the Bahmanī Sultān and his minister Qāsim Barīd that he got back the fortress of Jamkhandi which Bahādur had occupied.

In 1504, 'Ādil Khan succeeded in gaining possession of the province of Gulbarga, then held by Dastur Dinar, an Abyssinian, who was defeated and killed. This acquisition enlarged his territory on the east.

Due to his long stay in Persia in his early life, Yūsuf was deeply attached to the Shiah faith and cherished the idea of establishing it in his dominion, but so long he could not put his ideas into action, as he was preoccupied with manifold difficulties. Now that he felt secure and strong enough to carry out his contemplated project, he made this creed the State religion, but perfect toleration was allowed to his Sunnī subjects. This innovation created enmity not only at home but also abroad, and a formidable confederacy was formed against him by some of his Muslim neighbours, viz., Malik Ahmad, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and Mahmūd Shāh, the nominal Bahmanī Sultān, under instruction of his minister Amīr Barīd; and, on their request, Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk, the governor of Telingāna, too, joined them. Unable to cope with them Yūsuf fled to Berār, and, on the advice of Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād-ul-Mulk, gave orders for the restoration of the Sunnī faith and withdrew to Burhānpur. 'Imād-ul-Mulk pointed out to Malik Ahmad and Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk that Amīr Barīd had been on the look out for the annihilation of 'Ādil Khān for his own selfish motive and not for religion, and as 'Ādil Khān had already restored the Sunnī creed, there was no valid ground for continuing the war against him. Convinced of these arguments they left the confederacy, and 'Ādil Khān with the assistance of ʻImād-ul-Mulk, defeated Mahmud Shāh and Amīr Barīd who fled to Bīdar. Thereupon Yūsuf returned in triumph to Bijāpur, and "being no longer apprehensive of his enemies, he renewed the public exercise of the Shiah religion."[67]

Goa, which was within the territory of Bijāpur, was a very important port on the Malabar coast. It "was more favourably situated than Calicut or Cochin as far as the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was concerned, and it was for this reason that Albuquerque, the governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East, desired to possess it."[68] He made a surprise attack on it and occupied it without any difficulty (1510), but it did not remain long in his possession, as it was shortly recovered by ʻĀdil Khān.[69]

ʻĀdil Khān died in October, 1510, and was buried at Gogi, to the east of Bijāpur city. Firishta praised him highly for his good qualities. He was handsome, brave, a skilled musician, "eminent for his learning, his liberality", and "intimately acquainted with human nature."

"Although he mingled pleasure with business, yet he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter. He always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity, and in his own person showed them an example of attention to these virtues. He invited to his court many learned men and valiant officers from Persia, Turkistan, and Room, also several eminent artists, who lived happily under the shadow of bounty."[70]

Ismāʻīl Ādil Khān (1510-1534)

During the minority of Ismāʻīl, Kamāl Khān, an experienced officer whom Yūsuf had appointed regent before his death, carried on the affairs of the government. He established the Sunnī faith as the State religion.

Albuquerque was on the look out for an opportunity to recover Goa, and in November, 1510, when most of its army was away in Bijāpur to attend a State ceremony, he made a surprise attack on it and re-occupied it. Goa was thus lost for ever to Bijāpur.

Concentration of too much power in the hands of Kamāl Khān made him highly ambitious. He entered into a conspiracy with Amīr Barīd and made an attempt to oust Ismāʻīl and seize the reins of government in his own hands. But it proved futile and he was assassinated.

Amīr Barīd was bent on curbing the power of Bijāpur. Jahāngīr Khān, the adopted son of Dastur Dinar, was given all possible assistance to recover Gulbarga which his father had once held and which Kamāl Khān had also secretly promised to cede to Amīr Barīd. It was recovered and Jahāngīr was placed in charge of it as a provincial governor. But Bijāpur retook it, whereupon, Amīr Barīd, in the name of the Bahmanī Sultān, Mahmūd Shāh, appealed for aid to Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Berār, all of whom responded to the call. Accompanied by their forces, Barīd, along with the Sultān marched against Bijāpur. But Ismā'īl inflicted a severe defeat on them, and Mahmūd and his son Ahmad fell into the hands of the Bijāpur forces. 'Ādil Khān showed proper respect to the Sultān and at the request of the latter, Bibi Musity, the sister of Ismā'īl, who had been affianced to Ahmad, was married to the latter at Gulbarga. After the ceremony, five thousand Bijāpur cavalry were sent to escort Mahmūd Shāh to Bīdar. On the approach of this army, Amīr Barīd fled away but as soon as they left Bīdar, he came back, and resumed control of all affairs of the Bahmanī Kingdom as before.[71]

Ismā'īl had also the privilege of receiving high honour from Shāh Ismā'īl Safavī, the Sultān of Persia, in return for his assistance in relieving a Persian ambassador from unnecessary detention at Bidār by the Sunnī bigot, Amīr Barīd. Highly satisfied, the Persian king sent him rich presents and addressed him as an independent ruler.[72]

The minority of the Sultān and Kamāl Khān's hostile activities against him had afforded an opportunity to Kṛishṇadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, to invade the Bijāpur kingdom. He attacked and occupied Rāichūr (1512). Getting rid of his internal troubles and in an opportune moment when Kṛishṇadevarāya was busy in his war against Orissa, Ismā'īl marched towards Rāichūr and captured it. Highly incensed at this, Kṛishṇadevarāya again proceeded there with a large army and invested this fort (1520). Ismā'īl also moved against him, and in the battle which ensued, he sustained a severe defeat with heavy losses. He had no alternative but to take to his heels, and while retreating, many of his troops were swept away by the strong current of the Krishnā. But the Bijāpur army in the fort did not yield and fought valiantly, till their commander's death paralysed the defence, and made them surrender.

Hostilities continued between Ismā'īl and Kṛishṇadevarāya in which the former suffered several reverses, and even the city of Bijāpur was once occupied by the enemy. But after the death of Kṛishṇadevarāya, 'Ādil Khān again invaded the Rāichūr *doab*

(1530) and succeeded in gaining possession of both Rāichūr and Mudgal.[72a]

His relations with the neighbouring Muslim States have mostly been described in connection with the history of Ahmadnagar and Bīdar. While he was conducting the siege of Kovelakonda, a fortress on the border of Golconda, he was attacked with a high fever which proved fatal (1534). He was interred at Gogi, close to the tomb of his father.

He was just, kind, magnanimous, averse to harsh language, and fond of wit and humour. He was also a poet and patron of the learned, a skilled musician, and an expert painter.

Mallū 'Ādil Khān (*1534-1535*)

According to the will of Ismā'īl, his son Mallū Khān was elevated in his place with the assistance of Asad Khān, the most influential Bijāpur noble, who became protector of the State. The latter had been entrusted by Ismā'īl to prosecute the siege of Kovelakonda, but it was abandoned, and the Bijāpur forces retreated to Gulbarga.

Mallū was unfit to reign. He neglected his duties and indulged in low vices, the result of which was discontent and confusion in the kingdom. Finding this a suitable opportunity to recover the Rāichūr *doab*, Achyutadevarāya, the king of Vijayanagara, invaded and succeeded in wresting it from Bijāpur, compelling Mallū to accept his terms.[73]

The excesses of the latter became so intolerable that even his grandmother went against him and had him removed and blinded, raising his younger brother Ibrāhīm in his place.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I (*1535-1557*)

The first act of Ibrāhīm was to establish the Sunnī faith, to which he belonged, as the State religion, and to discontinue the use of the head-dress of the Shiahs in his army. He then dismissed a large number of foreigners and appointed Deccanis and Abyssinians in their places. Another innovation which also went against the foreigners was the introduction of the Deccani languages like Marāthi and Kannaḍa, instead of Persian, for maintenance of Government accounts which were then kept by the Brāhmins in exclusion of the foreigners. The Brāhmins thus got a good opportunity of acquiring considerable influence in the government.

Ibrāhīm I took advantage of the internecine quarrels in Vijayanagara during the reign of Achyutadevarāya and invaded that kingdom. Nagalapur, a town near Vijayanagara, was "razed to the ground" and both Achyutadevarāya and Rāmarājā, who were at enmity with each other, were afraid lest he should join hands with the other side. 'Ādil Shāh besieged the city of Vijayanagara, and, by negotiations with the contending parties, settled their differences after which he returned to his kingdom on receipt of a large sum of money, twelve fine elephants, and some horses as a reward for his services.[74]

Later on, his attempt to take possession of the fortress of Adoni from Vijayanagara appeared to have ended in fiasco. His relations with Ahmadnagar and other States of the Deccan have already been discussed in the section on Ahmadnagar and need not be repeated here.

Suspecting treachery on the part of some of his officers he put to death seventy Muslims and forty Hindus of high rank in course of two months. Such cruel action did not go without serious reaction, and a conspiracy was formed to depose him and place his brother 'Abdullāh on the throne (1545). But the matter leaked out and most of the conspirators were put to death. It was with great difficulty that 'Abdullāh managed to escape to the Portuguese at Goa.

Although the relation between Bijāpur and the Portuguese was friendly for a considerable time, it was disturbed by the presence of Prince 'Abdullāh at Goa, as Ibrāhīm I was anxious to gain possession of his rebel brother. He proposed to cede Salsette and Bardez to the Portuguese on condition of the surrender of his brother. But without complying with it, they proposed to send him to Malacca. They did not act up to this proposal even, but occupied Salsette and Bardez, and this finally brought Bijāpur and Goa into conflict. Ibrāhīm I was ultimately forced to give up his claim on these places and conclude peace with the Portuguese in August, 1548, mainly for two reasons: he had become anxious when he heard of the separate treaties of Vijayanagara and Ahmadnagar with the Portuguese, and moreover, he was aware that enmity with Goa would mean loss of maritime commerce, as it was the Portuguese navy which then controlled the trade of the Arabian Sea.[75]

'Abdullāh's case never prospered, and, in 1555, when his cause was championed by Saif 'Ain-ul-Mulk, then a hostile Bijāpur noble, he was captured and imprisoned.[76]

At the fag end of his career, Ibrāhīm I led a dissipated life which hastened his death. He fell ill and died in 1557.

It has already been stated that he was the first ruler of this dynasty to assume the title of "Shāh".

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I (1557-1580)

Ibrāhīm I had a mind to nominate his younger son Tahmāsp as his successor in preference to his eldest son 'Alī who was a Shiah, but when it came to his knowledge that Tahmāsp was a more zealous Shiah than 'Alī, he became highly incensed and left the matter of succession without any decision. On his decease, 'Alī ascended the throne with the aid of the influential 'Ādil Shāhī nobles.

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's first act was the re-establishment of the Shiah faith as the State religion and encouragement to the foreigners to enter his service.

It has been stated in the history of Husain Nizām Shāh (1553-1565) that 'Alī I formed an alliance with Vijayanagara against Husain (1558) and humbled him. The confederate army, particularly the Vijayanagara army, carried on depredations on an extensive scale in the territories of Ahmadnagar and these were highly resented by the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms. These, along with other reasons, which brought about a coalition of the four Deccani Muslim States including Bijāpur against Vijayanagara and the parts played in the formation of this alliance as well as in the battle of Talikota by 'Alī I, have also been discussed above.[76a]

In 1569, 'Alī formed alliances with Murtazā Nizām Shāh I and the Zamorin of Calicut against the Portuguese with a view to recovering Goa. The plan was quite sound, as it was decided to attack both Chaul and Goa simultaneously, thus dividing Portuguese military strength in two places at the same time. The military operations began in January, 1570. Chaul, which was a Portuguese outpost in the Ahmadnagar kingdom, was besieged by Murtazā I and Goa by 'Alī I. But none of the operations succeeded, as the Portuguese repulsed all their attacks. The siege of Chaul was abandoned after seven months and 'Alī also ultimately gave up the siege of Goa and retreated.

After this, 'Alī decided to extend his kingdom in the south and moved against Adoni, the hill fortress of Vijayanagara, and succeeded in capturing it after prolonged siege. His enhancement of power in this region was looked upon with disfavour by Murtazā Nizām Shāh I, but instead of coming to arms both of them decided amicably to allow each other to extend their respective frontiers in the areas which each coveted. A treaty was concluded permitting Murtazā I to annex Berār and Bīdar, and 'Alī I to conquer an equivalent territory in the Western Carnatic.[77]

In accordance with the above arrangement, 'Alī I marched with his minister Mustafā Khān to the Western Carnatic and conquered many places one after another, some of which were kept under his direct administration and others allowed to remain under their respective local chiefs who paid him tribute. Mustafā Khān was appointed Governor of the conquered territories with his headquarters at Chandraguni and 'Alī returned to Bijāpur (1575) after an absence of more than three years.

Next year, he marched to Adoni and thence to Penukoṇḍa, the capital of Śrīraṅga I of Vijayanagara. On his approach, the latter retired with his treasures into the fort of Chandragiri, leaving the defence of the capital to his general Chennappa. 'Alī laid siege to it but the garrison held out for three months, and when they were almost ready to surrender, Śrīraṅga bought over a Marāthā commander of 'Alī. This desertion helped the cause of Vijayanagara which received help from Golconda also, and Chennappa Nāyaka succeeded in defeating 'Ādil Shāh who was compelled to raise the siege (1576) and retire to Bijāpur.[77a]

Having no issue, 'Alī nominated his nephew Ibrāhīm, the son of Tahmāsp, as his successor. Within a few months, 'Alī was assassinated by one of the two eunuchs whom he had brought from Bīdar (1580) as a price for his help to 'Alī Barīd against an Ahmadnagar invasion.

It was during the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh that the wall of Bijāpur city was constructed, and arrangements were made for ample supply of water in the walled city by cutting an aqueduct and constructing a large reservoir. He showed his fine taste for architecture, specially by the construction of buildings like Jami Masjid, Mecca Masjid, and Gagan Mahal or Hall of Audience. Although not fully completed, Jāmi 'Masjid "is the best proportioned building in the city" of Bijāpur and "for simplicity of design, impressive grandeur and the solemn hush of its corridors" it "stands unrivalled."[78]

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627)

Ibrāhīm ascended the throne at the age of nine. Kāmil Khān Deccani was appointed regent and Chānd Sultān, the widow of 'Alī I and daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh I, was entrusted with the education of the minor Sultān. But the regent having shown disrespect to Chānd Sultān, she and Hājī Kishvar Khān, another Deccani of high rank, planned to remove him, and one evening, while Kāmil Khān was engaged in an official work in the palace, Kishvar Khān attempted to seize him whereupon he took to flight but was seized and beheaded.[79]

Kishvar Khān was then appointed regent, and, following in the footsteps of Kāmil Khān, he also exercised uncontrolled sway in the kingdom. Taking advantage of these internal troubles in Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar invaded it, but Bihzad-ul-Mulk, the commander of the Nizām Shāhī army, sustained a heavy defeat at Dhārāseo and all his artillery and elephants fell into the hands of his enemies. The victory was again followed by an internecine quarrel in consequence of an order issued by the Regent to the military officers to give up the elephants, captured in the last campaign, to the Sultān. This gave offence to the nobles concerned who not only refused compliance but determined to oust him from the regency and instal Mustafā Khān, another nobleman, in his place. Informed of these designs, Kishvar Khān made a conspiracy against Mustafā and had him assassinated.[80]

Highly enraged at this cold-blooded murder, Chānd Sultān upbraided Kishvar Khān who, in retaliation, had her confined in the fortress of Satara. This and some other high-handed acts made him extremely unpopular and a strong party was formed against him. Feeling his position insecure and resistance impossible, he fled to Ahmadnagar, but being unable to find a shelter there he went to Golconda where he was assassinated by a relative of Mustafā. Although Chānd Sultān was released from Satara, the situation in Bijāpur did not improve; party strife continued, and encouraged by such internal dissensions, Ahmadnagar, in conjunction with Golconda, invaded Bijāpur and laid siege to the fortress of Naldurg. The garrison defended it with all their might and its commandant resisted every effort of the enemy to reduce it. Finding difficulty in capturing it and expecting that dissensions prevailing at the capital would help its fall and hasten the conquest of other places of the ‘Ādil Shāhī State, the confederate army raised the siege of Naldurg and proceeded towards the capital. There were then only two to three thousand troops to defend the city, and although reinforcements arrived within a few days, there was lack of concerted action and desertions followed from their camp. On the other hand, the Ahmadnagar camps, too, were suffering from discords and dissensions which delayed their assault on the walled city.

Chānd Sultān entrusted the work of defence to an able officer named Abu-'l-Hasan who saved the situation by summoning the

Marāthā forces from the Carnatic and employing them in harassing enemies by cutting off their supplies and in all other possible manner. Both the forces of Ahmadnagar and Golconda began to feel badly the pinch of starvation and they were compelled to retreat. The Nizām Shāhī army retired to Ahmadnagar after plundering some places of Bijāpur on the way, while the forces of Golconda were defeated and driven out of Bijāpur, even to the gates of Golconda.

When Bijāpur was free from foreign aggression, internal disorders again vitiated its atmosphere. It was Dilāvar Khān who had driven back the Qutb Shāhī forces; and, on return from this successful campaign, he coveted the high position of minister by ousting Ikhlās Khān who was captured, blinded, and kept in confinement, and Dilāvar Khān became all powerful in the kingdom. Abu-'l-Hasan was also blinded and put to death. Chānd Sultān's power was curtailed and the Sunnī faith established as the State religion. Dilāvar remained the dominant force in Bijāpur for eight years from 1582 to 1590 and, during this period, matrimonial alliances were formed with Golconda and Ahmadnagar. Ibrāhīm II married a sister of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and his sister Khadīja was married to Miran Husain, the son of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I. But within a few years, war again commenced between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur and Dilāvar Khān was defeated at Dhārāseo (1591). This led to his fall and he was forced to leave Bijāpur and take shelter in Ahmadnagar where he entered the service of Burhān Nizām Shāh II. The latter refused to send him back to Bijāpur and his instigation led to a renewal of war between these two kingdoms, but Burhān sustained a serious defeat. These have already been stated in the history of Ahmadnagar.

By a stratagem, Ibrāhīm II inflicted a befitting punishment on the traitor, Dilāvar Khān, when he came back to Bijāpur on assurances of safety as well as of reinstatement to his former position. He was blinded and confined in the fortress of Satara, till his death.[81]

Relieved of the control of Dilāvar, Ibrāhīm II assumed charge of the government, but even then, he was not free from domestic troubles. In 1594 his brother, Ismā'īl, rebelled against him, and although the situation became very serious owing to the defection of 'Ain-ul-Mulk, the Amīr-ul-Umara, and the advance of Burhān II to aid the rebels, Ibrāhīm succeeded in quelling the rebellion before the Nizām Shāhī army could actually come to the assistance of his enemies. Both Ismā'īl and 'Ain-ul-mulk were captured and put to death.

Subsequent relations of Ibrāhīm II with Burhān II and his son Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh have already been described in the history of the Nizām Shāhī kingdom.[81a] When, on the death of the last-named Ahmadnagar Sultān, that kingdom was convulsed by party strife as well as Mughul invasion, Ibrāhīm II, at the request of Chānd Sultān, rendered necessary assistance to it to tide over the difficulties. Although the kingdom could not be saved, the fact remains that 'Ādil Shāh was not slow in lending aid to his neighbouring State in its hour of peril in spite of long-standing enmity existing between them. Subsequently, when Malik 'Ambar appeared as a saviour on the political arena of Ahmadnagar and sought his assistance, he helped him in his efforts to revive the fallen fortunes of the State, and like that astute politician, he, too, realized the necessity of mutual aid and co-operation with a view to protecting their kingdoms against Mughul aggression. At the request of 'Ambar he allowed 'Alī, a scion of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty, then at Bijāpur, to proceed to Parenda and ascend the throne of the newly revived Ahmadnagar kingdom with the title of Murtazā Shāh Nizām-ul-Mulk.

Ibrāhīm II also joined hands with 'Ambar in his conflicts with the Mughuls on many occasions, and it was unfortunate that a rift occurred between them at the fag end of their career, but it must be said to their credit that they foiled the Mughul efforts to annex the south for a considerable time.[81b]

It was during the reign of this monarch that Bīdar was annexed to the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom (1619).

In spite of his preoccupations in war, Ibrāhīm II devoted his time to the civil administration of his country. In this connection Meadows Taylor says: "He applied himself to the civil affairs with much care, and the land settlements of the provinces of his kingdom, many of which are still extant among district records, show an admirable and efficient system of registration of property and its valuation. In this respect, the system of Todar Mal introduced by the Emperor Akbar seems to have been followed with the necessary local modifications."[82]

About his tolerance and broadness of mind the same writer says: "Although he changed the profession of the State religion immediately upon assuming the direction of State affairs from Shiah to Sunnī, Ibrāhīm was yet extremely tolerant of all creeds and faiths. Hindus not only suffered no persecution at his hands, but many of his chief civil and military officers were Brahmins and Marathas."[83] His liberal views were testified to by Firishta as well,[84] and he was known as the "Jagadguru", or "spiritual guide of the world."

He was a man of culture, patron of the learned and fond of music and poetry. It was during his reign that Muhammad Qāsim Firishta wrote the famous *Tārīkh,* better known as the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta.* He was also a great builder and several ornate buildings erected by him show his fine taste. Of these, the Ānanda Mahal or palace of delight, built in 1589, is a very conspicuous palace in the Bijāpur fort; the Mihtar Mahal, Malikā Jahān Masjid and the mausoleum of his queen Tāj Sultān also deserve special mention.

He died in September, 1627, and was buried at a short distance from the walled city of Bijāpur. His own mausoleum in the group of buildings known as the Ibrāhīm Rauza is a richly decorated structure. It was not quite finished during his life-time and was completed during the reign of his son Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.

Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (1627-1656)

Although Darvesh was the eldest son of the late Sultān, his claim was set aside by the joint intrigues of the minister Mustafā Khān and another influential Bijāpur noble named Daulat Khān. Darvesh was blinded, and his younger brother Muhammad, a boy of fifteen, was raised to the throne, under the title of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh.

Early in his reign, the Nizām Shāhī army under Hamīd Khān invaded Bijāpur, but they were defeated and compelled to retreat to their territory.

On his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān started a vigorous policy against the Deccan States.[84a] In 1631, Bijāpur was invaded, and although the Mughul army scored some successes at the early stages of the campaign and laid siege to the fort of Bijāpur, they were ultimately compelled to withdraw, due to acute shortage of supplies.

Shāh Jahān, who was bent upon annexing the Deccan States, was highly dissatisfied at this discomfiture. The conduct of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh, who tried to seize some of the territories of the fallen Nizām Shāhī kingdom and offered secret aid to Shāhjī in his effort to revive that kingdom, further annoyed him. Besides, the emperor, who was a staunch Sunnī, bore hatred against these States, many of whose princes, nobles and people professed the Shiah faith. Both Bijāpur and Golconda were asked to accept Mughul suzerainty and some other terms. Shāh Jahān personally went to the Deccan for better conduct of affairs (1636), and three armies of 50,000 men in all were kept ready for action against them.

Golconda submitted in terror, but 'Ādil Shāh decided to resist Mughul aggression. Bijāpur was invaded from three sides and the Mughul armies carried on extensive devastations in the towns and villages, mercilessly massacring the inhabitants. Although the Sultān fought with great valour and defended his capital by cutting the dam of the Shāhpur lake and flooding the surrounding country-side, he was eventually compelled to sue for peace, and a treaty was concluded between them in May, 1636. The Sultān of Bijāpur acknowledged the "overlordship" of the Mughul emperor, promised not to cause any annoyance to the Sultān of Golconda, now his (emperor's) vassal, and agreed to pay a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees as an annual tribute. In return, Shāh Jahān assigned to Bijāpur a part of the recently conquered Ahmadnagar territory consisting of fifty *parganās* which included Sholāpur and vangi *mahals*, the *parganās* of Bhalki and Chidgupa, north Konkan, and the Poona district, yielding an annual revenue of eighty lakhs of rupees, while the Mughuls annexed the rest of Ahmadnagar. The Sultān was ordered to abstain from aiding Shāhjī in any hostile activity.[84b]

After this, friendly relations prevailed between Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh and the Mughul emperor, and there were exchanges of presents between the two. Thus feeling secure on the north, 'Ādil Shāh diverted his attention towards the extension of his frontiers on the other three sides, viz., the east, south and west.

"The principality of Ikkeri had been raided in 1635 at the invitation of a local faction, and a heavy fine of 30 lakhs of *huns* imposed on its Rājā Vīrabhadra Nāyak."[85] In 1637 the invasion was renewed at the invitation of Kenge Hanuma, chief of Bāsavapattanam and Tarikere, a recalcitrant feudatory of Ikkeri.[85a] Randaulah Khān, with a huge force consisting of 40,000 cavalry, besides infantry and elephant corps, invaded Ikkeri. He proceeded as far as Ikkeri, the capital city, and, unable to resist long, Vīrabhadra retreated to the fortress of Bhuvanagiri. After occupying the capital city, the Bijāpur army laid siege to Bhuvanagiri, whereupon he was compelled to sue for peace, and, according to the terms of the treaty, he had to surrender the forts already occupied by the Bijāpur army and acknowledge the overlordship of the Sultān of Bijāpur. Shortly after this, Ikkeri helped Bijāpur to crush Tarikere and Bāsavapattanam.[86]

In 1647, Mustafā Khān, the Bijāpur general, marched against Śrīraṅga III of Vijayanagara, and took several places including Krishnagiri and Deva Durga. In the same year he arrived at Vellore where he met Mīr Jumla, the Golconda general, and it was arranged that they would wrest the territories of Śrīraṅga and divide them between Bijāpur and Golconda. Vellore was besieged and occupied by Mustafā Khān whose victorious army took possession of many other places including Kaveripattanam, Hasan, Kanakagiri, Ratnagiri and Arjunakote, all belonging to Vijayanagara.[87]

On Mustafā Khān's death in November, 1648, the command of the Bijāpur expeditionary forces devolved on Khān Muhammad (Khān Khānān) who succeeded in capturing the fortress of Gingee in December, 1649. The victors received a rich booty consisting of gold, silver and precious stones worth several crores of rupees. The Nāyakas of Madura and Tanjore then offered their submission,[88] and towards the west, the 'Ādil Shāhī army obtained some successes against the Portuguese of Goa also. The territories of Bijāpur now extended "from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, across the Indian Peninsula."[89]

It was during this reign that Shivājī started his activities against Bijāpur and the serious illness of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh in 1646 afforded him a grand opportunity for the same. He occupied many forts, one after another, like Torna, Kondhana (Siṁhagarh), Chakan and Purandar; but, for these acts of disloyalty, his father Shāhjī was arrested and Shivājī secured his release with great difficulty.

Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh breathed his last in November, 1656. It was during his reign that the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom attained its greatest extent and power. At the time of his death it "had an annual revenue of seven *krores* and eighty-four *lakhs* of rupees, besides five *krores* twenty-five *lakhs* of tribute due from vassal *rājāhs* and *zamindars*. The strength of the army establishment was 80,000 cavalry and 2,50,000 infantry, besides 530 war elephants. The exact extent of the kingdom can be judged from the fringe of dependent and tributary states around it, covering the Kanara and Dharwar districts of Bombay, the Bellary and Karnool districts of Madras, and much of the kingdom of Mysore."[90]

Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh was well known for piety, justice and love for his subjects, and was a patron of arts, literature and science. He also earned great reputation as a builder; the most conspicuous building erected by him in Bijāpur was his own mausoleum, the great Gol Gumbaz, which contains one of the greatest domes in the world.

He also erected the Asar Mahal within which was enshrined two hairs of the Prophet's beard.

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II (1656-1672)

'Alī Ādil Shāh II, the only son of the late Sultān, was then placed on the throne with the help of Queen Bari Sāhibā and prime minister Khān Muhammad. He was only eighteen years of age and incapable of controlling different factions within the kingdom. Disorders followed in some of the newly conquered territories and consequent loss of them, and the nobles began to quarrel among themselves for power. Aurangzīb, who was then Mughul viceroy of the Deccan, considered it a convenient time for the invasion of Bijāpur, and with the sanction of the emperor, on the plea that 'Alī was not really a son of the late king, he opened his campaign against 'Ādil Shāh and laid siege to the fort of Bīdar. In the meantime, he had been able to seduce some of the 'Ādil Shāhī nobles; Mīr Jumla, who had deserted his master, the Sultān of Golconda, and joined the Mughuls, rendered immense help to him.

But this declaration of war against Bijāpur on an issue which was purely its own concern, was wholly unjustified. Bīdar fell after a gallant resistance of twenty-seven days (1657). Bijāpur could not check the advance of the Mughuls who ravaged an extensive area of the kingdom and laid siege to Kalyāni, forty miles west of Bīdar, and once the capital of the Chālukya kings, which also fell (1657). 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II was compelled to sue for peace, and on the intercession of Dārā, Shāh Jahān agreed to conclude a treaty with Bijāpur. 'Ādil Shāh consented to surrender Bīdar, Kalyāni and Parenda, and pay an indemnity of one *crore* of rupees to the Mughuls.

After these, the news of serious illness of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb's march towards the north to contest the throne, and quarrels among the Bijāpur nobles, culminating in the murder of Khān Muhammad, gave Shivājī an opportunity for his ambitious projects. He hurried to Konkan and occupied Kalyān, Bhivandi and the fort of Mahuli.

In 1659 the Bijāpur government sent Āfzal Khān, a noble of high rank, with 10,000 cavalry against Shivājī with instruction to capture him dead or alive. It has been already narrated how Āfzal Khān opened negotiations with the Marāthā chief, met him in a conference, and was killed by Shivājī (pp. 258-9).

The leaderless Bijāpur army became panic-stricken and had no courage to oppose the enemy. Many of them were killed and others surrendered. Their losses were heavy and all their artillery, ammunition, and camp equipage fell into the hands of the Marāthās (1659).

After this triumph, Shivāji captured the fort of Panhālā and obtained more successes against Bijāpur. To avenge these losses and drive away the rebel, 'Alī II sent Fazl Khān and Sīdī Jauhar, now entitled Salābat Khān, and Shivājī was defeated and forced to take shelter in the fort of Panhālā which was also besieged. It was with difficulty that the latter managed to escape.

Taking advantage of ill-feeling between the Nāyakas of Madura and Tanjore, 'Alī II despatched a large army against them. A surprise attack was made on Tanjore upon which its Nāyaka, Vijayarāghava, fled to Vallam and the Bijāpur force occupied Tanjore without much difficulty (1659). The fort of Vallam also fell without any resistance, as the Nāyaka had fled to the forests of Talavarayan and the garrison did not defend it. The victors then proceeded to the fort of Trichinopoly and laid siege to it, but due to famine and troubles created by the Kallars (robber chiefs), they had to retire on receipt of a sum of money only from the Nāyaka of Madura. Soon after, Vijayarāghava reoccupied Tanjore. In 1663, another expedition was sent to Trichinopoly which was besieged, and the surrounding regions were plundered. But in spite of repeated attacks, the fort could not be occupied and the Bijāpur army had to retire on receipt of a large sum of money from the ruler of Madura.[91]

The Nāyaka of Ikkeri had recovered several forts like Ikkeri, Soraba, Udugani, Mahādevpura and Ambaligolla from Bijāpur, and 'Alī II led a campaign against him, defeated him near Ambaligolla, and occupied Bednor, the then capital of Ikkeri. The fort of Bhuvanagiri was then invested, but Bhadrappa Nāyaka, the Nāyaka of Ikkeri (1662-64), adopted guerilla tactics and cut off all communications of the Bijāpur forces who were obliged to make peace with him and retire. 'Alī II sent another expedition against Ikkeri and occupied three of its forts (about 1668).[92]

In the meantime, Bijāpur had to face another Mughul invasion, and this was led by Jay Singh (1665-66). Although the Mughul advance was rapid for some time, it soon received a serious set-back through the exertions of 'Alī II, and Jay Singh was compelled to retire without achieving anything. "Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, not a pice of indemnity was gained."[93]

After this, 'Alī II did not at all attend to his duties but spent his time in idle pleasures. Fortunately for him, he had an able prime minister in 'Abdul Muhammad who conducted the administration with efficiency.

The Sultān died of paralysis in 1672 and was succeeded by his son Sikandar, a boy of four only. 'Alī was a patron of Urdu literature. Among the court-poets who flourished during his reign and wrote in Deccani Urdu were Mīān Nusrali, Mīān Hansi and Mirjan Marsiya. "Besides the two memorable works *Gulshan-i-Ishq* and *Ali Nama,* Nusrali composed numerous *Qasidahs* and *Diwan-i-Ghazals* full of beauty and virility. Mīān Hansi's solid contributions to literature are his story of Yusuf and Zulaikha, *Ghazals* and other poems. Mirjan Marsiya, the third notable poet and writer, wrote verses in praise of the Prophet, Hasan and Husain, and the Imams."[94]

Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh (1672-1686)

Sikandar was the last of the 'Ādil Shāhī Sultāns, and as he was a minor, the administration of the kingdom was run by its *wazirs* or prime ministers who also acted as regents. "The history of Bijāpur from 1672 to 1686 is really the history of its *wazirs.* It was a period marked by chronic civil war among the factious nobles, independence of the provincial governors, paralysis of the central administration in the capital itself, occasional but indecisive Mughul invasions, and a secret alliance but pretended hostility with the Marāthās."[95]

Immediately after the death of 'Alī II, Khavāss Khān, the Abyssinian leader of the Deccani party, seized the real powers of the State and became prime minister and regent. But due to his incapacity and indolence there were disturbances in the kingdom, and taking advantage of this situation, Shivājī conquered some of its territories and the Mughuls began to seduce its nobles. Khavāss Khān was in power for three years, and when he had quarrels and bitter animosity with 'Abdul Karim Buhlūl Khān, the commander-in-chief and leader of the Afghān party, the latter invited him to a dinner and imprisoned him in a drunken state (1675). Buhlūl then stepped into his position but his regime of two years was worse. He raised his own men to high posts and expelled those of the Deccani party. Disorders followed in the kingdom and his chief adviser, Khizr Khān, was murdered; in revenge, Buhlūl murdered Khavāss Khān. The Mughuls took up the cause of the Deccani party who had sought their assistance and occupied Naldurg and Gulbarga (1677).

Under the Afghān regime the sufferings of the people knew no bounds, and, at last, on the death of Buhlūl (1678), Sidi Mas'ud, another Bijāpurī noble, with the assistance of the Mughuls, became prime minister and regent. He made peace with the Mughuls, one of the conditions of which was that Shahr Banu Begam, Sikandar's sister, was to be married to a son of Aurangzīb, and, according to this, she left the city of Bijāpur in 1679 and was married to Prince A'zam in July, 1681.[95a]

The condition of Bijāpur went from bad to worse. The government was bankrupt, and disorder and anarchy prevailed in the State due to quarrels between Mas'ud and Sharza Khān, an influential noble. The Regent could not, in the least, improve the dilapidated condition of the kingdom and its future seemed to be doomed.

After a bitter experience of five years as *wazir* and regent, Mas'ud resigned his office early in 1684. Aqa Khusrav, who then occupied his place in March, 1684, died in October of the same year. The time was extremely ominous and dark clouds were hanging on the political horizon of Bijāpur. The most intrepid general, Sayyid Makhdum surnamed Sharza Khān, was entrusted with the defence of the kingdom.

In the meantime, the Mughuls had been appropriating Bijāpur territories and establishing their outposts in them. Mangalvide and Sangola were conquered in May, 1684. Aurangzīb, who was determined to annex this kingdom both on political and religious grounds, took vigorous steps to prosecute his plans. Acrimonious letters passed between him and Sikandar, and a serious rupture seemed imminent, although some months passed before the formal outbreak of war. In such a critical time, the Sultān of Golconda promised aid to Bijāpur and a Marāthā contingent also arrived there from Shambhūjī.

In April, 1685, the Mughuls laid siege to the fort of Bijāpur, and Prince A'zam reached there in June to take charge of the operations. The Bijāpurīs fought valiantly for the defence of their capital and within a month three severe battles were fought. They cut off the supplies of the Mughuls who suffered terribly for want of provisions, but the prince was resolute and conducted the siege inspite of his father's order to return. Aurangzīb then sent sufficient provisions, money and reinforcements which saved the besieging army, but even after a siege of fifteen months, there was no real progress owing to discord and jealousy among the officers. So, the Emperor himself went to Rasulpur, a suburb west of the fort, (1686),[95b] and pressed the siege in right earnest. His personal presence and firm determination to capture the fort cowed down the courage of the Bijāpurīs. They lost heart, as they saw no hope of saving their capital city. The garrison had shrunk to two thousand men only and there was no possibility of assistance from outside. The scarcity of provisions due to famine made their position still more intolerable and it was not possible to resist any longer.

In September, 1686, Sikandar surrendered to the Mughul Emperor.[95c] Thus, the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom lost its independent existence and was annexed to the Mughul Empire. Sikandar was enrolled as a Mughul peer, with an annual pension of one lakh of rupees, but he had to suffer life-long imprisonment and died in April, 1700, when he was less than thirty-two.

With the loss of independence, Bijāpur, which was once "the queen of southern India", wore the look of a desolate city.

IV. THE 'IMĀD-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BERĀR

The founder of this dynasty, Fath-ullāh 'Imād-ul-Mulk, was originally a Hindu from Karnatak. In his boyhood, he was taken prisoner by the Bahmanī army, converted to Islām and appointed one of the body-guards of Khān Jahān, the governor of Berār. By dint of his abilities he rose to positions of distinction and received the lofty title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. He also became the governor of Berār, the most northern province of the Bahmanī kingdom, and the weakness of the central government encouraged him to assume independence in 1490.[96]

He exerted his utmost to improve and strengthen the newly founded autonomous State, and after his death in 1504, his eldest son, 'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, succeeded him as the ruler of Berār.

'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh (1504-30)

During 'Alā-ud-dīn's time started the long-drawn struggle with Ahmadnagar, culminating in the annexation of Berār by the former. Various factors were responsible for this conflict. First, the relation between these two kingdoms was strained due to an invasion of Ahmadnagar by Berār with a view to rendering assistance to some disaffected Nizām Shāhī nobles who had taken shelter in it. Although the invasion was repulsed by the Nizām Shāhīs (1510) and a peace concluded between these kingdoms, it did not last long, and they again came to arms for another and more important cause. Burhān Nizām Shāh I coveted Pāthrī, his ancestral home, situated in the kingdom of Berār, but bordering on Ahmadnagar and, in lieu of it, he offered another place to 'Imād Shāh "yielding even a greater revenue,"[96a] but the latter rejected the proposal and fortified it, whereupon the former made a sudden attack and took it (1518).[97]

Alā-ud-dīn contracted a matrimonial alliance with Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān by marrying his sister Khadīja and also concluded a friendly alliance with Golconda. With a combined army of these States, he recovered Pāthrī, but within a short time, Burhān again took it (1527).

The third cause of conflict between Berār and Ahmadnagar was over the possession of Māhūr. Burhān strengthened his position by an alliance with Bīdar and invaded Berār. He took possession of Māhūr, and then proceeded as far as Ellichpur, its capital. At this critical juncture, Alā-ud-dīn sought the aid of Muhammad I, the ruler of Khāndesh, but this also did not improve his position, as both of them sustained a serious defeat, with the loss of all their camp equipage and three hundred elephants. Many places of Berār were occupied by the allied armies of Ahmadnagar and Bīdar. The two vanquished Sultāns then sought the assistance of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, who, finding it a suitable opportunity for extending his power in the south, responded to their appeal, and proceeded to the Deccan (1528). Alarmed at this Burhān requested Bijāpur, Golconda and Bīdar for help, and both Bijāpur and Bīdar responded to his appeal and sent him necessary assistance. Bahādur, who moved against Ahmadnagar, was defeated twice, but the allied army could not cope with him when further reinforcements joined the Gujarāt army. Both Burhān and Amīr Barīd were compelled to fall back on Parenda and thence to Junnar, and began to harass the enemy by night attacks and cutting off their supplies. Bahādur occupied the city of Ahmadnagar and, entrusting the siege of the fort to Alā-ud-dīn, moved to Daulatābād. Burhān's position became critical and he had no alternative but to sue for peace. On the other hand, Bahādur's policy of aggrandizement in the Deccan had caused grave concern to his allies who no longer wanted to act in concert with him. On his side, the latter, too, was anxious for his own safety lest he should be cut off from his country in the ensuing monsoon. Cessation of war thus became the prime consideration of both the parties and a peace was therefore effected. Burhān caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of Bahādur and returned the elephants seized from Muhammad I during the war but did not fulfil his promise in respect of restoration of Māhūr and Pāthrī to Berār.[98]

Alā-ud-dīn died in 1530 and was succeeded by his eldest son Daryā 'Imād Shāh.

Daryā 'Imād Shāh (1530-62)

During the reign of Daryā 'Imād Shāh the kingdom enjoyed peace and tranquillity. In the wars between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar, he sided once with Bijāpur but helped Ahmadnagar on three occasions, once in 1543 and twice during the reign of Husain Nizām Shāh I.

After his death in 1562 his infant son Burhān succeeded him to the throne.

Burhān 'Imād Shāh and Tufāl Khān

Burhān 'Imād Shāh's minister, Tufāl Khān, a man of high ambition and of extraordinary courage, became regent. He confined the king in the fort of Narnāla and seized the reins of government in his own hands.

As he had reasonable cause of resentment against Husain Nizām Shāh I for the cruel murder of Jahāngīr Khān, he not only held aloof from the confederacy formed by the four Deccani Muslim powers against Vijayanagara, but also carried on depredations in the Nizām Shāhī kingdom. 'Ādil Shāh and Nizām Shāh were highly incensed at these and they invaded Berār. It was impossible for Tufāl to fight against such heavy odds and he managed to purchase peace from 'Ādil Shāh in secret on payment of a heavy sum of money and fifty elephants (1566). Finding himself deserted by 'Ādil Shāh, Nizām Shāh also retired.

Although Tufāl saved himself from this crisis, other serious dangers awaited him. A treaty was concluded between Murtazā I and 'Alī Ādil Shāh I, defining their sphere of aggrandizement. The former was allowed to annex Berār and Bīdar, and the latter to "conquer as much of the Carnatic as would produce a revenue equal to Berār and Bīdar."[98a] Then followed their activities. As a pretext for invasion of Berār, Tufāl was asked to re-instate his sovereign in his position, but when this was not complied with, Murtazā I invaded Berār. Unable to check his advance, Tufāl allowed Ellichpur to be occupied by his enemies and fled from place to place. Leaving Berār, he tried in vain to take shelter in Khāndesh and ultimately took refuge with Burhān 'Imād Shāh in the hill-fort of Narnāla, while his son went to Gawilgarh.

Due to its natural position, the fort of Narnāla was favourable for defence, and here Tufāl repulsed the attacks of his enemies with great valour, but was troubled by paucity of provisions. On the other hand, Murtazā, too, got tired of the protracted siege, and unable to occupy the fort by arms, he took the golden means of seducing the garrison. This produced its desired effect. Finding it impossible to defend any longer, Tufāl fled into the neighbouring hills but was soon captured. Thus fell Narnāla (April, 1574), and shortly after this, Tufāl's son surrendered Gawilgarh. Burhān 'Imād Shāh along with the usurper Tufāl Khān and his son Shamshir-ul-Mulk were taken to Ahmadnagar and confined in a fortress where all of them subsequently died. It is said that their death was caused either by the Sultān's order or cruel treatment in the prison.

Thus disappeared Berār as an independent State from the map of the Deccan.

V. *THE BARĪD-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF BĪDAR*

Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī, who reigned from 1842 to 1518, was unfit to hold the sceptre during that troublesome period. He could not cope with the situation, and disorder and confusion increased on all sides. The real power passed into the hands of Qāsim Barīd, his prime minister, who had risen to that high position by dint of his extraordinary abilities. Originally, he was a Turk, domiciled in Georgia. He came to the Bahmanī kingdom in his early boyhood and then entered the service of Muhammad Shāh III. By and by, he rose to positions of distinction till he became prime minister, exercising regal power, in fact, though not in name.

Qāsim Barīd died in 1504, and was succeeded as prime minister by his son Amīr Barīd, who, too, like his father, wielded uncontrolled sway in the kingdom. Mahmūd Shāh died in 1518, and was succeeded by four sultāns, one after another, but all of them were mere tools in the hands of Amīr Barīd. Kalimullāh, the last of them, tried in vain to regain his power with the help of Bābur. At last, he fled to Bijāpur and thence to Ahmadnagar; he breathed his last in 1538, but with his flight from Bīdar in 1528 Amīr Barīd became practically independent, although he never formally asserted his independence nor assumed the title of "Shāh".

Amīr Barīd was very cunning, and hence he was known as *Robah-i-Deccan* or the *Fox of the Deccan.*[99] He knew well how to play one party against the other, but such cunning brought him disgrace also and he had to suffer humiliation at the hands of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān against whom he had plotted. Apart from political differences, the two had religious differences as well; Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān was a Shiah, whereas Amīr Barīd was a bigoted Sunnī. The former was highly incensed when, in 1529, it was reported to him that Amīr Barīd had attempted to incite a part of his soldiery against him, and observed, "it was contrary to wisdom to treat the wolf with gentleness, or the snake with kindness."[100] At his request, when Burhān Nizām Shāh promised to remain neutral, Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān started against Amīr Barīd. The fort of Bīdar was besieged, and Amīr

Barīd, who was then old, withdrew to the fortress of Udgir, leaving the defence of Bīdar to his eldest son 'Alī Barīd. However, Amīr Barīd's position became very perilous, and, in spite of the assistance of Golconda and intercession of Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, he was unable to save his own position. Ismā'īl was not willing to accept any terms short of complete surrender of Bīdar. On hearing of it, Amīr Barīd came out of Udgir to entreat 'Imād Shāh once more to effect a peace, but when this was not possible, he went back to his camp close to that of the former and "to drown his cares he gave himself up to pleasures."[100a] Asad Khān, the general of Ismā'īl, took him by surprise while he was in a drunken and senseless condition and carried him away to his master who gave order for his execution. On the earnest entreaty of Amīr Barīd, 'Ādil Khān agreed to spare his life on condition of surrender of the fortress of Bīdar, but as his son refused to give it up, Ismā'īl ordered that he (Amīr Barīd) should be trampled to death by a furious elephant. Finding no alternative, his son evacuated the fort and retired to Udgir, with as many jewels of the Bahmanī Sultāns as was possible to carry in concealment. Thus 'Ādil Khān got possession of Bīdar.[101]

Amīr Barīd was made a peer of Bijāpur, and after his assistance to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān in taking possession of Rāichūr and Mudgal (1530), Bīdar was restored to him on condition of cession of Kalyāni and Qandahār to Bijāpur. But as he did not keep his promise Ismā'īl set out with his army to occupy them, and, although Burhān I came to the aid of Amīr Barīd, both of them sustained a severe defeat near Naldurg.

Not long after, Amīr Barīd was reconciled to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān whom he helped in his struggle against Golconda. But he again severed his connection with Bijāpur and joined Ahmadnagar. While he and Burhān Nizām Shāh I, were retreating towards Daulatābād closely pursued by the armies of Bijāpur and Berār, he suddenly expired (1542).

Amīr Barīd was succeeded by his son 'Alī Barīd, who ruled till 1580. Among the rulers of Bīdar he was the first to assume the title of "Shāh". His relations with the other Deccani powers have mostly been described in the history of Ahmadnagar. In 1564, he joined the confederacy of the Muslim States of Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda against Vijayanagara and took part in defeating the latter in the famous battle (popularly known as the battle of Talikota) fought at Rākshasi-Tangadi (January, 1565).

He was a man of culture and fond of poetry and calligraphy and his tomb at Bīdar and Rangin Mahal ("painted palace") built by him bear testimony to his fine taste for architecture.[101a]

On the death of ‘Alī Barīd his son Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh ascended the throne and reigned till 1587. He was succeeded by his younger brother Qāsim Barīd Shāh II. After the battle of Rākshasi-Tangadi, the strength of Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda increased so much that it was not possible for a small kingdom like Bīdar to cope with them and naturally it gradually dwindled in extent. Qāsim Barīd II died in 1591 and was succeeded by his infant son, but one of his relatives named Amīr Barīd dethroned him and became king under the title of Amīr Barīd II. After a reign of about ten years he, too, was expelled by one of his relatives—Mīrzā ‘Alī Barīd (1601). He reigned till 1609 and was succeeded by Amīr Barīd Shāh III, the last Sultān of Bīdar. He joined the confederacy of the Deccani powers, viz., Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda, organized by Malik ‘Ambar and fought with them against the Mughuls (1616).

As his relation with Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II was far from cordial, the latter invaded Bīdar, and after defeating him, annexed it to Bijāpur (1619). He and his sons were brought to Bijāpur and kept “under surveillance.”[101b]

VI. THE QUTB-SHĀHĪ DYNASTY OF GOLCONDA

Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk,[102] who laid the foundation of a separate dynasty of rulers in Golconda, belonged to a Turki family and was born at Hamadan in Persia. He came to the Deccan in his youth during the reign of the Bahmanī Sultān, Muhammad Shāh III, and started his career as a body-guard of this monarch. By his extraordinary courage, skill, and sagacity, he rose from one position to another till he became the Governor of Telingāna, the eastern province of the Bahmanī kingdom. He had also received the lofty title of Qutb-ul-Mulk.[103]

When the weakness of the Bahmanī government encouraged different provincial governors to become autonomous within their jurisdictions, Sultān Qulī also took advantage of the situation and assumed a similar position on the death of Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī in 1518. He never assumed the title of “Shāh” or the royal dignity. Neither the assertion of Firishta that he declared independence in 1512 nor the view of some modern historians that he severed his connection with the Bahmanī kingdom and became independent in 1518 is tenable. The decipherment of the inscription of the Jāmi ‘Masjid at Golconda, built by Sultān Qulī, commemoration tablet of which bears the date 924 A.H. or A.D. 1518, proves that the ruling monarch was then Mahmud Shāh Bahmanī and not Sultān Qulī, but it does not go to prove in any way that he asserted his independence sometime that year on the demise of that monarch. On the contrary, available evidences show that he never assumed the royal title.[104]

During the long period of his rule, he devoted most of his energies in extending the frontiers of his kingdom. On the north, he took possession of the district of Haft Tappa from Berār, and, on the south, he conquered various places one after another including Rajconda, Devarconda, Ganpura, Kovelaconda, and Pangal.

He tried his utmost to bring as much of the Telugu-speaking country as possible in his possession and continued his campaigns one after another. He defeated Shitāb Khān (i.e., Sītāpati) of Bhogikula and captured Bellamconda, Indraconda, Kambhammet and Warangal, etc., and it was not possible for Shitāb Khān to check his advance, as the power of Shitāb's ally, Gajapati Pratāparudra, the king of Orissa, on whom he depended, had been greatly weakened by his recent discomfiture at the hands of Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara. Sultān Qulī then occupied Kondapalli, Ellore, and Rajahmundry belonging to the Gajapati, and compelled him, by a treaty, to give up his territories between the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. Next, he laid siege to the fortress of Koṇḍavidu belonging to Vijayanagara, but here he ultimately sustained a serious defeat.

Sultān Qulī had troubles with Bijāpur and Bīdar whose rulers made a joint effort to take the fortress of Kovelaconda, but their plan was upset by the sudden death of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān (1534). Sultān Qulī retaliated on Bīdar by carrying on depredations in it and besieging Kohir. It was at last agreed that this fortress should be ceded to him.

Sultān Qulī lived till the age of ninety-eight when he was assassinated at the instigation of his second surviving son Jamshīd (September, 1543).[105]

Sultān Qulī was not only a skilful general and a strategist, but also an efficient ruler who established law and order in his country. He was a great builder as well. The Golconda fort was, to a large extent, built by him and the city was beautified with mosques, palaces and gardens. Jāmi 'Masjid, a very beautiful structure, outside the fort, was erected by him.

He was a devout and God-fearing man and belonged to the Shiah creed which was established as the State religion.

Jamshīd Quṭb Khān (*1543-1550*)

Sultān Qulī was succeeded by his son Jamshīd, who caused his elder brother Qutb-ud-dīn to be blinded and plotted to seize his younger brother Ibrāhīm, who, coming to know of his brother's intention, fled to Bīdar for protection and assistance. He was cordially received by 'Alī Barīd Shāh who championed his cause and proceeded with the Prince against Jamshīd. They marched triumphantly to the very gates of the fort of Golconda which was besieged. At this juncture, Jamshīd sought the assistance of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, who immediately sent an army to Golconda. Unable to oppose these combined forces, 'Alī Barīd retreated towards Bijāpur, but on the way, as he attempted to seize the properties of Ibrāhīm, the latter left him and retired to Vijayanagara where he was cordially received and given a *jāgīr*. He remained there for seven years.

Jamshīd possessed great tact and foresight, and was an astute diplomat. When he came to the throne, it was Burhān I only who offered his congratulation by sending his envoy Shāh Tahir, and there was practically no Deccani power whom he could count as his ally, but he soon changed his position. As has been related in the history of Burhān Nizām Shāh I, he became a party to the quadruple alliance (1543) and joined Ahmadnagar against Bijāpur. But it was in 1548 that he gained a very advantageous position and raised the prestige of Golconda above all other Deccani kingdoms. Both Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar were then in earnest to win his support, and 'Alī Barīd, who had been imprisoned by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, also made entreaties to him to secure his release. The position of Jamshīd was thus almost similar to that of an arbiter in the Deccan. He then exhibited his greatest tact and diplomacy. Instead of incurring the displeasure of any party, he maintained his neutrality, and, at the same time, won over 'Alī Barīd by securing his release and placing him back on his throne.

After these, he returned to his capital, but was attacked with cancer and, after suffering for about two years, died in 1550.

His minor son, Subhān Qulī, was then raised to the throne but he had soon to make room for his uncle Ibrāhīm, who came from Vijayanagara, deposed him, and ascended the throne.

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh (1550-1580)

Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh received the support of all sections of the people and established law and order in the kingdom. As has been mentioned above, he was the first Sultān of the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty to assume the title of "Shāh".

His inter-state relationship, including the part he played in connection with the battle of Talikota, has been described at length in the history of Ahmadnagar.

Continuing the policy of Sultān Qulī, he carried on conquests in the Telugu-speaking areas, and invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara. The famous temple of Narasimha at Ahobalam was sacked by his commander, Murhari Rāo, a Marāthā Brāhmin (1579), who also invaded Udayagiri, Vinukonda and Koṇḍavidu. There is no doubt that as a result of these invasions Ibrāhīm gained possession of considerable territories from Vijayanagara.[106]

The Sultān also devoted much time and energy for the consolidation of his kingdom. All rebellions and lawlessness were suppressed wtih a stern hand. Telingāna was full of highway robbers and thieves, and travelling was fraught with great risks, but it was to his credit that he cleared the roads from the oppression of these marauders.

Jagdeva Rāo Naikwari, the prime minister, made a conspiracy to depose him and place his brother Daulat Qulī on the throne. The Sultān executed one of the accomplices of Jagdeva, who, being afraid of his own safety, fled to Berār, but there, too, when his manners became overbearing, he was ordered to quit immediately, and, this he did, but came back to the Qutb Shāhī territory. Being defeated here, he finally left for Vijayanagara.

There was a revolt of the Naikwaris under the leadership of Suria Rāo, the commandant of the Naikwaris in the fort of Golconda, but this rising was suppressed with a strong hand and Suria Rāo and other Naikwaris of this fort were executed.

Not only did Ibrāhīm establish peace and security in his kingdom but also made it prosperous. Trade and commerce increased enormously. "Telingāna, like Egypt, became the mart of the whole world. Merchants from Toorkistan, Arabia and Persia, resorted to it; and they met with such encouragement that they found in it inducements to return frequently."[107]

Ibrāhīm was a great patron of art and architecture and erected several beautiful buildings. The fortifications of Golconda were extended and strengthened, and the city was beautified with gardens, hammams, wide streets, and shops of various kinds. He established alms-house (or the *Lungur*), numerous colleges, one dam at Budwal and two tanks, one at Ibrahimpattam and the other called Husain Sāgar. He constructed also a strong bridge, 600 feet long and 36 feet wide, on the Musi, originally called Narva, known later on as "*Purana Pul*" or "*old bridge*". It was supported by twenty-two pointed arches.[108]

This reign saw the beginning of Dakhani Urdu poetry at Golconda, and four poets viz., Mulla Khiyali, Mahmūd, Fīrūz and Ahmad composed their poems in this language.

Of all his actions, Ibrāhīm is remembered by the Hindus of Telingāna specially for his patronage of Telugu literature. Many Telugu poets like Addanki Gangādhar Kavi, Pannaganti Teleganarya, and Kandukuri Rudra Kavi flourished in his court. Addanki Gangādhar Kavi, the most well-known of them, composed an elegant poem *Tapatisama-Varanamu Upakhyanamu* and dedicated it to the Sultān, who is called *Malkibharam* in Telugu literature. Among other things it gives accounts of the conquests of Sultān Qulī and those of Ibrāhīm in the Telugu areas. The poet says that many learned men well-versed in Hindu scriptures adorned the court of this Sultān. He was very liberal in his rewards to the Telugu poets and tried his best to encourage them. Amīr Khān, a Qutb Shāhī officer of high rank, was also a patron of Telugu literature.

Though Ibrāhīm took a prominent part in bringing about the fall of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, his treatments of his Hindu subjects, specially his patronage of their literature and their appointment to high posts, show that he tried to gain the goodwill and sympathy of the bulk of his population—the most essential requisites of a stable government.[109]

He died in 1580 at the age of fifty and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh.

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (*1580-1612*)

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh inherited a peaceful and prosperous kingdom, which enjoyed peace and happiness during his reign. In 1586, an alliance was formed with Bijāpur by the marriage of the Sultān's sister, Malikā Zamān, with Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, and thus, an attempt was made to establish a feeling of cordiality between the two kingdoms.

As the walled city of Golconda became congested and unhealthy, and there was scarcity of water in it, shifting of the capital appeared to be a necessity, and in 1590, the plan for the construction of the new capital at Hyderabad, on the river Musi, was ready for execution. Muhammad Qulī tried his utmost to make the city as grand as possible. It was embellished with fine palaces, gardens, and baths, and proper arrangements were made for supply of water in all its parts. Two stately edifices, viz., the *Jāmi'* Mosque and the majestic Chahar Minār or 'four minarets'—"a square building of four broad and very lofty open arches, with four minarets 220 feet high at each corner" were built in the centre of the city, adding to the grandeur and beauty of the capital. Besides, hospitals and colleges were also established for the benefit of the people.[110]

Venkata II, the king of Vijayanagara, tried to recover the Koṇḍavidu areas, but Muhammad Qulī proceeded with a big army and defeated him. The Sultān occupied Kurnool, Nandial, Gandikota and Cuddapa and laid siege to Penukoṇḍa. Venkata II was forced to sue for peace, and although there was a temporary respite, the war was soon renewed. Muhammad Qulī again laid siege to Penukoṇḍa, but scarcity of provisions in his camp and apprehension of inundation of the Krishna due to approach of the monsoon which would cut off his retreat, compelled him to raise the siege and retire to his capital, after making necessary arrangements for protection and administration of the newly conquered areas. But Venkata II soon started the offensive and laid siege to Gandikota, which, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Qutb Shāhī forces, could not be saved. Although the Vijayanagara army recovered some other forts also, the Koṇḍavidu areas remained in possession of the Sultān of Golconda, but Qutb Shāh was forced to recognize the Krishna as the boundary between the two kingdoms.

During the reign of this Sultān, Shāh Abbās, the Safavī King of Persia (1587-1629) sent Aghuzlu Sultān, one of his relatives, in 1603, on an embassy to Muhammad Qulī, with valuable presents of jewels, carpets and horses etc., and on his arrival at Golconda, the ambassador was accorded a grand reception. He stayed at Hyderabad for six years and then returned to Persia with suitable presents for the Shāh. The principal object of the embassy, as has been related, was to put the proposal of marriage of one of the sons of the Shāh with Hayat Baksh Begam, the Sultān's daughter, but the mission was not successful.[110a]

In 1609, a conspiracy was made to dethrone Muhammad Qulī and place his brother Muhammad Khudābanda on the throne, but the Sultān seized the ringleaders before they could create any mischief. They, along with Khudābanda, were imprisoned in the fort of Golconda where the Prince died in 1611.

In this year, the English East India company established a factory at Masulipatam, an important port in the Qutb Shāhī kingdom.

As Pratāp Shāh, the Rājā of Bastār, revolted, the Sultān sent an army against him. Being defeated, the Rājā fled to an impregnable fortress in the forest, and in spite of reinforcements, the Qutb Shāhī army could not force him to surrender, and a sudden heavy rainfall, spoiling a great part of the gunpowder, and want of provisions, compelled them to retreat. It was with great difficulty that they returned to Golconda.

The Sultān died in 1612, after an illness of two days only. Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh has left to posterity a great name for town-planning and architecture. The foundation of Hyderabad and construction of fine buildings, gardens and baths etc., with which his new capital was embellished, show his excellent taste as a builder, and he spent a big amount every year for the construction of public buildings. Of the palaces erected by him, special mention may be made of Chandan Mahal, Hirā Mahal and Nadi Mahal.

He was a man of charitable disposition and a lover of justice. A sum of sixty thousand *huns* or two lakhs and forty thousand rupees was distributed to the poor every year.

"Intelligent and learned,....and of literary bent of mind, Muhammad Qulī kept company with the learned."[110b] He established several *khankas* and *madrasas* at Hyderabad and gave rewards liberally to distinguished literary men. "It is related, that out of four lacs of *huns* secured as revenue collection from the city, a large and a greater portion was disbursed in rewarding the Saiyids and Ulemas and supplying them with two free meals per day."[111]

Muhammad Qutb Shāh (*1612-1626*)

As Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh left no son, his nephew Muhammad Qutb Shāh, son of Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn, succeeded him to the throne. He was also the son-in-law of the late Sultān, whose daughter Hayat Baksh Begam he had married.

He joined the confederacy of the Deccani powers against the Mughuls and tried to put a stop to Mughul aggression in the south. Although prior to the battle of Bhatvadi, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II joined the Mughuls with a view to strengthening his position against 'Ambar, Muhammad Qutb Shāh did not forget the interests of the Deccan, and fully aware of the strength of the Mughuls and the Bijāpurīs, he formed a defensive and offensive alliance with 'Ambar. He remained firm to Ahmadnagar and fought on its side in the battle of Bhatvadi (1624).

But he was more inclined towards the pen than the sword. He had received proper education in his young age and was fond of the association of the learned. He was well acquainted with various arts and sciences and could write both in prose and verse. Among his writings were *ghazl, tarkib band* and *rubaiya;* "his pen name was Zil-ul-lah (the shadow of God)".[112] It was in the fifth year of his reign that the *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāh,* the well-known history of the Sultāns of Golconda, was completed.

To add to the beauty and grandeur of the capital city, he erected buildings and laid out gardens.

He died in 1626, and was succeeded by his son 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, at the age of twelve.

'Abdullah Qutb Shāh (*1626-1672*)

During 'Abdullah's long reign of forty-six years, the kingdom had to face serious problems, but he was quite incapable of wielding the sceptre at such a critical time. He was indolent, and sensual,[112a] and the administration was practically run by his mother Hayat Baksh Begam till her death in February, 1667, and then by Sayyid Ahmad, his ('Abdullah's) eldest son-in-law. "The clever diplomacy of these two had for half a century saved the Qutb Shāhī State from being annexed by the Mughuls."[112b]

After his accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān, who was well-acquainted with the Deccan politics, made up his mind to press forward his policy of annexation there. The first victim was Ahmadnagar which was incorporated in his empire in 1633. Next, he turned towards Golconda, and 'Abdullah, in terror, accepted the terms dictated by the Mughul Emperor. He acknowledged the Mughul suzerainty and agreed to pay an annual tribute of eight lakhs of rupees (1636).

Thus barred in the north, Golconda engaged in a career of aggrandizement in the Carnatic and the conditions there were very favourable. Shorn of all its past glory and strength, the kingdom of Vijayanagara was confined to a small area. 'Abdullah sent an army against it in April, 1642, and captured some of its territories, Venkata III, the reigning king, having fled to the forests. Golconda made repeated attacks on the tottering Hindu kingdom, and, in this work, Mīr Jumla, the prime minister of 'Abdullah, played an important role.

Muhammad Sayyid, who is known as Mīr Jumla, came to Golconda as an adventurer from Ardistān in Persia. He was a man of wonderful talents, and, making the best use of his opportunities, he made his mark as a diamond merchant and rose to power and wealth. His extraordinary abilities attracted the attention of ‘Abdullah who made him his *Wazir.* He proved his efficiency both in civil and military administrations and wielded great influence in the kingdom, but it was in the Carnatic that he showed his real mettle by his military exploits which enhanced the territories of Golconda and made him fabulously rich. Both the Sultāns of Golconda and Bijāpur were active in devouring the dilapidated kingdom of Vijayanagara. Mīr Jumla wrested parts of Nellore and Cuddapa and occupied the territories on the eastern coast up to Pulicat. He penetrated further south and proceeded as far as Vellore, where he met Mustafā Khān, the ‘Ādil Shāhī general, and arrived at a settlement with Bijāpur, defining their respective spheres of aggrandizement in the Carnatic.

By plundering Hindu temples and searching out hidden treasures, Mīr Jumla accumulated a vast fortune, and according to Thevenot,[112c] he had twenty maunds of diamonds in his possession. His *jāgīr* in Carnatic was like a kingdom, three hundred miles in length and fifty miles in breadth, with an annual revenue of forty *lakhs* of rupees, and it contained several valuable diamond mines. He had under his command 5,000 cavalry, 20,000 infantry, and an excellent park of artillery. He was almost like an independent ruler and absented himself from the court of Golconda. Alarmed at the growing power of the *Wazir,* the Sultān attempted to bring him under his control, but Mīr Jumla entered into intrigues with Bijāpur and Persia.

Aurangzīb, who was then Mughul viceroy of the Deccan and eager to conquer Golconda, wanted to win him over to his side with a view to utilizing his services in the projected invasion. The wealth of Golconda, prevalence of Shiahism among its inhabitants, frequent arrears in payment of its annual tribute, and above all, the imperialistic policy urged Aurangzīb to pursue an offensive action. He opened negotiations with Mīr Jumla, when an incident furnished the cause of immediate military operations, so desired. Muhammad Amīn, son of Mīr Jumla, who had been his father’s deputy at the court of Golconda, was arrested and imprisoned with his family for his insolent behaviour to the Sultān (1655).

Aurangzīb utilized the situation to his advantage and obtained orders from his father directing ‘Abdullah Qutb Shāh to release Mīr Jumla’s family, and in case of his non-compliance, to invade Golconda. Without allowing a reasonable time to Qutb Shāh, Aurangzīb sent his eldest son Muhammad Sultān against him (1656). All efforts of the Sultān to prevent hostility was nullified by him, as he was bent upon crushing this kingdom.[113] Hyderabad was attacked and occupied, and the Mughul soldiery plundered it. Aurangzīb himself arrived there and besieged the fort of Golconda where the Sultān had retired.

But Golconda was saved this time by the intervention of Dārā Shukoh and Jahānārā whom 'Abdullah's agent at Delhi convinced of Aurangzīb's most unjust and unwarranted attack on it. On receipt of his father's direction, Aurangzīb was compelled to raise the siege (1656). The Sultān of Golconda promised to pay a considerable war indemnity, and arrears of tribute which amounted to one *crore* of rupees, and surrender the district of Rāmgir (modern Manikdurg and Chinoor). He had also to give his second daughter in marriage to Muhammad Sultān and promise in secret to make him his heir. Mīr Jumla, who had already joined the imperialists, was appointed prime minister.

After this, the affairs in the Qutb Shāhī State went from bad to worse. 'Abdullah, who had narrowly escaped death at the hands of his enemies in 1656, was so frightened that he never afterwards appeared in public even to administer justice, and spent his time in frivolous sensuality, the natural consequences of which were misrule and confusion in the kingdom. Even his own family was not free from discord and unrest.[113a] Amidst these, he breathed his last in 1672.

Abu-'l Hasan Qutb Shāh (*1672-1687*)

'Abdullah had no male issue but three daughters only, the eldest of whom had been married to Sayyid Ahmad, who became prime minister and virtual ruler of the kingdom; the second daughter was married to Muhammad Sultān, and the third to Abu'l Hasan, who, on his father's side, was a descendant of the Qutb Shāhī family. On the death of 'Abdullah, there was a contest between the first and third sons-in-law for the throne in which Sayyid Ahmad was defeated and imprisoned, and Abu-'l Hasan elevated to the throne.[114]

Sayyid Muzaffar, a leading general, who had taken the most important role in the overthrow of Sayyid Ahmad, became prime minister, but he concentrated all power in his own hands, and the king became a nominal figure-head. Abu-'l Hasan could not long reconcile himself to this lot, and with the help of Mādanna, "the Brahman factotum of Muzaffar," he deprived the latter of the premiership. Mādanna was raised to his master's place and conferred the title of Sūrya Prakāsh Rāo, while his brother Ākkanna was appointed commander-in-chief. But the Sultān did not gain by this change of premiership and the power exercised by Muzaffar passed into the hands of Mādanna. The king led a dissipated life and disorders and oppressions were rampant. "With a grasping and suspicious paramount Power, a sensual king, a venal aristocracy, and an ignorant and timid people, the reform of the kingdom was hopeless,"[115] and its fate was sealed.

Aurangzīb's long-cherished desire of annexing Golconda had not yet been fulfilled, and he therefore turned towards giving effect to his ambition. Grounds for invasion were not wanting. The Sultān was leading a dissolute life, leaving the administration of the kingdom in the hands of the infidels, Mādanna and his brother Ākkanna. "In 1677 he had given Shivājī a more than royal welcome on his visit to Hyderabad and promised him a regular subsidy of one *lakh* of *huns* for the defence of Golconda. After Shivājī's death the alliance had been renewed with his successor and the subsidy continued."[116] On his part Shivājī consented to pay to Qutb Shāh an annual tribute of six *lakhs* of *huns*. Such "fraternizing with infidels" was the worst offence of Abu-'l Hasan.[117] In 1685 he had also acted against the Mughuls by sending military assistance to Bijāpur against them, and lastly, the war indemnity promised in 1656 and the annual tribute of eight *lakhs* of rupees, according to the terms of the treaty in 1636, were long in arrears.

Open rupture occurred as a result of interception of a letter of Abu-'l Hasan to his agent in which he had accused the emperor of attacking Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh and promised to send an army of 40,000 men to his assistance. Enraged at this, Aurangzīb sent his son Shāh 'Alam against Hyderabad (1685) and although, at the outset, he could not make much headway, the seduction and consequent defection of Mīr Muhammad Ibrāhīm, the commander-in-chief of Golconda, largely decided the fate of the campaign. The resistance fell through and the Mughuls proceeded to Hyderabad. No defence of the city was organized and the Sultān fled to the fortress of Golconda. The Mughul army occupied Hyderabad and carried on extensive plunder there.[118] Placed in such a critical position, Abu-'l Hasan made repeated entreaties for peace, which was at last concluded but did not last long.

One of the conditions of the peace was that Mādanna and Ākkanna should be dismissed, but the Sultān having put off the matter, the discontented Muslim nobles and two widows of the late king formed a plot and caused their assassination in the streets of Golconda (March, 1686).[119]

After the fall of Bijāpur in September, 1686, Aurangzīb was free to concentrate his attention on the Qutb Shāhī kingdom, and, in February, 1687, he reached the outskirts of the fort of Golconda. In the meantime, Abu-'l Hasan had again taken shelter in this fort and the Mughuls took possession of Hyderabad for the third time. The regular siege of Golconda lasted for seven months and a half. The fort had sufficient stocks of food and ammunition to stand a long siege, and the garrison fought with great valour and successfully resisted all efforts of Aurangzīb to capture it. Despite sufferings due to heavy rains, famine, pestilence and incessant attacks of the enemies, he tried all possible means with grim determination to paralyze the defence, but they proved futile. At last, gold wrought wonders[120] and 'Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardār Khān, a high officer of the fort, was seduced. He treacherously opened the postern gate of the fort, thus allowing the enemies to enter into it and overpower the defenders.

By way of contrast to this traitor shines forth an instance of undaunted heroism and noble self-sacrifice, rare in the annals of any country; 'Abd-ur Razzāq Lārī, surnamed Mustafā Khān, a devoted and faithful noble, spurned all tempting offers of Aurangzīb and fought valiantly till he was seriously wounded.

Thus was Golconda captured by Aurangzīb (1687) and Abu-'l Hasan made a captive. The latter was sent as a State prisoner to the fort of Daulatābād for the rest of his life on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year, and the kingdom annexed to the Mughul Empire.

APPENDIX I

(By the Editor)

Notes on the chronology adopted in this Chapter

The dates of some of the rulers given in this Chapter differ from those mentioned in the *Cambridge History of India* (*CHI*), Vol. III, pp. 704 and 708, as shown in the following list. The justification of the dates adopted in this Chapter, in each case, is indicated below.

Serial No.	Name of the ruler	Date in *CHI*	Date in this Chapter
I.	Murtazā Nizām Shāh I	1565—1586	1565—1588
II.	Murtazā Nizām Shāh II	1603—1630	1600—1630
III.	Mallu 'Ādil Shāh	1534—1534	1534—1535
IV.	Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I	1534—1558	1535—1557
V.	Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh	1627—1657	1627—1656
VI.	'Alā-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh	1504—1529	1504—1530

I. The date given in *CHI*. III, p. 461, of the ruler's death is 1588, and this agrees with the date of Firishta.

II. According to *CHI*. III, the fall of Ahmadnagar and the accession of Murtazā both took place in A.D. 1603. The date 1600 for the fall of Ahmadnagar is supported by *Akbar-nāma* (Translation of Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 1159 footnote). On p. 148 of *CHI*. IV it is clearly stated that Murtazā was on the throne in January, 1602.

III. It is stated in *CHI*. III, p. 439, that Mallū was deposed in March, 1535, and this agrees with Firishta's account.

IV. The date 1557 is supported by Firishta (Cf. Briggs, III. 112).

V. The date of the death of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh is given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar as November, 1656 (*Aurangzib*, IV, 2nd Edition, p. 155).

VI. In *CHI*. III, p. 708 the date of the death of Alā-ud-dīn is given as A.H. 937 and it is equated with A.D. 1529. But the A.H. 937 really corresponds to the period 25 August, 1530, to 14 August, 1531.

APPENDIX II

(By the Editor)

The causes of the Grand Alliance of the Muslim States in the Deccan against Vijayanagara which destroyed that empire require a little more elaboration. According to Firishta, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda sent an envoy named Mustafā Khān to Husain Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to induce him to join the confederacy. The arguments advanced by the envoy may be summed up as follows in the words of Firishta: The ruler of Vijayanagara, "who had reduced all the rajas of the Carnatic to his yoke, required to be checked and his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam in order that their people might repose in safety from the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels."[121] This implies that apart from the obvious and the generally accepted view that the object of the confederacy was merely political, namely to destroy a powerful Hindu ruler in the neighbourhood, the sacrilege of Muslim holy places by the troops of Vijayanagara was another cause. Prof. H. K. Sherwani probably voiced the opinion of many when he disbelieved the statement of Firishta and observed: "It is hardly thinkable that with the 'Ādil Shāh as an ally and colleague there should have been desecration of mosques."[122] But it is somewhat curious that in the same article Sherwani gives a different opinion later. Describing the second invasion of Ahmadnagar he writes: "It is related that the army of Vijayanagara, led by Ramraj, again perpetrated every possible atrocity on the people, laid waste the countryside and did not spare even mosques. Naturally, it was not to the liking of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh that crimes committed on the occasion of the first invasion of Ahmadnagar should be repeated and this time he had allied with Ramraj on the express condition that mosques and other sacred edifices should not be desecrated." In his support Sherwani states in f.n. 26, p. 263: "Fer. II, 127, Briggs, III, 224, Basatin, 89, is quite explicit that it was 'against the understanding with 'Ādil Shāh that Ramraj's army caused such depredations to mosques and Qurāns' during his attacks on Ahmadnagar. This must have been one of the potent causes of the eventual alliances of the Deccani Sultans against Vijayanagara."[123]

It is evident from the above that during the first invasion of Ahmadnagar the Vijayanagara troops had desecrated mosques and Qur'āns, otherwise such an understanding would be entirely uncalled for.

Sherwani is, however, even more explicit while stating the immediate causes of the Battle of Talikota. On p. 360 (*JIH*, XXXV) he writes: "No state had suffered more than Ahmadnagar at the hands of the armies of the Southern Empire, for they polluted the mosques and dishonoured women and put to fire and sword everything and every person who came in their way.... Ramraj's men who had committed great outrages at Ahmadnagar, and omitted no mark of disrespect to the religion of the faithful, singing and performing....their worship in every mosque." Though Sherwani does not give any reference, the last passage is from Firishta (Briggs, III, p. 122), and there is a similar account on the preceding page. It is evident, therefore, that though Sherwani dismisses Firishta's account as exaggeration on p. 259, he accepts the same on p. 361 (*JIH*, XXXV).

The historian is thus faced with two intriguing questions:

(1) Did the troops of Vijayanagara desecrate the mosques?

(2) If so, can this be regarded as a 'potent cause' of the Muslim confederacy against Vijayanagara?

As regards the first, all that can be said is that though we have no conclusive evidence to support it, it is not unlikely that the Hindu troops did retaliate, on occasions, against the systematic sacrilege of the Hindu temples and images of gods by Muslim troops and even kings.

As regards the second, the answer must be in the negative, for it is unreasonable to look for a hypothetical cause when we have obvious explanations for the rivalry between Hindu and Muslim rulers. The view that the sacrilege of the Hindu troops of Vijayanagara was the reason for the deliberate destruction of the city of Vijayanagara by the Muslim rulers after their victory, is hardly worth serious consideration and cannot be accepted as justification or even excuse for acts of unparalleled vandalism of the Muslims, particularly as the alleged grievance is not yet definitely proved.

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1. H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan,* p. 394.

1a. For references see below footnote No. 104.

2. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, Its History and Monuments,* p. 13.
Briggs III, 497; the date of the death of Amīr Barīd given here is wrong but the date in p. 92 (Briggs III) is correct.

3. *Zafar-ul-Walih,* 170, quoted by H. K. Sherwani in his article "Independence of Bahmani Governors" *PIHC,* 1945, p. 161.

3a. Ibid., 161.
4. *Maʾāsir-i-Rahīmī*, II, 526.
5. *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 272.
6. Haig: *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*, 18, 101.
7. Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 2.
8. "Foreword" by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in J. N. Chowdhuri's *Malik Ambar.*
9. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Vol. II, 93; Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar*, pp. 5-6.
10. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,* II, 93.
11. Briggs: Firishta, III, 206.
12. Ibid., 207-209.
13. Ibid., 214.
13a. For details see below section on Berar.
14. Briggs. III, 52, 216.
14a. Ibid., pp. 52, 216-7. The complaint made by Ismāʿīl about the treatment he received at Ahmadnagar might have served as an additional cause of friction between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar.
14b. Cf. Chapter XIII, section on Gujarāt.
15. Briggs. III, 71.
16. Sherwani, *Telingana under Ibrahim Qutb Shah, JIH*, XXXV, p. 42.
17. *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, 113-115. Briggs, III, 382-84.
18. Briggs III, 387.
19. Ibid., 387.
20. Ibid., 387-388.
21. Ibid., 238.
22. Ibid., 397.
23. Ibid., 118.
23a. For a different version, see Sherwani, *JIH*, XXXV, p. 260 (Ed.).
24. Parenda is situated about seventy-five miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.
25. Ausa is situated about one hundred and thirty miles south-east of Ahmadnagar.
26. Briggs, III, 241.
27. Ibid., 408-409. Sherwani, *JIH,* XXXV, p. 265.
28. Briggs, III, 125.
29. Briggs, III, 123-125.
30. Ibid., 126.
31. *JIH,* XXXV, 374-375.
32. *Purchas His Pilgrims,* X, 93: K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India* (2nd edition), 284; Briggs, III, 130 footnote.
33. Briggs, III, 130.
34. Robbert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 206-208. The Portuguese historian Faria-y-Souza says: "The Muhammadans spent five months in plundering Vijayanagara.... In his share of the plunder, ʿĀdil Shāh got a diamond, as large as an ordinary egg and another of extraordinary size, though smaller, together with other jewels of inestimable value." *Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerq*, Hakluyt Society, II, pp. CXII, CXIII.
34a. For details see below p. 451.
35. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar,* 8-9.
36. Briggs, III, 257-259.
37. Ibid., 269.
37a. Some confusion may be caused by the fact that Briggs in one place mentions the lady as Khadīja (III. 161) but in another place (III. 278) names her as Chānd Bībī. Khadīja became a widow only a short time ago and it is more likely that Ibrāhīm wanted her back in Bijāpur. This view is also taken in *CHI.* III, p. 461.
38. Ibid., 284.
39. Ibid., 287.
39a. The name is written as Āhang Khān in *CHI.* III, p. 464 with a footnote that it is also written as Ābhang Khān. But the latter form is found in the *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* (Sarkar's copy, pp. 511, 573) and the *Futuhat-i-ʿĀdil Shāhī* (pp. 267a, 268a), both written in the first half of the seventeenth century A.D.
40. *The Burhān-i-Maāsir* says that Bijāpur sent thirty thousand cavalry and Qutb Shāh ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry to Ahmadnagar. *Burhān-i-Maāsir*, Sarkar's MSS. Vol. III, 1475. These figures appear to be an exaggeration.
41. *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī,* II, 479-481; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* II, 158-162; *Burhān-i-Maāsir,* Sarkar's MSS., III, 1475, 1492; Beveridge, *Akbarnāma,* III, 1028, 1045-1048, 1050.
41a. Briggs, III, 306-309, *CHI,* III, 465.

41b. *Akbarnāma* of Shaikh Faizi Sirhindi, Elliot VI, 144; *Akbarnāma* of Abu-'l-Fazl tr. by H. Beveridge, p. 1159.

42. *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī,* II, 482, 484-495, 497-499. Beveridge, *Akbarnāma,* III, 1114, 1128-1129, 1132, 1142- 1144, 1157-1159; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,* II, 162-164.

43. *Tazkīrat-ul-Mulk,* Sarkar's MSS. 571-572; *Futūhat-i-'Ādil Shāhi,* 267a-267b (Sarkar's copy); *Maāsir-ul-Umarā* III, 7.

44. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,* II, 165.

45. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar,* 23-25; *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk,* 576-577; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,* II, 164; *Futuhāt-i-Ādil Shāhī,* 269b, 270a (Sarkar's copy).

46. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,* II, 165; Beveridge, *Akbarnāma,* III, 1212; *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā,* III, 7-8; *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk,* 574.

47. *Basātīn-us-Salātīn,* 270; *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,* II, 166.

48. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk,* 576-578.

49. *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī,* II, 511.

50. *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī,* 271a, translated by Sarkar.

51. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar,* 52-53; *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī,* 271a; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn,* 263-264.

52. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk,* 578-581; *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil Shāhī,* 271a, 271b; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn,* 263-265, 267.

53. *Iqbalnāma,* 44-45; *Tūzuk-i-Jahangiri,* pers. text (Syed Ahmad's edition) 85-86, 88; tr. (R and B, Vol. I), 178-179, 183; William Finch in *Purchas His Pilgrims,* IV, 39. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar,* 58.

54. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* pers. text 107-108; tr. (R and B, Vol. I) 219-21; *Iqbalnāma,* 65-66; *Ma'āsiri-Rahīmī,* II, 520; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn,* 271-272.

55. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar,* 70; *Maāsiri-i-Rahīmī,* II, 527. Later on, Khirki was named Aurangabād, according to the name of Aurangzīb.

56. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* pers. text 153-154; tr. (Vol. I) 312-14; *Iqbalnāma,* 84-87; *Ma'āsir-i-Rahīmī,* II, 523-531.

56a. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* tr. Vol. I, 338.

57. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* pers. text 188, tr. (Vol. I) 380; *Iqbalnāma,* 100; Khafi Khan I, 291.

58. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* pers. text 305, 321-322, 330-331 tr. (R and B, Vol. II) 155-57, 188-90, 206-8; *Iqbalnāma,* 175-176, 181-182; *English, Factories in India* (1618-1621), 207, 210-211, 217-218, 231, 240, 243, 249, 257, 259, 287, 296—for dislocation of trade.

59. *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī,* 287a, tr. by Sarkar.

60. *Tatimma-i-Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Printed in Syed Ahmad's edition) 386, 391; *Iqbalnāma* 224, 234.

60a. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ahbar,* p. 116.

61. *Futuhat-i-'Ādil-Shāhī,* 289a, 289b, 290b, 291a, 291b; *Tatimma-i-Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* 391-392; *Iqbalnāma,* 234-237; *Dilkasha,* Sarkar's MSS., 90-92.

62. *Tatimma-i-Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* 392-393; *Iqbalnāma,* 237-238.

63. Chowdhuri, *Malik Ambar,* 163.

64. *Ahmadnagar Gazetteer,* 395; 423-424.

65. *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk,* 578; *Futūhāt-i-'Ādil-Shāhī,* 268a, 270b.

65a. For details of the fall of Ahmadnagar, see above, pp. 207-8.

66. Briggs, III, 4-8.

66a. See above, Vol. VI, pp. 304-05.

67. Briggs, III, 22-29.

68. P. M. Joshi: *Relations between the Adil-Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur and the Portuguese at Goa during the 16th century, NIA,* II, (1939-40), 363.

69. Ibid., 363; Briggs, III, 29-30; *CHI.* III, p. 434.

70. Briggs, III, 30-31.

71. Ibid., 46-47.

72. Ibid., 47-48. *CHI.* III, 434-435.

72a. For details see above, Vol. VI, pp. 314-16 and Ch. XV.

73. K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India,* 276. For details, see Ch. XV.

74. For details, see Ch. XV.

75. *NIA.* II, 364-365.

76. *CHI.,* III, 443-444. See above, section on Ahmadnagar, p. 421.

76a. See above, pp. 424 ff.

77. Briggs, III, 135, 254-255.

77a. See Ch. XV.

78. *Bijapur* by H. Cousens, 17, 60; *Architecture at Bijāpur* by M. Taylor and J. Fergusson, 32.

79. Briggs, III, 144-146.
80. Ibid., 146-148.
81. Ibid., 171-173.
81a. See above pp. 430ff.
81b. See above pp. 437ff.
82. Meadows Taylor: *A student's Manual of the History of India* (4th Edition), (1879), pp. 304-305.
83. Ibid., 305.
84. Briggs, III, 169-170.
84a. For details, see above, chapter on Shāh Jahān.
84b. Khafi Khan I, 531-534, 537. Sarkar: *Aurangzīb*, I, 32-4.
85. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb* I, 253-254 (1912 edition).
85a. *Further sources of Vijayanagara History* (K. A. N. Shastri) p. 341.
86. K. D. Swaminathan, *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, 73-74; *Proceedings of Indian History Records Commission*, XVI 50-51. (For other campaigns of Randaula based on Macleod: *De Oost-Indische Campagnie, II,* See the chapter on Vijayanagara.—Editor).
87. K. D. Swaminathan: *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, 89. See pp. 498 ff.
88. Ibid., 89; C. S. Srinivasachari: *A History of Jinji and its rulers*, 174-186; Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, I, 254. For details, see the Chapter on Vijayanagara.
89. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, 155.
90. Ibid., 155; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 346-348.
91. V. Bridhagirison: *The Nayaks of Tanjore*, 141-144.
92. K. D. Swaminathan: *The Nayakas of Ikkeri*, 95, 106-107, 110.
93. *Alamgirnāma*, 988-1021; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV, 118-144.
94. K. K. Basu, *Some court poets of Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur* (Summary) *PIHC* (1943), p. 379.
95. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, IV, 158.
95a. Ibid., 181.
95b. *Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī*, tr. by Sarkar, p. 169.
95c. Ibid., 171; *Dilkasha;* 202-203; *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 540.
96. Briggs, III, 485-486; *CHI.*, III, 398.
97. Briggs, III, 214-215; *CHI.*, III, 435.
98. Briggs, III, 217-221; *CHI.*, III, 436.
98a. Briggs, III, 254-255.
99. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, 13. For Amīr Barīd's activities, see above pp. 466-7.
100. Briggs, III, 57.
100a. Ibid., 60.
101. Ibid., 60-64.
101a. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, p. 13.
101b. *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, 272-273; G. Yazdani, *Bidar, its history and monuments*, p. 14.
102. "Sultān" does not signify his royal title; it was a part of his name.
103. Briggs, III, 321-322; 339-345.
104. Ibid., 323, *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society* (1918), p. 89; *JIH*, Vol. 33, pp. 281-283; *PIHC* (1945), p. 159-162.
105. Briggs, III, 323-324, 377.
106. N. Narayana Rao, Two Muhammadan patrons of Telugu literature in the 16th century, *PIHC* (1945), p. 297; Briggs, III, 438; K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, 287.
107. Briggs, III, 446.
108. *Tārīkh-i-Muhammad Qutb-Shāhī*, 165; Briggs III, 446; *JIH*, XXXV, p. 266; Sherwani: "Cultural and administrative set up under Ibrahim Qutb Shah," *Islamic Culture* (1957), p. 242.
109. *Islamic Culture* (1957), 130-131, 246; *PIHC* (1945), 296-298.
110. Briggs, III, 451-452; M. Taylor and J. Ferguson, *Architecture at Bijapur*, 48; *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 224-253.
110a. H. K. Sherwani, "Political and military aspects of the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah," *JIH*, April, 1962.
110b. K. K. Basu, "A chapter from Golconda History", *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXVIII, pt. II, 179.
111. Ibid., 179.
112. *Hadiqat-us-Salātīn*, Sarkar's MSS., 65; *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXVIII, pt. II, 180.

112a. Bernier, pp. 194-5; Tavernier, I, p. 158.
112b. J. N. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, 395.
112c. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* edited by S. N. Sen (Published by the National Archives of India, 1949), p. 144.
113. For details see chapters on Shāh Jahān.
113a. Bernier, 194-195; Tavernier, I, 158.
114. Khafi Khan, II, 309-313.
115. Sarkar, *Aurangzib,* IV, 400.
116. Ibid., 401.
117. Ibid., 402; *Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī,* tr. by Sarkar, 175.
118. Khafi Khan, II, 306.
119. Ibid., 308.
120. Ibid., 361.
121. Briggs, III, 125.
122. *JIH,* XXXV, 259.
123. Ibid., p. 263.

CHAPTER XV

VIJAYANAGARA

Achyutadevarāya (1530-1542)

The history of Vijayanagara up to the death of Kṛishṇadevarāya (1509-29) has been discussed in the preceding Volume (pp. 271-325). As mentioned above (Vol. VI. p. 317), he chose as his successor Achyutadevarāya, his half-brother, in preference to his infant son and other legitimate candidates. This sowed the seed of dissension which troubled Achyuta almost throughout his reign.

Rāmarāya (also called Rāmarājā), the son-in-law of Kṛishṇadevarāya, proclaimed the infant son of the latter as Emperor, and began to rule over the empire in his name. Rāmarāya's attempt to seize the capital was, however, foiled by Sāluva Narasiṁharāya Daṇḍanāyaka, the prime minister of Kṛishṇadevarāya at the time of his death, who took possession of it in the name of Achyuta and held it for him until his arrival from Chandragiri. Achyuta, however, found it advantageous to placate Rāmarāya; and therefore after reaching the capital and celebrating his coronation he entered into an agreement with Rāmarāya according to which he took the latter as his partner in the administration of the empire. This estranged from the King Sāluva Narasiṁharāya Daṇḍanāyaka, who retired to the Chola country of which he was the Governor, and entering into a conspiracy with the chiefs of Ummattūr and Tiruvadi stirred up a rebellion in the south. Achyuta was obliged to march at the head of his army against the rebel Sāluva Narasiṁharāya who opposed the royal army and was defeated; he fled to Travancore and took refuge with his ally, the Tiruvadi. The royal army under the command of Achyuta's brother-in-law, Salakarāju Tirumala, pursued him thither and having inflicted a defeat on the Tiruvadi compelled him to submit and surrender the arch-rebel Narasiṁharāya Daṇḍanāyaka whom they carried as a prisoner of war. Achyuta returned to Vijayanagara by way of Ummattūr and Śrīrangam where he received the submission of the local chiefs. Shortly after this the death of the infant son of Kṛishṇadevarāya eased the political situation and Achyuta invaded Bijāpur and recovered the Rāichur *doab*. But while Achyuta was engaged in suppressing some rebellion, Rāmarāya removed all the old servants of the crown from positions of responsibility and appointed his own kinsmen and friends in their place. He took also into his service 3,000 Muslim soldiers whom Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh discharged from his service on his accession to the throne in 1535. Feeling confident of his power, he seized Achyuta as soon as he returned from Tirupati, and cast him in prison. Though at first he proclaimed himself as the king, the opposition of the nobles forced him to abandon his scheme. He then proclaimed Achyuta's young nephew, Sadāshiva, emperor and began to rule in his name. Rāmarāya's usurpation was not accepted by all the subjects of the kingdom. The nobles in the extreme south of the empire refused to acknowledge his authority and withheld the payment of tribute. He was therefore obliged to lead an expedition to bring them back to subjection; but the campaign was protracted and he became involved in a long tedious war without any chance of success. In his absence, the officer whom he entrusted with the government of the capital and the custody of Achyuta turned traitor; and having set him at liberty and restored him to power assumed the office of the prime minister. He was, however, murdered soon by Salakarāju Tirumala, who then took possession of the government and began to rule the country in the name of his brother-in-law.

It has already been related above (p. 450) how Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur seized the opportunity and invaded Vijayanagara and how he composed the differences between Achyuta and Rāmarāya and induced them to enter into an agreement. According to its terms Achyutarāya was to be the emperor with full authority over the whole empire excluding the estates of Rāmarāya which he should be allowed to rule as an independent prince with full sovereign powers. Having thus settled the affairs of Vijayanagara Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh marched away to his kingdom. The terms of this agreement were faithfully observed by both the parties; and Achyuta ruled the empire in peace until his death in 1542.

Venkata I and Tirumala I (*1543*)

Achyuta was succeeded by his young son, Venkata I. As he was not of age, his maternal uncle, Salakarāju China Tirumala became the regent of the kingdom, though most of the nobles were opposed to him. Tirumala was not loyal to his nephew; being desirous of making himself king, he began to plot against the king. The queen-mother, Varadambikā, became suspicious of her brother's good faith, and appealed to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh to help her in securing the throne for her son. But he was bought off by Tirumala and the appeal of the queen-mother made the position of her son more precarious than ever.

Rāmarāya, who was closely watching the trend of events at Vijayanagara, now stepped into the field. He proceeded to Gutti where Achyuta's nephew, Sadāshiva, was imprisoned, set him at liberty, and proclaiming him the emperor sent an appeal to Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh for help. In response to the request, 'Ādil Shāh invaded Vijayanagara kingdom and advanced upon the capital. The people of the city, greatly alarmed at the danger, made Tirumala their king. He defeated 'Ādil Shāh very near his capital and put him to flight. To clear his path of all rivals, Tirumala strangled his nephew and massacred all the members of the royal family on whom he could lay hands. He became suspicious and in his fear he attacked friend and foe alike. His rule degenerated into downright tyranny. He was against everyone, and everyone in the kingdom was against him. The people in their distress appealed to 'Ādil Shāh for help. He came readily, not so much to help them as to seize the kingdom for himself. His hauteur and high-handed behaviour roused hostility all round and he was obliged to retire into his own kingdom as quickly as he came.

Rāmarāya saw that the time for him to make a bid for the throne had at last come. He gathered together his forces and proceeded to take possession of the empire in the name of Sadāshiva, the lawful heir to the throne. Tirumala did not easily submit. He offered stubborn resistance but suffered defeat everywhere. At last, in the battle of the Tungabhadra, Rāmarāya overthrew him and put him to death. The inhabitants of the capital heaved a sigh of relief, and throwing open the gates of the city welcomed Rāmarāya and his ward, the new emperor.

Sadāshiva and Rāmarāya (*1543-1564*)

Sadāshiva ascended the throne about the middle of 1543. As his rivals were all destroyed by Salakarāju Tirumala he became the undisputed master of the whole of Vijayanagara empire. His rule was only nominal till 1552, the actual ruler of the empire being Rāmarāya. But in 1552 he had to recognise Rāmarāya as his co-regent, as the latter, not content with actual power, assumed the royal titles, as if he were a crowned monarch himself.

The accession of Sadāshiva brought in its train certain important changes in the administration and the policy of the empire. In the first place, the old civil service on which the stability of the empire depended was considerably weakened, if not actually destroyed. The Brahmin officers who formed the bulwark of the State fell into disfavour with Rāmarāya, as they upheld loyally the cause of Achyuta and opposed his usurpation. The first step which he took after placing Sadāshiva firmly upon the throne was to dismiss all the hostile officers from the service of the State and appoint to places of trust and responsibility his own relatives, friends and followers. So long as the central government was strong, and could exact obedience to its commands, the effects of this change were not felt; but as soon as the centre showed signs of weakness, the people who rose to power by Rāmarāya's favour, freed from the shackles of the civil service, began to manifest discontent and disloyalty and destroyed the unity of the empire.

Secondly, enormous increase of Muslim officers to responsible positions in the government undermined the strength of the State. In his eagerness to seize power Rāmarāya enlisted in his service as many Muslim mercenaries and adventurers as he could get and offered them facilities to get a knowledge of the internal affairs of the empire. With the increase of Muhammadans in the army and the service of the government, the loyalty of the one and the safety of the other were considerably jeopardised.

Another important fact that must be noted here is the change in the attitude of the government of Vijayanagara in her relations with the Muslim kingdoms. Though the Rāyas ever since the foundation of the kingdom came into contact with the Musalmans, they never interfered in the relations between the Muslim States of Deccan. Rāmarāya was the first ruler of Vijayanagara to entangle himself in the inter-State politics of the Muhammadan kingdoms. Although he achieved by means of his great military strength and cleverness considerable success and established his influence over the Muslim kingdoms, the rapid growth of his power so alarmed his allies and enemies that they joined together ultimately and brought his downfall in the fateful battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (Talikota).

The Southern Expedition (*1543-44*)

As soon as Rāmarāya performed Sadāshiva's coronation at Vijayanagara, he was obliged to bestow immediate attention to the affairs of the Southern provinces of the empire, where owing to a number of causes great unrest prevailed. The Southern chiefs and noblemen, who a few years earlier defied Rāmarāya, when having imprisoned Achyuta he seized power, were no more inclined to submit to his authority than before. Moreover, the Portuguese missionaries were making trouble in the extreme south. They converted large number of Paravas of the Fishery Coast to Christianity and induced them to recognise the king of Portugal as their overlord, thereby encroaching on the sovereignty of Vijayanagara. Further, their intrigues with the rebellious chiefs of the South and plundering expeditions of the Portuguese Governor of Goa against the rich South Indian Hindu shrines created a situation which must have caused grave concern in the capital. Rāmarāya therefore despatched a large army under his cousins, China Timma and Vitthala, to put down the rebels, foil the attempts of the Portuguese and restore the imperial authority all over the South.

The expedition set out from Vijayanagara. At first China Timma captured Chandragiri in the north of the Chittoor district; and having put down the rebels with a stern hand he brought the whole of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam to subjection. He next marched into the Chola country, reduced the fort of Bhuvanagiri and attacked the port of Nagore where he destroyed the enemies, probably the Portuguese, and restored the wealth of God Raṅganātha which they had seized. Then he crossed the Kaveri, and having entered Pudukkottai region, exacted from the local chiefs tribute which they had refused to the imperial government, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions of the empire.

China Timma advanced farther south and reached without opposition Madura, where he met the Pāṇḍya king, obviously of Tenkasi, who came to him soliciting his help against Bettumperumal, the ruler of Tuticorin and Kayattar. Though the forces of the 'Five Tiruvadis' (small principalities) of Travancore met the invading army of China Timma at Tovala Pass they were beaten and dispersed. The rest of Travancore was then invaded. Its ruler ('Iniquitibirim') was defeated but received into favour and was allowed to rule over a large part of his old territory. The victorious general China Timma set up a pillar of victory at Cape Comorin.

Rāmarāya and the Portuguese

Rāmarāya had also to come to an early understanding with the Portuguese. They were the masters of the seas. All the sea-borne trade, specially the all-important trade in horses, passed through their hands. The Portuguese, who were friendly to Vijayanagara in the days of the great Kṛishṇadevarāya, had turned hostile and manifested a tendency to fish in the troubled waters. They were guilty of destruction of the Hindu temples, plunder of the rich South Indian shrines, the mass conversion of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast, and attempt to extend their temporal power under the cloak of religion. Though all these hostile acts loudly called for reprisals, Rāmarāya was not strong enough to chastise them. He could not afford to quarrel with them, as that would drive them into the hands of the Muslim States. He therefore concluded a political and commercial treaty with them in 1547 as a consequence of which friendly relations were once again restored between the two powers. The friendship, however, did not last long, and a few years later Rāmarāya was obliged to take action against them in 1558. He planned a double attack upon the Portuguese. While he personally led an expedition against San Thomé for chastising the Catholic missionaries of the place, an army was despatched at the same time under his cousin Vitthala against Goa, probably to divert the attention of the Portuguese authorities there and prevent them from sending help to the people of San Thomé. Both the expeditions were successful. Rāmarāya plundered the rich inhabitants of San Thomé, exacted a large tribute from the authorities, and taking with him five important citizens of the port as hostages against his demand for a tribute of 100,000 pagodas, returned to Vijayanagara. Vitthala, accompanied by the Ikkeri chief, Sankanna Nāyak, marched on Goa and captured a part of the old town, called Pain Goa (Panjim). These victories probably taught the Portuguese a much-needed lesson; and they seemed to have been restrained from provoking hostilities with Vijayanagara in the subsequent years of Rāmarāya's rule.

Reference has been made in Chapter XIV to the internecine wars among the five Muslim States in the Deccan, which naturally induced the weaker States, threatened with destruction, to seek the help of some powerful ally. Rāmarāya, who was the head of the greatest State in the south, was frequently approached for help; and he joined them, partly from motives of gain, but mostly for preserving the peace of the Deccan and preventing any one of the neighbours from growing so powerful as to become a menace to others. Rāmarāya was, in fact, a staunch believer in the doctrine of balance of power, which he perhaps imbibed from his friend and ally Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. And perhaps it was more to enforce this doctrine than from motives of self-aggrandisement that he involved himself frequently in wars with the Muslim rulers of Deccan.

Of the five Deccani Sultānates which sprang from the ashes of the old Bahmanī kingdom, Rāmarāya, in the twenty-one years during which he ruled Vijayanagara, was obliged to wage war on four, viz., Bijāpur, Ahmadnagar, Bīdar and Golconda.

Reference has been made to these wars in the preceding Chapter. Though conflict with Bīdar is not mentioned in the Muslim sources, the *Keladinṛipa Vijayam,* a history of the Nāyak kingdom of Ikkeri, describes at some length a war between them. The causes of this war are not recorded. Probably Barīd Shāh showed some partiality towards Nizām Shāh and brought trouble upon his own head. Briefly stated, the events of this war are as follows: when the news of Vijayanagara's intended invasion reached Bīdar, Barīd Shāh collected his armies and proceeded to the frontier to repel the invaders. A fierce engagement took place; and Barīd Shāh who was personally leading the force was defeated and taken prisoner together with his ministers. As a consequence of this defeat Barīd Shāh had to join 'Alī Ādil Shāh and fight against their enemies.

The Battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi (1565)

The battle of Talikota or Rakshasi-Tangadi[1] described in the preceding chapter, was the Waterloo of Vijayanagara history. Though Vijayanagara empire flourished for nearly another century, with the fall of Rāmarāya on the field of Rakshasi-Tangadi in 1565, its glory began to wane and it ceased to be the dominant power in the Deccan, and the Rāyas never attempted once again to recover their lost ground. The history of this great battle is, however, immersed in obscurity. Excepting the fact that the Vijayanagara army was practically annihilated and Rāmarāya was slain, everything else concerning the battle is doubtful and uncertain. This is due in a great measure to the wilful distortion of facts by Muslim historians, and the absence of contemporary evidence with the help of which their accounts may be checked and truth ascertained.

First of all, the name of the battle itself calls for discussion. The battle of Talikota is a misnomer. Though all the Muslim writers state that the Great Battle was fought near the village of Talikota, it did not take place, as shown by the accounts given by themselves, anywhere near the village but at a distance of about twenty-five miles to the south of it, somewhere on the southern bank of the Krishna. The Hindu accounts unanimously refer to it as the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi,[2] and state that it was so called because it was fought between the two villages of Rakkasige and Tangadige, situated on the northern bank of the Krishna near its confluence with the river Malapahari. As this is roughly in agreement with the topographical details furnished by Muslim historians, it seems certain that the actual site of the battle was the plain between the villages of Rakkasige and Tangadige, as stated in the Hindu records.[3]

Similarly, the causes which led to the formation of the confederacy of the Deccani Muslim rulers against Rāmarāya and the outbreak of the war which ended in his downfall and death are not definitely known. Firishta, no doubt, attributes it to the insult which Rāmarāya is alleged to have offered to Muslim women and faith. This, however, is not supported by independent evidence. The real cause appears to have been the jealousy which the Sultāns of the Deccan, specially the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Golconda, felt at the growing power of Vijayanagara, and the ascendancy which Rāmarāya established over the Muslim States of the Deccan. True, Rāmarāya annexed, as stated by Firishta, some territories belonging to his enemies, and treated perhaps the envoys of some of them with scant courtesy; but that was not uncommon in medieval India; and Rāmarāya did not violate the code of international morality, as then understood, in dealing with his enemies. It is not reasonable to suppose, as is generally done, that the Sultāns of the Deccan, enraged by the outrageous conduct of Rāmarāya, joined against him to defend their faith, protect the honour of their women and save their kingdom from his high-handed aggressions. Again, it is extremely doubtful whether the rulers of all the five Deccan Muslim States joined the confederacy against Rāmarāya. Imād Shāh of Berār, for one, did not participate in it. 'Ādil Shāh appears to have sat on the fence until almost the very end, leaving the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda to bear the brunt of the fight. Although Firishta attributes to 'Ādil Shāh the credit of fostering the alliance of Muslim rulers against Rāmarāya, and other Muhammadan writers make him one of the principal leaders of the league, he held aloof, according to the unanimous testimony of the Hindu records, until almost the end of the war, when he was constrained to join the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda by threats, cajolery and promises of territorial concession. Nor is opinion less divided about the duration of the war. The Muhammadan historians make it a very short affair. The Muslim armies assembled at Talikota and advanced to the bank of the Krishna where they were opposed by Rāmarāya. A fierce engagement took place on 23 January, 1565; after the fighting had gone on for a few hours, Rāmarāya fell into the hands of the enemy and his army took to flight. This settled the fate of the mighty Hindu empire. The battle is said to have lasted but a while, not even the space of a few hours. This is incredible. Considering the extent, the resources, the man-power, and the past military record, it is inconceivable how the armies of the Deccani Sultāns which severally and conjointly suffered defeats repeatedly on so many occasions at the hands of Rāmarāya could have overthrown him within a space of less than four hours. According to the Hindu accounts, on the contrary, the war lasted for more than six months, during which several battles were fought, victory veering now to one side and now to another. One battle especially is said to have raged with intense fury for 27 days, and in the final engagement the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda suffered and retreated from the field in confusion. What the Sultāns failed to achieve by force of arms they gained by treachery. The Muslim historians are not in agreement about the circumstances under which Rāmarāya was slain. According to Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, the earliest Muslim historian who describes the battle, the combined armies of Husain Nizām-ul-Mulk, 'Ādil Khān Qutb-ul-Mulk and Malik Barīd were on the point of defeat when a chance shot from one of the guns of Husain carried off Rāmarāya's head, and the Hindu army gave up fighting. While attempting to flee, they were surrounded and cut to pieces. Caesar Frederick attributes Muslim victory to the treachery of the Muslim troops in the service of Rāmarāya. Treachery was not confined to Mussalmans in Rāmarāya's service only. In *Keladinṛipa Vijayam* it is stated that his ally, 'Ali Ādil Shāh, who had been pretending to be neutral, owing to fear of his fellow Muslim rulers, secretly joined them and fell upon him unexpectedly. Taken unawares, Rāmarāya was not able to offer effective resistance and while attempting to defend himself gallantly he was captured and beheaded. The Vijayanagara Army which was already thrown into confusion by the treachery of their Muslim comrades was panic-stricken by the sudden tragedy and immediately took to flight.

Though the rule of Rāmarāya ended in a great military disaster, which nearly destroyed the Vijayanagara empire, it was without doubt a period of unprecedented glory. Rāmarāya was indeed one of the greatest Hindu monarchs who ever ruled over South India. It was not without justification that he was spoken of by the people of his age as Bade Rāmarāya or Rāmarāya the great. During this time, the authority of the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, according to traditions, extended all over South India and Deccan, from Setu in the South to the Narmada in the North. This is true in a sense; for all the Muslim rulers of the Deccan had to submit at one time or another to his power and carry out his behests. Rāmarāya was a great soldier and diplomat. The skill with which he planned the campaign against Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh reveals his profound grasp over military strategy, and his dealings with the Deccani Sultāns, their nobles and the Portuguese show his mastery over the art of diplomacy. His influence over the internal administration of the empire was not quite salutary. With the object of strengthening his power he destroyed very early in his career the civil service which kept under check the centrifugal tendencies of the *amaranāyakas* (fief-holders). Though no harm was done during the rule of Rāmarāya when the power of the central government was strong, the evils made themselves manifest in the years of anarchy which immediately followed the disaster of Rakshasi-Tangadi. Rāmarāya was a great patron of art and letters. Many writers in Sanskrit and Telugu flourished at his court. Some of the finest buildings and temples were built in his time. His outlook on religion was broad and liberal. Himself a staunch follower of Śrīvaishṇavism, he never placed any restraint on liberty of worship of the adherents of other sects. Vaishṇavas, Śaivas, Jains, Muhammadans, Christians and Jews were all treated equally and enjoyed the same privileges. Notwithstanding the wars in which he was frequently engaged he looked after the welfare of his subjects; and the people were on the whole happy and contented under his rule.

Sadāshiva and Tirumala (1566-1570)

According to the village *kaifiyats* in the Andhra area, for six years after the battle of Rakshasi-Tangadi anarchy reigned supreme. Several causes contributed to produce this result. The break-down of the power of the central government and the absence of proper local administrative machinery to enforce its authority let loose the forces of disintegration. The kinsmen and the friends to whom Rāmarāya entrusted the administration of the kingdom asserted their independence and began to fight among themselves for strengthening their power and extending their dominion. Of the many nobles who usurped power and rose to prominence, the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee deserve special mention. The first, who had his *amaram* (fief) in the marches of Travancore, quickly subdued all the territory extending to the south of the Kaveri and established himself at Madura. The second, who had a few *simas* on the banks of the Coleroon, made himself master of the fertile Chola country. And the last who was probably the commandant of the fort of Gingee seized the major part of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and bengan to rule it as if he were an independent prince. To add to the confusion, the *Pālayagars*, to whom the task of maintaining law and order and protecting the highways was entrusted, turned bandits and robbed the countryside and spread terror in the minds of the people.

Tirumala, who after the death of his brother Rāmarāya made himself the regent of the kingdom and the protector, was unable to check the progress of anarchy. In the first place, he had no army, and to recruit fresh forces, he had no money. Secondly, family dissensions added considerably to his trouble. Timma or Peda Tirumala, the son of his brother Rāmarāya, aspired to become the regent in succession to his father, and unable to contend against his uncle appealed to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh for help. The latter, desirous of profiting by the family quarrels at Vijayanagara, complied with Tirumala's request and sent forces to his assistance. Tirumala, who had returned to Vijayanagara after the departure of the Muslim army, found that under these circumstances, it was not possible for him to carry on the government from the city. He returned to Penugonda, and anticipating an attack from the city, strengthened its fortifications. As a matter of fact, 'Ādil Shāh sent an army under Khizr Khan to invest the fort; but the commandant Savaram Chennappa Nayadu beat back the attack. At the same time Tirumala persuaded Nizām Shāh to invade the Bijāpur territory from the north and make a diversion in his favour; and 'Ādil Shāh had to beat a hasty retreat to protect his dominions. By a sudden turn of events, he was able to carry the war into the enemy's territory. The Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda who were embroiled in a war with 'Ādil Shāh, invited Tirumala to join them; and in response to this invitation, he sent one of his sons with ten thousand men. Tirumala gained nothing by this alliance; instead he involved himself in fresh troubles. For, the Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda made up their differences with 'Ādil Shāh and returned to their kingdoms; and the latter, to punish Tirumala for making common cause with his enemies, invaded the kingdom of Vijayanagara. The main objective of the invasion was the capture of the fort of Adoni where one of Rāmarāya's cousins to whom he entrusted the government of the district asserted his independence. To prevent however Tirumala from sending troops he despatched an army against Penugonda. 'Ādil Shāh succeeded in achieving his object. Though the army sent against Penugonda was defeated and driven back by Tirumala, he reduced Adoni to subjection and made himself master of the entire Krishna-Tungabhadra *doab*.

Tirumala was not able therefore to check the treacherous activities of the *amaranāyakas* (fief-holders). And by the time he could equip himself with an army and concert measures to restore royal authority they became too strong to be tackled easily. Tirumala was a realist. He knew that, under the circumstances, it was impossible to restore the old state of affairs. The *amaranāyakas* who usurped the royal domain were too many. He was old and had no time to embark upon a systematic re-conquest of the empire. Tirumala therefore resolved to compromise with the *Nāyaks* and bring them back to subjection. By tacitly approving of their usurpations he won them over to his side. As a consequence of this, though the royal authority was restored throughout the empire, the empire itself lost its character. It was no longer a military empire of which the Rāya was absolute master. Instead it became a conglomeration of semi-independent principalities of which he was the head. The changed character of the empire brought in its train an important innovation in the administration. To keep the *amaranāyakas* under control, Tirumala divided the empire into three subdivisions, roughly corresponding to the three main linguistic areas of which it was composed, and entrusted the government of each of them to one of his three sons. Śrīraṅga, the eldest, was placed in charge of all the Telugu districts with Penugonda as his headquarters. Rāma, the second, was to rule the Karnataka from Śrīraṅgapattana; and Venkatapati, the youngest who resided in Chandragiri, was to look after the affairs of the entire Tamil country.

Tirumala successfully overcame the obstacles that beset his path: he brought back the rebellious *amaranāyakas* to subjection, and arrested the forces of disintegration which were fast undermining the foundation of the empire. Having accomplished the task of rejuvenating the empire he assumed the title of 'the reviver of the decadent Karnataka empire' and formally crowned himself in 1570 A.D. as the emperor at Penugonda. It is said on the authority of certain foreign travellers, that Tirumala, or at his instance one of his sons, specially Venkatapati, assassinated the emperor Sadāshiva before the coronation. This is not probably true. In the first place Sadāshiva was quite harmless, and he gave no trouble to Tirumala in governing the empire. Secondly, there is ample epigraphic evidence to show that Sadāshiva did not fall a victim to the assassin's knife before Tirumala's coronation, but was alive until A.D. 1576, long after the death of the latter and the accession of his son, Śrīraṅga I.

Tirumala did not rule long—probably for not more than a year—and abdicated in favour of his son Śrīraṅga. He spent the remaining days of his life in retirement, studying philosophy and religion. To him belongs the credit of giving the lease of life to the framework of the empire of Vijayanagara for a century more.

The reign of Śrīraṅga (1572-1585) was full of troubles caused by the invasions of the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda who were helped by the treacherous nobles of Vijayanagara, and he lost territories both in the coastal Andhra and Northern Karnataka. The Bijāpur army was, however, defeated. There is a tradition that Śrīraṅga fell a prisoner into the hands of the Bijāpur army, but this rests on very doubtful authority. The Muslims seized many forts including Udayagiri in the Nellore District and Koṇdavidu.

The next king, Venkata II (1586-1614), not only re-conquered from the Muslims most of the territories lost by his predecessor, but also crushed the nobles and the *Palayagārs* who attempted to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves.

The disputed succession after the death of Venkata II led to a civil war which lasted for four years and ended with the accession of Rāmadevarāya (1618-1630). His reign was full of rebellions, in which the Nāyaks of Madura, Gingee and Tanjore, who had played a prominent role in the civil war, also figured prominently. The Sultān of Bijāpur took advantage of this to seize Kurnool.

The reign of the next king, Venkata III (1630-1641), also witnessed another civil war lasting for four or five years during which many petty chieftains, who were practically independent, fought among themselves, and some of them, even including the king, sought for the help of the Muslim Sultāns of the Deccan. As a result the Sultān of Bijāpur conquered the Kannada districts and the Sultān of Golconda invaded the east coast. Venkata III opposed him but was defeated and died shortly after.

His nephew, Śrīraṅga III, who had joined the Sultān of Bijāpur against him, now proclaimed himself Emperor and ruled for seven years (1642-1649). He settled matters with the Sultān of Bijāpur and with his help recovered the fort of Udayagiri which was seized by the forces of Golconda. It is worthy of note that the Nāyaks or Chiefs, though still paying nominal allegiance to the 'Emperor' of Vijayanagara, not only rendered no help to him in driving away the Muslim invader and caused difficulty to him by breaking into revolts, but even invited the Sultān of Golconda to invade Vijayanagara territory promising to attack their 'Emperor' from behind. Accordingly the forces of Golconda invaded Vijayanagara. Śrīraṅga quickly despatched an ambassador to Gingee to win over the Nāyak; and the latter consented to delay the despatch of his forces, pending the arrival of instructions from his allies, the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore. Taking advantage of the respite Śrīraṅga marched at the head of his troops and in a battle fought on the bank of Vengallu, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Golconda army, and chased them as far as Kandukur in the north of the Nellore district. Śrīraṅga's triumph was, however, shortlived, for the Sultān of Golconda obtained help from Bijāpur, and unable to resist the advance of the combined armies of the two Muslim rulers, he abandoned Kandukur and retired to the interior of his dominions. The armies of Golconda and Bijāpur made their appearance on the Vijayanagara frontier; the former under Mīr Jumla overran the eastern parts of the Kurnool district, and the latter under Khān-i-Khānān reduced Nandyal, Sirivolla, Kanigiri and other forts farther west. At this stage the Sultān of Golconda suspended the war, probably due to an agreement with Śrīraṅga III.

The situation in the South became serious. The Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee joined together and set up the standard of rebellion. Śrīraṅga withdrew his forces from the north, and proceeded to the south burning and plundering the country until he reached Chetipattu in South Arcot district, where he lay encamped awaiting the arrival of the rebels. Though the Nāyaks gathered together a large army, they were not confident of victory. They, therefore, sought help from the Sultāns of Bijāpur and Golconda promising them to pay a large sum of money.

The Sultāns, in fact, needed no invitation. The Mughul emperor, Shāh Jahān, commanded them to conquer and partition the empire of Karnataka between themselves. In obedience to his command, they sent their respective armies to conquer and annex the dominions of the Rāya of Vijayanagara. Mustafā Khān, who commanded the Bijāpur army, marched through Malnad and arrived at Sivaganga in the Bangalore district, where the ambassadors of the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee met him and requested him for help. Mustafā Khān complied with their request, and marched on Vellore, directing Khān-i-Khānān who was at Kurnool to do the same. Śrīraṅga knew that the chances of his success lay in prompt action. He decided to strike at once before the Nāyaks could join the Bijāpur general. He sent an ambassador to Mustafā Khān to put him off the scent by carrying on negotiations of peace. He hastened with all his forces to the south, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nāyak of Gingee and compelled him to submit. Next he attacked the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura and would have vanquished them also, but for Mustafā Khān, who having obtained information of his activities marched on Vellore. Śrīraṅga was therefore obliged to relinquish the operations, and return with all speed to protect his capital.

While Mustafā Khān and Khān-i-Khānān were marching on Vellore, Mīr Jumla, at the instance of the Sultān of Golconda, proceeded along the east coast, conquered Vinuconda, and laid siege to the fort of Udayagiri. Though Śrīraṅga sent reinforcements to strengthen the garrison, the commander of the fort turned a traitor and surrendered the fort to the Muslims in March, 1645. Mīr Jumla next turned west, and having invaded the territories of the Matli chiefs of Chittiveli captured many important forts belonging to them. Unable to offer effective resistance, the Matlis submitted and acknowledged the supremacy of Golconda.

Śrīraṅga was utterly helpless. He was surrounded by enemies on all sides. He made in vain an appeal to people to protect their religion, temples and the Brahmins; but the Nāyaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee made up their minds to get rid of Śrīraṅga once for all, offered heavy bribes to the Bijāpur generals, and persuaded them to conquer Penugonda and Kolar which were still under his control.

While Mustafā Khān and Khān-i-Khānān were busy in the western Telugu country, the Nāyaks marched on Vellore. Though Śrīraṅga sent an army into the southern districts to distract their attention, it produced no fruitful results; but in an engagement which took place in December, 1645, between him and the Nāyak army, Śrīraṅga suffered a defeat and crept into the fort. He then made an attempt to come to an understanding with the Nāyaks.

The combined attack of the Muslim powers on the empire of Vijayanagara seems to have at last awakened the fear of common danger in the minds of the Nāyaks; for with the exception of the treacherous Tirumal Nāyak of Madura, they joined Śrīraṅga. At the head of a large army consisting of 10,000 horse, and 1,40,000 foot soldiers he advanced against Mustafā Khān. A battle was fought in which, though victorious, he could gain no advantage owing to the desertion of the Nāyaks of Kangudi and Mysore.

Śrīraṅga retreated to his capital, and Mustafā Khān, having first reduced the territories of Jayadeva Rao to subjection, followed him there. The Nāyaks became friendly to Śrīraṅga and promised to send him men and money to defend his capital; but before help could reach him, Mustafā Khān arrived in the neighbourhood, and he was obliged, unprepared as he was, to give him battle. In a fierce engagement which took place near Vellore on 4 April, 1646, he suffered defeat, and crept into the fort, to which Mustafā Khān laid siege soon after. The Nāyaks, who were jealous of one another, could not arrive at any decision to help their king. In the meanwhile Mīr Jumla, having completed the conquest of Chittiveli, moved towards the east, captured Ponneri, Poonamalli, Kanchipuram and Chingleput one after another in quick succession and was encamped in the neighbourhood of Vellore. The Nāyaks were divided among themselves; the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Gingee were weak, and it was not possible for them to oppose the Golconda army; but the Nāyaks of Mysore and Madura united their forces and attempted to ward off the danger. They suffered, however, a severe defeat at the hands of Mīr Jumla, who then marched on Gingee and laid siege to the fort.

Mīr Jumla's victory over Madura and Mysore and his investment of Gingee roused the jealousy of Bijāpur; and Mustafā and Khān-i-Khānān hastened to the neighbourhood with their forces with the object of preventing him from capturing the fort. On the approach of Bijāpur generals, Mīr Jumla entered into an agreement with them and retired into the Qutb Shāhi territories leaving them free to prosecute their designs. After Mīr Jumla's departure, the Bijāpur armies laid siege to Gingee and captured it. With the fall of the fort, the Nāyak kingdom of Gingee came to an end, and the territories which belonged to it passed into the hands of the Sultān of Bijāpur. The Nāyak of Tanjore was frightened, and, without striking a blow, submitted to the Sultān early in 1649.[4]

Śrīraṅga was now a king without a kingdom, and a refugee without a place where he could take shelter. He therefore fled to Mysore which still retained a measure of its independence. The flight of Śrīraṅga was the signal for the systematic subjugation of small principalities which had not yet come within the fold of the Muslim States, and the Vijayanagara empire, which was founded three centuries ago, came finally to an end.

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1. There is wide divergence of views on almost every aspect of this battle, except its date and result. The account given here is materially different from that given above, in Chapter XIV (pp. 424-25). The Editor has thought it better to present both views to the reader.
2. Regarding the name and location of these two villages, cf. p. 425. Saletore mentions the names as Rākshasa-Taṅgaḍi (*Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, Vol. I, pp. 22-3). The name of the second village is also written as Taṅgādi (Editor).
3. This is self-contradictory. As the author says, the two villages were on the northern bank of the river, while he admits that the battle took place on the southern bank of the Krishna, which is generally accepted. (Editor).
4. Frequent references in this chapter to the wars and alliances between Vijayanagara and the Muslim States in the Deccan should be read along with Chapter XIV which also refers to them.

CHAPTER XVI

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS

I. PORTUGUESE ENTERPRISE AND DOMINANCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

By about 1500 A.D. Portuguese competition with the Moors for the control of trade in the Indian Ocean became irresistible. On account of the geographical position of their kingdom, the Portuguese had become the natural guardians of Christendom against the Moors of Africa. Impelled by religious fervour and by crusading zeal, the Portuguese brought all their latent energies to serve the cause of commerce and colonisation. Prince Henry, the Navigator, (1394-1460) promoted maritime exploration, and visualised the founding of a maritime Empire. He fitted out several expeditions that sailed down the west coast of Africa. Within twenty years of his death the Portuguese had proceeded beyond the delta of the Niger. The then king of Portugal resolved to establish a Christian Empire in West Africa and to found a fortress on the Ivory Coast. Diego Cao voyaged southwards from the mouth of the Congo to the modern Walvis Bay (1487). Bartholomew Dias, who followed him, prepared the way for Vasco da Gama. He rounded the southernmost point of Africa and indeed reached Mossel Bay. He gave the name of the Cape of Tempests to the Table Mountain and its headlands and promontories. His voyage is one of the main landmarks of geographical exploration and removed all doubt as to the possibility of reaching India by sea.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese King sent a Jew, by way of Cairo, to the Red Sea in order to explore the way to the land of the legendary Christian King, Prester John of Ethiopia, as well as the way to India. This Jew came to the Malabar Coast and eventually reached Abyssinia. He wrote that the ships, which sailed down the coast of Guinea, might be sure of reaching the termination of the continent, by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the Eastern Ocean, their best direction must be to inquire for Sofala and the Island of the Moon.

Vasco da Gama started from Portugal in the summer of 1497; and after finally doubling the Cape of Good Hope, on Christmas Day, he came alongside of a land to which he gave the name of

Natal in remembrance of the birth of Christ. He then passed Sofala and finally reached Mozambique in March, 1498. All along the African Coast, between Sofala and Zanzibar, Muhammadan colonists had founded settlements and controlled the trade in ivory and gold. At Mombasa he secured the services of a Gujarati pilot, sailed straight north-east across the Arabian sea and finally reached the coast of Calicut on 21 May, 1498. He did not stay long on the Indian coast and embarked on his return voyage in August, 1498.[1]

The Portuguese landing in India "was fortunate both as to place and time." The Malabar Coast was then divided between petty chiefs who were too weak and torn by internecine strife to resist the Portuguese. It was a halfway house between Ceylon, Malacca and the Spice Islands on the one hand, and the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the ports of East Africa on the other. The Empire of Vijayanagara controlled the towns of Bhatkal and Honavar on the coast, but did not interfere in the affairs of the Rajas of the coast. The Portuguese quickly perceived that their true interest lay in peaceful commerce and friendship with Vijayanagara. The Bahmanī Empire was torn by internal factions and steadily disintegrating. One of its offshoots, the kingdom of Bijāpur, ruled over the coastal country of Goa, but lacked an efficient navy. The Portuguese allied themselves against Bijāpur with powerful pirate chiefs on the coast, like Timoja, and with the Hindu Rajas of Honavar, Bankipur and Bhatkal, who were all feudatories of Vijayanagara. As the Mughul Empire had not yet risen, there was no power, either in the north or in the south of India, to effectively bar the establishment of the Portuguese dominion on the coast.

Calicut under the Zamorins enjoyed then a high degree of prosperity. The Zamorin was kind to all classes of merchants who came to his kingdom, tolerated all creeds and allowed perfect freedom to all in mercantile affairs. Cochin was the best of all the ports in the Malabar Coast, as it was connected by means of lagoons, backwaters and creeks with all the pepper-producing districts of the neighbourhood. Its ruler was subordinate to the Zamorin and jealous of him. Other important ports of the coast were Quilon which carried on trade with China, Arabia and other countries, Cranganore, and Cannanore which, though nominally under the Zamorin, were practically independent.

Vasco da Gama had, even during his first voyage, excited the jealousy of the Arab merchants of the East African ports. It quickly spread to the Arab and Moplah traders of the Malabar Coast. At Calicut he encountered violent and open opposition from the Mussalman merchants and only the armed guards of the Zamorin protected the Portuguese from their fury. A second expedition, under Alvarez Cabral, reached Calicut in 1500, seized an Arab vessel lying in its harbour and sent it as a present to the Zamorin. The Arabs stormed the Portuguese factory and put all its occupants to the sword, while Cabral retaliated by bombarding Calicut and setting fire to its wooden houses. He then went away to Cochin and Cannanore whose friendship he had secured.

Cabral was now convinced that, for his own safety, he must force Calicut into submission and root out the Arab trade of that place. A fresh expedition under Vasco da Gama, which started in 1502, threatened the rulers of Mozambique and Kilwa on the African coast into submission, destroyed a pilgrim ship to Mecca, and demanded from the Zamorin the banishment of every Muhammadan resident from Calicut. He strengthened the factories at Cochin and Cannanore and left a squadron to patrol the Malabar Coast and to destroy all Arab vessels coming to it from Red Sea. He put forward a definite claim to dominion over the Indian coast and the Arabian sea. On his departure the Arab merchants and the Zamorin attacked the Raja of Cochin who bravely held out until relieved by the arrival of the next Portuguese fleet in 1503.

Their artillery gave the Portuguese a great advantage in sea warfare. Even on land the Portuguese proved themselves to be the better fighters. Their reputation was greatly raised by Duarte Pacheco's gallant defence of Cochin against the whole army of Zamorin. The next Portuguese expedition under Lopo Soares destroyed all the ports in which Arab influence prevailed, and prevented any ships coming to or leaving Cochin except their own. Soares burnt Cranganore and laid a good part of Calicut in ruins.

The Portuguese power still lacked organisation and order and their isolated factories were in danger if the seasonal winds should prevent navigation and if their squadrons in the Indian Ocean should disappear. Their power in India had passed beyond the stage when it could be managed by an annual fleet and by a few isolated factories. Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of the Portuguese in the East (1505) with full power to wage war, conclude treaties and regulate commerce. He aimed at securing the control of the East African Coast, to subdue all the Malabar ports at which the Arabs still survived, to strengthen the Portuguese factories, to divert the whole export trade of India and East Africa to the Cape route and to secure for Portugal a monopoly over the trade of the Indian Ocean. But he knew that he would have to encounter the opposition of the powerful navies of Turkey and Egypt which championed the cause of the Arabs. He easily subjugated the Muhammadan ports of East Africa, and then proceeded to the subjugation of the yet hostile Malabar ports. He befriended Vijayanagara, on the advice of the Timoja, built a fort at Cannanore, and settled a disputed succession at Cochin which was made the seat of his government. He sent his son to explore Ceylon and to close the sea-route through the Maldives which was now taken by the Arabs in order to avoid going near the Malabar Coast. The Zamorin was crippled in 1506 and the ruler of Ceylon agreed to pay a tribute of cinnamon and elephants.

The third part of Almeida's task was to break the naval powers of Egypt which was supreme in the Red Sea, and of Turkey which had access to the Persian Gulf at Basra. Meanwhile a new expedition from Portugal under Affonso de Albuquerque strengthened the Portuguese communications on the East African Coast, and captured Socotra, but failed to reduce Ormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. After an initial success, the combined fleets of the Egyptians, the Zamorin and the King of Gujarāt were worsted after a long and stubborn struggle off Diu (spring of 1509). This victory "secured to Christendom the naval supremacy in Asia and turned the Indian Ocean for the next century into a Portuguese sea."

Albuquerque, the next Governor, built up a great territorial power in India. He was convinced that it was beneath the dignity of Portugal to have factories which existed only by the sufferance of native rulers. His struggle was against the combined forces of the Muhammadan world. His efforts were directed towards the conquest of Goa, Malacca, Aden, and Ormuz which he considered essential for his purpose.

The plan of Albuquerque formed strategically a complete whole and consisted of three series of operations: (1) the control of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; (2) the establishment of the headquarters of the Portuguese power at a central port on the west coast of India; (3) the destruction of Mussalman trade in the Malay Peninsula and the Far East.

The conquest of Goa was Albuquerque's first achievement (February, 1610).[2] But as the city was quickly recaptured by the 'Ādil Shāh, he had to undertake a second expedition; he recaptured the place and fortified it against any surprise attack. Goa stood midway between the ports of Malabar and those of Gujarāt and dominated the entire coast from the Gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin. The conquest of Goa put "the seal on Portuguese naval supremacy along the south-west coast," and involved territorial rule in India.

The conquest of Malacca was the next great achievement of Albuquerque. It was situated favourably on the Malaya shore, in the middle point of the Straits between Sumatra and the mainland; and its inhabitants included Muhammadan Malayas and large bodies of foreign merchants,—Chinese, Javanese, Gujarātis, Bengalis, Burmese from Pegu and Chittagong, Ceylonese cinnamon-dealers and even Japanese. Albuquerque captured the place after several days of bombardment and street fighting. He then opened direct relations with the kingdom of Siam and despatched ships to explore the Moluccas and other Spice Islands.

In 1512 he had to relieve Goa from a fresh siege to which it was subjected by Bijāpur.

His next attempt was to extend Portuguese supremacy to the mouths of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Aden, and not Socotra, was the real gate of the Red Sea. Albuquerque's first attack on it was a failure, as also his endeavour to reach the port of Jiddah. He captured Ormuz, and laid the foundation of a strong fort at the island whose markets abounded in furs from Russia, silks from Baghdad and Central Asia, and horses from Arabia, for which there was always a great demand in India.

Albuquerque was greatly worn out by these exertions and his heart was broken when he learnt, as he came within the sight of Goa, that he had been superseded by Lopo Soares, his bitter opponent, while the King had no word of thanks to offer him.

Albuquerque thus enlarged and fulfilled the aims of Almeida. He gave the Portuguese power a territorial base in India, while Malacca, Ormuz and the uncaptured Aden were to serve as strategic points for Portuguese shipping. In view of the paucity of manpower in Portugal, Albuquerque encouraged the lower classes of the Portuguese settlers to marry Indian women. He maintained friendly relations with Vijayanagara and even tried to secure the goodwill of Bijāpur. He created regular bodies of trained troops from among Indians.

Albuquerque's immediate successor failed to capture Aden, but he constructed a fortress near Colombo. Nuno da Cunha, Viceroy (1529-38), captured Mombasa on the African coast, established settlements at San Thome near Madras and at Hooghly in Bengal, and thus developed commerce on the eastern coast. In 1535 he got possession of Diu in Kathiawar, and its gallant defence both by sea and land against the Turkish Admiral and the Sultān of Gujarāt in 1538 was a remarkable achievement.

Joa de Castro, Viceroy (1545-48), decisively defeated the Bijāpur forces which advanced against Goa. His successors systematised commerce, but made no further conquests.

In 1571 the Asiatic Empire of Portugal was divided into three independent commands, viz., a Governorship at Mozambique controlling the settlements on the African coast; (2) a Viceroyalty at Goa in charge of the Indian and Persian territories; and (3) a Governorship at Malacca to control the trade of Java and the Spice Archipelago.

The Portuguese dominion was based upon command of the sea and upon possession of forts at strategic points along the coast. They were bitterly jealous of all rivals at sea. Gujarāt and Calicut were forced to abandon construction of fresh ships or even armed rowing boats. Ormuz was not to construct ships and its people were not to carry arms. The fortified factories of the Portuguese, from Quilon and Cochin on the South, to Daman and Diu on the north, were sufficient to coerce all their Indian rivals.

Besides controlling the whole of the export trade to Europe, the Portuguese monopolised the port-to-port trade on the Malabar Coast and the trade from the Indian to the Persian Coast on the one side and Malacca on the other. All this was retained as a jealous monopoly of the King, though the private trade of the officials and their frauds were notorious. The Portuguese treatment of their native subjects and opponents showed "a consistent and systematic cruelty and barbarity lower even than the standards of a cruel age." Above all, their spirit of crusading enthusiasm soon degenerated into an unreasoning and fanatic desire to convert all and sundry of their Asiatic subjects to their own faith, even at the point of the sword. After 1540, the Portuguese Government in India markedly came to be dominated by priests—Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits—who displayed an intolerant bigotry and introduced all the horrors of the Inquisition into India.

The Portuguese monopoly of the Indian Ocean remained unbroken till 1595, fifteen years after the fatal union of Portugal and Spain. Philip II of Spain neglected Portuguese dominions in India and involved Portugal in his costly and disastrous European wars. Ceylon first rebelled against the Portuguese about 1580. In 1595 the first Dutch fleet rounded the Cape of Good Hope in defiance of the Portuguese. By 1602 they had deprived Portugal of the hold over the Straits of Sunda and of the route to the Moluccas and of the Spice Islands. In 1603 they blockaded Goa itself. Soon after, they made themselves masters of Java. They expelled the Portuguese altogether from Ceylon in the years 1638-58. In 1641 they captured the great port of Malacca and in 1652 got possession of the Cape of Good Hope as well.

The English were not also behind-hand. In 1611 an English squadron under Middleton defeated the Portuguese fleet off Bombay. Four years later came their great victory over the Portuguese, off Swally, in the Surat roads. In 1616 they entered into direct commercial relations with the Zamorin of Calicut. Two years later they began to trade in the Persian Gulf. In 1622 they had captured Ormuz and established a factory at Gombroon. In 1654 the Portuguese had to recognise the right of the English to reside and trade in all their eastern possessions.

Nor was it only from the hands of European rivals that the final blow to the Portuguese power came. In 1632 the Mughul Emperor, Shāh Jahān, completely destroyed their settlement at Hooghly and carried away, as prisoners, more than a thousand of the Portuguese inhabitants. The Portuguese and half-caste pirates who had established themselves at Chittagong and raided the coasts of Bengal and Arakan were easily defeated by the King of Arakan. The descendants of those pirates, known as the *Feringhis* who infested the whole of the Eastern Bengal Coast, were totally swept away about 1665, by the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal.

The man-power of Portugal was too small to maintain a far-flung empire, and was further thinned by disease, ravages and the demoralisation brought about by the inter-marriage of the Portuguese settlers with Africans and Indians. Their religious fanaticism absorbed a good portion of their energies. Even before the time of Albuquerque, priests, monks and friars had flocked in large number to Portuguese India. In 1538, Goa was made the seat of a Bishop; in 1557 it was raised to the dignity of an Archbishopric; and other Bishoprics were created at Cochin and Malacca, and for China and Japan. The priests displayed great devotion to duty and did much to spread education. They established at Goa, in 1560, the hated inquisition which burnt or punished in other cruel way, unbelievers, relapsed converts and all who were dangerous to the faith in the eyes of the priests. They did not give freedom even to the ancient Syrian Christians of the Malabar Coast. In 1552, the complaint was made that the Portuguese towns in India were largely depopulated owing to the forced conversion of Hindus and Muhammadans and that every 'gentile' was driven to church with sticks and blows every fortnight. The Portuguese zeal for conversion was redoubled after their union with Spain. The Synod of Diamper (Udayampura) in 1599 tried to suppress completely the Syrian Christianity of Malabar. The chief results of this intolerant policy were a practical denial of justice to all non-Christians and the depopulation of Goa and other Portuguese towns.

The Portuguese Indian Church was organised under the guidance of St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, who came to Goa with the Jesuits in 1542.[2a] To St. Xavier is due the conversion of the Paravars, the fishermen tribe who lived on the Coromandel Coast between Cape Comorin and Adam's Bridge, as well as the Mukkuvas, the fishermen of the Malabar coast. St. Xavier also travelled to Malacca and Japan for this purpose. Before his death in 1552, the great Apostle of the Indies is said to have converted some seven hundred thousand men, who belonged mainly to the lowest classes of the population. He was a great churchman, and a saint who was able to win the hearts of all.

There was no continuity in Portuguese government; offices were sold to the highest bidders; there was much illicit private trade and bribery; lack of discipline and irregular pay turned soldiers and sailors into dacoits and thieves. The later history of the Portuguese in India is a continuous record of poverty and misery. They lost Bassein in 1739 to the Marāthās. The old Goa Pourado (Golden Goa) whose glories were sung by Camoens, the famous Portuguese poet, in his epic poem, *Os Lusiadas,* describing the brilliant achievements of his nation in Europe and Asia, is now a city of broken houses and ruined palaces. New Goa or Panjim which was the seat of the later Portuguese Viceroys was founded in the eighteenth century.

Portugal was the first nation to give to Europe a knowledge of the legendary countries of the East. The Portuguese discovery of the East produced a number of brilliant writers, of whom Camoens was the greatest. His epic *Os Lusiadas* is a poetic historical record of the memorable voyage of Vasco da Gama; but the real hero is the spirit of the nation. More important than the poets, who sang of the deeds of the Portuguese in the east, are the histories and works of (1) Duarte Barbosa (d. 1521), (2) Gaspar Correa (1495-1561), (3) Joao de Barros (1496-1570), (4) Diogo do Couto (1542-1616), (5) the Commentaries of Bras de Albuquerque, the natural son of the great Governor, who supplemented the Letters of his father, (6) Dom Joao de Castro (1500-1548), (7) Garcia Da Orta (d. 1570) and several Jesuit writers. The effect of the maritime exploits of the Portuguese is fully reflected in their literature; and the decay of their political power and naval strength was also marked by literary decay.

II. THE DUTCH AND THE ENGLISH

1. *Early Enterprises*

As mentioned above, 'the Union of Portugal and Spain' under Philip II in 1580 hastened the downfall of the maritime and commercial supremacy of the Portuguese in the East. The Protestant powers of England and Holland began to prey on Portuguese commerce. In 1582 the first English voyage round the Cape of Good Hope was attempted. Already in 1580 had the Spanish monopoly of the Magellan route been successfully challenged by Sir Francis Drake. In 1591 Lancaster rounded the Cape of Good Hope and voyaged to Cape Comorin and the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch expedition under Houtman to Sumatra and the Spice Archipelago was a counterpart of Lancaster's voyage. The volume of Portuguese trade with India diminished markedly after 1580. In 1596 Spain became bankrupt and Portugal had to suffer the consequence.[3]

In 1599 the English declared that they had a perfect and free right to trade in all places where the Portuguese and the Spaniards had not established any fort, settlement or factory. Captain Lancaster led the first voyage of the English East India Company in December, 1599, and arrived at Achin (in Sumatra) in 1602. The second expedition of the English Company under Sir Henry Middleton traded with Bantam and Amboyna (one of the richest of the Spice Islands to the south of the Moluccas). The next expedition brought home a rich cargo of pepper from Bantam and of cloves from Amboyna.

As many as fifteen voyages had been fitted out by Holland between 1595 and 1601. The Dutch avoided small and separate voyages by individual traders. In 1602 they combined together the several Indian companies formed within their State into the Dutch United East India Company, with an exclusive right to trade with India and the East Indies for twenty-one years. This Company was endowed with ample powers of attack and conquest; it was a national undertaking and the embodiment of the newly-achieved independence and sense of unity of the Dutch nation.[4]

The Dutch also attempted to secure control of the Straits of Sunda between Sumatra and Java. In 1609 they made the Raja of Bantam their dependent ally, and three years later, secured Jakarta in Java, in spite of English opposition, and seven years later they built on its site the famous city of Batavia. They seized the best islands of the Archipelago either by conquest from the Portuguese or by treaties with the native chiefs. Thus, Ternate in the Moluccas became a Dutch ally in 1607. Amboyna, the richest island in the Southern Moluccas, was seized in 1618. They were able to monopolise the nutmeg and clove islands of the Archipelago as against their new rivals, the English.

The English asserted their counter claims and argued that long before the Dutch had occupied the islands, Drake had visited them. They vigorously denied that the small coast settlements and factories of the Dutch amounted to an effective occupation of a great Archipelago. The first three voyages of the English Company had traded with Bantam and the Spice islands.

2. *English East India Company*

In 1599 an influential body of London merchants formed a plan for the formation of a Company to monopolise the eastern trade. In 1593 the Levant Company had got an extended charter permitting them to trade overland with India. This endeavour, however, completely failed. Several of the promoters of the East India Company had been servants of the Levant Company. After some demur consequent on pending negotiations with Spain then, Queen Elizabeth incorporated these merchants into a Company and gave them for fifteen years the right of trading with India and all the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Magellan except with those territories in the actual occupation of the Spanish and Portuguese.[5]

The English beginnings in India were not very promising, on account of Portuguese rivalry. Captain William Hawkins journeyed from Surat to the Mughul Court (1608), but failed to get permission to erect a factory at Surat. In 1611 Captain Middleton landed at Swally near Surat in spite of Portuguese opposition, and got permission from the Mughul governor to trade at the place. The victory of Captain Best in the Surat roadstead broke the tradition of Portuguese naval supremacy and an English factory was permanently established at Surat.[6] From this place the English extended their trading operations inland and soon built subordinate factories at Ahmadābād, Burhānpur, Ajmer and Āgra. Sir Thomas Roe, the royal ambassador from King James I to the Mughul Emperor, succeeded in getting two *farmāns* by 1618, 'one of the King and the other of the Prince (Khurram) confirming our trade and continuance' as well as exemption from inland tolls.

The Dutch Factory at Surat was comparatively powerless and did not have much influence with the Mughul authorities. But they established themselves in greater strength on the east coast. In 1610 they established a fortified settlement at Pulicat (to the north of Madras) whose backwater, the Pulicat Lake, afforded a safe shelter for the ships of those days, and from which they contrived to drive away the English (1623). Both the English and the Dutch competed for the trade of Masulipatam which was the chief sea-port of the great inland kingdom of Golconda and largely traded in diamonds, rubies, and textiles. In 1614 and again in 1624 the English had serious quarrels with the Dutch at this port. In 1628 they abandoned Masulipatam in despair and attempted to settle at Armagaon (Arumugam) further south. Two years afterwards, they revived their factory at Masulipatam. Chinsura on the Hooghly river, then the most inland place in the Gangetic delta accessible to ships, was also settled by the Dutch.

The history of the English settlements in Western India in the seventeenth century may be divided into three periods: the first commences with the establishment of an English factory at Surat (1612); the second begins with the formation of an English settlement at Bombay (1665); and the third commences from 1687 when Bombay superseded Surat and became the headquarters of the English on the West coast.

Thomas Stephens, a Jesuit, was the first Englishman to visit Western India. He reached Goa in 1579 and resided there for many years. In 1583 Ralph Fitch and a few other Englishmen reached India by way of the Persian Gulf. John Mildenhall, a London merchant, reached Āgra in 1603 after a tedious overland journey and attempted to obtain from Akbar a farmān for trade in Gujarāt. Two years after Mildenhall had left Āgra, Captain Hawkins landed at Surat. After the victory of Best Thomas Aldworth, a merchant of energy and great determination who stayed on at Surat, the English secured permission for the establishment of factories at Surat and three other places in the Gulf of Cambay.

After the victory of Captain Downton, came Sir Thomas Roe whose embassy is to be regarded as a distinct triumph for the English. By 1616 the English had contrived to establish four factories at Ahmadābād, Burhānpur, Āgra and Surat.[7] They were looked up to by the Mughuls to keep open the path of pilgrimage to the holy cities of Islām.

The chain of events that led to the establishment of the English in Bombay is interesting. Its situation enabled it to control the whole coastal trade in the West and to threaten the Portuguese and the Dutch of the neighbourhood.[8] It was thus only as the satisfaction of a long-expressed wish that in 1661 the Portuguese gave Bombay as part of the dowry of their princess, Catherine of Braganza, on her marriage with Charles II. The importance of Bombay was little understood by the English at the time; and even the Portuguese were not able to appreciate this till after its cession to the English. In September, 1662, an English fleet of five ships arrived in Bombay in order to take over the place. But the Portuguese refused to give it up and denied that the neighbouring island of Salsette was included in the treaty of cession. The fleet left a body of soldiers under General Shipman, a large number of whom perished for lack of sufficient food and protection in the unhappy neighbourhood. A long and bitter correspondence ensued between the English and the Portuguese monarchs. The Portuguese Viceroy of Goa suggested to his king that he might purchase the island from the English after it should be formally handed over to them, according to agreement.[9]

Humphrey Cooke who commanded the remnants of the first English expedition to Bombay accepted the cession of merely the port and harbour which alone were offered by the Portuguese who were entrenched in the neighbouring island of Salsette and levied fines and imposts on English boats and traders. Sir Gervase Lucas, a staunch Royalist, was appointed to succeed Cooke in 1666; but he was not more successful. He quarrelled with the Company's factors at Surat and died within a few months after he had landed at Bombay. His lieutenant, Captain Gray, who succeeded him, was proud, wasteful and extravagant, while his power was disputed.

Meanwhile the Company's factory at Surat was faring equally badly. Sir George Oxenden, Governor of Surat (1662-68), had to encounter French and Dutch rivalry; he gallantly defended the factory and the property of many Indian merchants when Shivājī plundered the city in 1664. But Oxenden was jealous of the royal governors of Bombay and quarrelled with them, while the Mughuls held him responsible for the acts of the latter.

King Charles made up his mind to get rid of Bombay which was coveted by the Company though it pretended that its possession would only entail on it much difficulty and expense. A royal charter was prepared by which the island was transferred to the Company in return for an annual rent of £ 10, and Oxenden took possession of the island, in September 1668, in the name of the Company.[10]

Gerald Aungier was the next President of Surat and Governor of Bombay (1669-77). He was the true founder of Bombay's greatness. He fortified the port, constructed a dock, established a court of justice, created a police force and a militia, and made the settlement an asylum for merchants of every class and caste. He secured the lives and properties of the English during Shivājī's second sack of Surat. He suggested to the Directors, as early as 1671, that the seat of the Presidency should be removed from Surat to Bombay. Under him Bombay became the best naval station in the Indian coast and a harbour of refuge from Marāthā and Malabar pirates.[11]

Under the Governorship of Rolt (1677-82), the Directors retrenched expenditure and reduced the garrison, and the result was that Bombay's very existence hung in the balance for a time. Dr. John Fryer who travelled for nine years in India and Persia (1672-81), wrote bitterly about the low condition into which the English prestige had fallen.[12]

In 1682, Sir John Child, brother of the famous Sir Josia Child who then wielded great influence among the Directors, was appointed Chief of the Company at Bombay and Surat. From his time began the general decline of Bombay which continued till the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[13]

After Child, there followed several weak Governors, including Sir John Gayer. In Gayer's time, what was known as the New or English Company which had been founded in rivalry to the old Company, sent out one Sir Nicholas Waite to Surat as its own representative, and bitter bickerings occurred between the two Governors to the great detriment of English reputation.[14]

On the Coromandel Coast the English attempted a landing at Pulicat, first in 1611 and again in 1614, but failed on account of Dutch opposition. The English first landed at Masulipatam in 1611; two years later, they were permitted to erect a fortified factory there. The eagerly sought-for diamonds, and the valuable silks, calicoes and salt-petre were all there ready for sale. On account of the rivalry of the Dutch, the English resolved, in 1628, to abandon their factory and never to return except under a direct grant from the Sultān of Golconda. In 1630 when Masulipatam was desolated by famine and plague, the English returned to Masulipatam and obtained, two years later, the long-coveted permission from the Sultān of Golconda, the *Golden Farmān,* which opened an era of prosperity.

When the English first abandoned Masulipatam in 1628 they took shelter at Arumugam (Armagaon) 40 miles north of Pulicat.

It was a poor place but important historically because it was the first site territorially acquired by the English in India and on which a fort was built.

Francis Day, a member of the Council of Masulipatam, pitched upon a narrow strip of land, three miles to the north of the flourishing Indo-Portuguese colony of San Thome. He obtained from the local Naik a grant of the site and permission to build a fort and form a settlement thereon in return for an annual rental of £ 600.

Without waiting for permission from England, Day began to build a fort, and named it Fort St. George, probably because part of it was finished by St. George's Day, 1640. The attitude of the Directors was very discouraging. The English merchants at Surat and Bantam, however, realised the advantages of Madras, as a half-way house, for trade with the Archipelago.[15]

After Day's departure in 1644, trade languished and the merchants remained idle and disheartened. England was then distracted by the civil war and the confusion in the Carnatic was worsened by the Muslim aggression. The Raja of Chandragiri was involved in troubles on all hands. By 1647, Mīr Jumla, the general of the Sultān of Golconda, had become the master of all the country round Madras and the English factors hastened to make their peace with him.[16]

Mīr Jumla confirmed all the privileges that the English had obtained from the previous Hindu ruler when they gave him help against San Thome. The years 1646-47, when this revolution was being effected, were marked by a great famine in the land when a large number of people died of starvation.[17] As many as 3,000 died in Madras alone during the period from September, 1646 to January, 1647. In 1652, Madras was raised to the rank of the Presidency, independent of Bantam, and Aarom Baker was its first President. But the Directors suddenly ordered very unwisely the reduction of Madras again to the status of subordinate agency (1654). It was not until four years later that Madras was again restored to the rank of a Presidency independent of Bantam and directly responsible to the Court of Directors, while all the factories in Bengal and on the Coromandel Coast were subordinated to it.

Thenceforward, Madras stood as the type of the system of fortified factories, which the conflicts of the Indian powers in south-eastern India rendered indispensable for the safety of European trade.

With the Restoration, Madras entered on a new period of life. Sir Edward Winter, President (1662-65), was given summary powers to punish all private traders.. He improved the sea-trade with Bengal and Bantam and threatened the hostile Indian powers with retaliation on the sea. He began a costly scheme of fortifying Madras which displeased the Directors and led to his recall. But he took advantage of the unpopularity of his successor, Foxcroft, who was an uncompromising old Puritan, accused him of treasonable words towards King Charles, and had him kept in confinement for three years during which he ruled as Govenor (1665-68). At last Winter retired and Foxcroft was restored to office which he enjoyed only for a year.[18]

Sir William Langhorne, Governor during 1670-78, put a bold front against the aggressions of the French and of the Dutch, promoted the prosperity of the Black Town, developed the English garrison and formed a body of native peons, called the Black Guards. Dr. Frayer, who visited the city in 1673, gives a good account of the life of the Europeans.

Streynsham Master, the next Governor (1678-81), framed regulations for the proper administration of justice and the conduct of civil servants, and cleverly kept Shivājī at a distance from Madras. Trade became brisk, a larger investment was made, and Master may very well be called the *Second Founder of Madras.*

Important events took place during the governorship of Elihu Yale (1687-92).[19] Madras got a Corporation with a Mayor and Aldermen. From Yale's time, until 1746, when the French under La Bourdonnais captured Madras, all the Governors were merchant princes who had two definite objects in view, viz., the advancement of the Company's trade and the accumulation of a private fortune for themselves. The Directors no longer grumbled nor grew angry at their servants' private trade; they found that the latter could grow wealthy by private trading and could yet advance the Company's interests. The most famous of these merchant-governors was Thomas Pitt.[20]

In Bengal, in the first stage, the English Agent at Masulipatam sent up a few factors to establish factories at Hariharapur and at Balasore. The former factory fell into decay; and Balasore also would have been abandoned, had it not been for the strong recommendation of Francis Day that the factory should be retained and improved. Gabriel Boughton, who was in favour with Prince Shāh Shujā, Viceroy of Bengal, got for the English permission to trade throughout the province free of customs and other dues.[21] The factory at Hooghly, established in 1651, did not prove promising. In 1657, an attempt was made at improving the Chief Agency at Hooghly and the subordinate agencies at Balasore, Cassimbazar and Patna.[22]

There was, however, a set-back on account of the civil war of succession in the Mughul Empire and of the oppressions practised by the officials of Mīr Jumla, the Viceroy. Under the rule of Nawāb Shāyista Khān (Viceroy from 1663) and with the help of an Imperial *farmān,* and with the pirates of Arakan and Chittagong finally put down, the English trade increased, particularly in silk and salt-petre.[23]

In 1681, the Directors appointed William Hedges, one of their number, to the Agency of Hooghly which was henceforth to be distinct from Madras. But Hedges found trade low, the Mughul officials quarrelsome, and the interlopers threatening, while the Viceroy, Shāyista Khān, was indifferent.

Hedges was convinced that the English should seize some convenient spot and fortify it.[24] He proposed to build a fortified settlement on the island of Saugor at the mouth of the Hooghly. The Directors suggested that Chittagong might be taken and fortified. In the end they resolved to make war on the Mughuls and got permission in 1686 to declare war against Aurangzīb. Saugor was too much exposed to storms. Chittagong was too distant and Hooghly was impossible. After their expulsion from Bengal and after trying various sites, the English at last pitched upon Kalikātā, the site of Calcutta, as satisfying all their objects.

When the Afghāns revolted in Bengal and ravaged the whole valley of the Hooghly, the English at Calcutta as well as the Dutch at Chinsura asked for permission from the Viceroy to fortify their factories and to raise troops, and were allowed in general terms to defend themselves (1697). The English began to build walls and bastions around their factory, and the next year they were permitted to rent the two neighbouring villages of Sutanuti and Govindapur. In 1700 the Directors constituted Bengal into a separate Presidency, (the Presidency of Fort William) with Sir Charles Eyre as its first President. He was soon succeeded by John Beard, a trusted servant who strengthened the fortification and increased the garrison. On Aurangzīb's death in 1707 the English, fearing a civil war, built two bastions to their fort by the river side and boldly threatened retaliations on Mughul officials for any injury that might be done to them. The Emperor, Bahādur Shāh, and Murshid Qulī Khān, the

Viceroy, recognised and confirmed their privileges, and the English looked hopefully towards an era of peace and prosperity.

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1. It is worthwhile to emphasize the fact that "Columbus's voyage to America was an integral part of the process of Atlantic exploration initiated by Prince Henry, the Navigator. Columbus's knowledge of Atlantic winds and tides had been mostly acquired on Portuguese ships; his inference that a westerly course would bring him to Cipangu was to a great extent founded on data furnished by Portuguese pilots". (Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his successors,* 1910, p. 51).

2. For unfavourable versions of the capture, cf. Firishta (Briggs's Transl.), Vol. III, p. 34 and Rowlandson's *Tuhfat,* p. 135.

2a. For a sympathetic estimate of St. Xavier, cf. Sir J. Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (1849)—Founders of Jesuitism.

3. When war was declared between England and Spain in 1584-85, the English met the difficulty by directly breaking into the Portuguese preserves on the West African coast and in the Indian Ocean. When Spain tightened her hold on the Straits of Gibralter and on Sicily, Sardinia and Naples, the prosperity of the English Levant Company, which traded mainly in the products of Turkey, Syria and Egypt, was menaced and the English were forced to seek a new route. Spain attempted to close in on the Dutch at the Straits of Malacca and persuaded the native princes of the Malay Peninsula to shut them out effectively from that region (1598-1601). In 1602, the Dutch concentrated all their energies in the formation of a united and armed national trading company. Their fleet routed the Portuguese near Bantam in Java and got possession of the passage to the Moluccas and the Spice Islands. In 1603, they threatened Goa itself, and by 1619 they became masters of Java and Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope also fell into their hands later.

   The exclusive possession of the Spice Islands became their great goal. Their first endeavour was to secure the entire control of the Straits of Malacca, the narrow sea between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. They entered into an alliance with the ruler of Achin (at the north-western extremity of Sumatra) which commanded the entrance to the Straits. They allied themselves with the kingdom of Johore on the opposite coast and tried to capture Malacca from the Portuguese. By 1641, the Dutch had become complete masters of the Straits.

4. The Dutch Government unified all the minor companies into one great Dutch United East India Company with a monopoly of the Eastern trade for 21 years. The Company was divided into six committees representing the six provinces which subscribed to the common capital. The Government nominated the Directors, audited the accounts, supervised the instructions to the servants and appointed an Executive Committee of seventeen who served as an intermediate body between the Government and the Company. The Company was empowered to make war or peace, seize foreign ships, establish colonies, construct forts and coin money. Even from the very beginning, the Company had a large working capital and willingly spent large sums on troops and fortresses. The Dutch Government supported the Company in all its undertakings, subsidised its expeditions and made it a semi-national concern.

5. The number of subscribers to the Company was 217. The first Governor and Committee-Men (i.e., the Chairman and the managing committee) were nominated in the charter and their successors were to be annually elected by the share-holders. The Governor and Committee-Men frequently submitted for confirmation all their most important acts to meetings or 'General Courts' of all the subscribers of the Company.

   At first the Company conducted their trade by means of *separate voyage,* each separate voyage being undertaken by a minor group among the subscribers who furnished the capital required for the voyage, shared the profits and wound up the whole concern themselves, the capital being returned to each subscriber at the end of the voyage. In 1612 a new arrangement, known as joint stock, was adopted by which for each joint stock, subscriptions were raised for several voyages extending over a period of years instead of for a single voyage. But each group of voyages closed its affairs and wound up its profits in the same way as each separate voyage.

6. Surat traded largely in the fine cotton fabrics and muslins of Upper India as well as in indigo, which was produced in large quantities in the neighbourhood of Āgra. Surat was then one of the chief centres of maritime trade from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf, and caravans started from it for all the inland parts of India and for the great cities of Golconda, Āgra Delhi and Lahore. By their control of Surat and Ormuz, the English were able to protect the pilgrim route to Mecca from the Indian Coast from molestation by the Portuguese and the pirates.

7. The English factory at Surat became very prosperous and there "caravans came and went to all the inland capitals of India, Golconda, Āgra, Delhi, Lahore; and the products of Asia from the Straits of Malacca to the Persian Gulf were piled up on the wharves of the Tapti. Merchants flocked in such numbers to Surat that during the busy winter months lodgings could scarcely be had." A number of able Presidents were responsible for this prosperity in English trade. The terrible famine that raged in Gujarāt in 1631 greatly injured the position of the English and on one occasion they had to withdraw their factories from Ahmadābād and Broach and even thought of abandoning Surat, while a Mughul governor threw the English President into prison for an act of piracy committed by Courten's ships. But in spite of this set-back the Surat factors did not lose heart. The factory grew with a strength of its own until in 1657 it was constituted the sole presidency of the English in India. "Surat illustrates the position which the English quickly secured in the economy of the Mughal Empire, as sure source of revenue, as sea-police for the coast, and the patrol of the ocean-path to Mecca, gradually developing into negotiators on behalf of the native government".

8. In 1626 both the English and the Dutch advanced from Surat and seized Bombay. But they could not retain possession of it for long. In 1653 the English factors at Surat urged upon the Directors to make the island a fortified station and to persuade the Portuguese in return for a consideration to take possession of that place and of Bassein also. In the following year the Directors drew the attention of Cromwell to this suggestion.

9. He had a clear perception of the brilliant future of Bombay and wrote to his King at Lisbon that "only the obedience I owe your Majesty, as a vassal, could have forced me to this deed (*i.e.* the cession of the island) because I foresee the great troubles that from this neighbourhood will result to the Portuguese, and that India will be lost (to the Portuguese) the same day in which the English nation is settled in Bombay."

10. Oxenden gave the first impetus to the growth of Bombay. He clearly saw, even when no Suez Canal was looming in the distance, that Bombay would become key to India and he garrisoned the island and fortified it. His regulations were adopted as the model for all the military establishments of the company.

11. He died in 1677 at Surat; and his Council wrote of him thus: "Multiplicity of words may multiply the sense of our loss, but cannot depict his greatness". His character is best summarised in the following words of an appreciative historian: "The figure of Aungier stands out in bold relief on the pages of history—the first man in India who taught us the art of self-government and the wisdom of dealing with our neighbours—sage in counsel and bold in action." It was Aungier that, for the first time in the early history of the Company, realised the importance of a policy of religious toleration, unlike either the Portuguese or the Spaniards. With him commerce was more important than conversion, and a careful study of his life will clearly show that he and Bombay were both born for each other; in fact, it was he who indicated to the Company what its policy should be in India in the future.

12. He says that the Indians asked the English merchants: "What has your sword done? Whoever felt your power? We see Dutch outdo you; the Portugals have behaved themselves like men. You can scarce keep Bombai, which you got as we know, not by your valour but by compact (with the Portuguese); and you will pretend to be men of war or cope with our princes? It is fitter for you to live on merchandise and submit to us".

13. During his Governorship (1682-1690), there happened three serious and unforeseen difficulties which contributed to the utter failure of his administration, *viz.*, (1) the military revolt under Keigwin (1683-84); (2) troubles from interlopers and pirates on a large scale; and (3) the policy of territorial expansion which only brought upon the Company bitter defeat and humiliation. Child had to eat the humble pie from the Mughul Emperor who imposed most humiliating terms upon him. He did not survive long after his disgrace.

14. The distressing events of the Governorships of Child and Gayer had a disastrous effect on the prosperity of Bombay. They seriously affected the growth of the population and prosperity of Bombay and brought the city to a chaotic condition. The favourite city of Aungier thus fell on evil days. There was plenty of crime, immorality and disease in the city; there was no control over the factors, nor any over their masters; and it became the fashion for the English to be vicious and reckless, as contemporary writers abundantly testify.

15. Day went to England in 1641 to plead personally for his settlement before the Court of Directors, while Cogan, his successor, suffered much before he was excused from all blame and from responsibility for the charge of building the fort. Even as late as 1647, the Directors were of the view that the building of the fort was a very indiscreet step. The settlement was at first governed from Bantam and its trade chiefly consisted of Indian calicoe and muslins needed for the Bantam market.

16. Agent Greenhill paid a visit to Śrīraṅga Rāya, either at Vellore or at Chandragiri and obtained a *cowle* for the possession of Madras. A letter from the Madras factors to Surat, dated 21 January, 1646, tells us that Greenhill had returned from the king having got some addition to the privileges confirmed by him. "In the year Parthiwa, the month Kartika, the Moon in the wane, the king over all kings, the holiest and amongst all cavaliers the greatest, Śrīraṅga Rāya, the mighty King God, gives this *cowle* unto Agent Thomas Ivie, Chief Captain of the English and the Company of that nation".

Mīr Jumla's authority over the coast country round Madras became fully consolidated by 1647. He had in his service a number of European guns and cannon-founders and well appreciated the advantages of European help. From Cumbum he extended the dominion of Golconda, i.e., his own power, to Gandikota, Chandragiri and Tirupati. His dominion in the Carnatic covered an area 300 miles long and 50 miles broad. He maintained an army of 5,000 well-mounted cavalry of his own, besides 4,000 horse of his Sultān's. His infantry troops numbered 20,000; he had an excellent park of artillery and a large number of trained elephants.

17. Pulicat suffered a loss of 15,000 and San Thome was injured equally badly. But, on the whole, in these years, fortune did not treat the English badly. Their trade indeed suffered from the prevailing famine and military operations. But they had got the Raya's confirmation of their privileges, and preserved the friendship of the Muslim conqueror as well as a further confirmation of their rights.

18. Thus closed an incident which had its parallel in both Bombay and St. Helena, in which the Company's authority was set at nought by its own servants under pretence of protecting the King's honour (c.f. Kaigwin's *Rebellion in Bombay*).

19. In 1682 the English got permission from the Marāthā ruler of Gingee to settle and trade at Port Novo and at Cuddalore. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, took refuge at Madras on his expulsion from Bengal by the Mughuls who threatened to attack Madras also. But the storm blew over and Nawab Zulfikār Khān, the Mughul General in the campaign against Gingee, confirmed the privileges in Madras and other places. In 1690 the English purchased the fort of Tegnapatam, Fort St. David near Cuddalore, from Rājāram Chatrapati, then ruling from Gingee.

The scheme of starting a Corporation for Madras had originated with Sir Josia Child who thought that if influential natives were made Aldermen and members of the Corporation, they would easily persuade the people to pay taxes. The Mayor and Aldermen were to form a court for the trial of civil and criminal cases. The Mayor's Court continues to this day under the name of the Presidency Magistrate's Court and the Corporation also continues to this day. But though the Corporation was formed with a flourish of trumpets, the taxes were not easily collected; and the people strongly resisted anything like the imposition of a house-tax.

20. He was Governor for the unusually long term of 11 years from 1698 to 1709; and his term of office proved to be "the golden age of Madras in respect of the development of trade and increase of wealth." His successful resistance to the attack of Dāūd Khān, the Mughul ruler of the Carnatic, the permanent fortification of the Black Town, the acquisition of numerous villages in the vicinity of Madras, and the firm control of the so-called Right Hand and Left Hand Castes of the Black Town which frequently quarrelled and came to blows—these are the chief events of his Governorship. But his most important service was his defence of the Company and protection of its interests against the new Company that was formed in 1698, and its representatives.

21. Latest research proves beyond doubt that Gabriel Boughton got the concession of free trade for himself and not for the English in general. Cf. S. Chaudhuri "The Myth of the English East India Company's Trading Privileges in Bengal," 1651-1686, *Bengal Past and Present*, Sri J. N. Sarkar Centenary Volume, December 1970, pp. 287-292 (Editor).

22. The number of factors in the Bengal settlements was more than doubled, their moral tone was greatly improved, and everything appeared to progress very satisfactorily. The English Agent wrote to the Directors as follows: "Bengal is a rich province. Raw silk is abundant. The *taffaties* are various and fine. The salt-petre is cheap and of the best quality.... The goods have been sold at a great advantage. Our operations are growing so extensive that we shall be obliged to build new and large warehouses".

23. Streynsham Master introduced a new system of management and account keeping in the Bengal factories. Later, he inspected the factories again when he was the Governor of Madras and took severe measures to correct the indiscipline that marked the life of the Bengal factors.

24. Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta, tried three places on the Hooghly river before he fixed upon Calcutta, *viz,* Hooghly, Uluberia and the island of Hijli. The towns of Hooghly and Uluberia (at the point where the Damodar River joins the Hooghly) were both situated on the western bank and completely exposed to attack by the Mughul enemy advancing from the west. The island of Hijli near the mouth of the river seemed suitable enough at first sight; but it could be easily reached by the Mughul army and was, besides, in a malarious swamp. The last site which Charnock tried was Sutanuti on the eastern bank of the Hooghly. It could not be approached by the Mughul troops from the West and was strategically safe, being flanked by morasses on its eastern and southern sides. The English by sending their troops up the river could prevent the enemy from marching on Calcutta and even cut him off at his base. At a place, a few miles lower down the Hooghly than Calcutta, the river had scooped for itself a long deep pool which at high tide was accessible to heavy ships and which was the anchoring place of the great annual Portuguese fleets to Bengal since 1530. That pool now forms the Calcutta Harbour.

The foundation of Calcutta in 1690 marks the beginning of the fourth period of the history of the English settlements in Bengal. Job Charnock clearly saw that Mughul *farmāns* and promises would be no good protection to the English and, like Hedges, felt that they must possess a fortified place. Charnock had to fly from Hooghly before the Mughuls on the outbreak of war to the site of present Calcutta and to Hijli. In September 1687, he anchored at Calcutta for a second time and opened negotiations for leave to build a factory. After trying several places on the river and sheltering themselves at Madras for a year, Charnock and his men were invited to settle at Calcutta by the new Mughul Viceroy; and he returned to Calcutta in August, 1690. Next year he secured an Imperial order allowing the English to continue their trade in Bengal on a small yearly payment.

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL THEORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

I. NATURE OF THE MUGHUL GOVERNMENT

The Mughul emperors ruled without any effective check on their authority. In theory they were only servants of the law, the Muslim law. They could neither supersede it nor modify it. But in actual practice this was true of the personal law of the Muslims alone.

The Mughul emperors did not really claim the right to decide the religious beliefs of the Muslims. The law and practical attitude towards the Hindus has been mentioned above (pp. 234, 305-6, and later in chapter XVIII. Cf. also Vol. VI, pp. 617-622). The administrative organisation was recognised in practice as lying beyond the jurisdiction of the Qāzīs. Even in countries like Persia, Afghānistān, or Egypt, where almost the entire population had been converted to Islām, the Muslim rulers had felt it necessary to incorporate pre-Muslim customs in the organisation of the government. In India, where the preponderant bulk of the population refused to accept Islām, it was all the more difficult to organise government according to the Muslim law. The rulers exercised greater liberty in the organisation of the government. They acknowledged themselves as the agents of Islām, interested in its spread among the non-Muslims and in securing conformity to orthodox practices among the Muslims. In return, the theologians usually left them alone in the organisation of government. The practices of the first four Caliphs were exalted by the Muslim jurists as the Muslim policy. But the Shiahs differed violently from this view. Thus a good deal of latitude was left to the Muslim rulers in the organisation of the government. Most of the Mughul emperors, therefore, felt themselves at liberty to order things as they pleased provided what they did was not actually opposed to the Qur'ān.

The Mughul emperors assumed titles which placed their authority far beyond the reach of the jurists. Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb, all claimed to be the 'shadow of God', 'Vakil' (agent) of God on Earth, 'Khalifa (deputy of the prophet) of their age and country'. This did not, however, amount to the assertion that there was a 'divinity hedging round the crown', much less did this assert the divine right of kings which the contemporary Stuarts were proclaiming in England. It was as successful agents for the spread of Islām that the Mughul emperors could claim to be the 'shadow of God on Earth'. Akbar did not claim the authority to do what he liked; he simply asserted that his innovations should not be condemned unless they were contrary to the Qur'ān. Thus the Qur'ān was recognised in theory at least as the fundamental law of the State.

This should have tempered Mughul despotism and rendered it a 'limited monarchy'. It failed to do so because there was no institution in the Mughul State capable of effectively compelling the Mughul rulers to hold their hands if they ever transgressed the law. Twice under the Mughul emperors the theologians found themselves in opposition to their rulers. When Akbar changed the religious policy of the State and intended making the law of heresy and the discriminative code against the Hindus inoperative, Abdun-Nabī, his *Sadr,* opposed it and incurred his displeasure. He lost in the end and his successor lost many of his powers. Shāh Jahān's Chief Qāzī refused to proclaim Aurangzīb as Shāh Jahān's successor when Shāh Jahān was still alive. Here was Islāmic polity working as the fundamental law of the Mughul State. But the resemblance is only superficial. The Qāzī was appointed by the emperor and held office during his pleasure. Aurangzīb removed the inconvenient Qāzī and found another, who declared that Aurangzīb was exercising royal power because his father Shāh Jahān was incapacitated from acting, presumably because Aurangzīb had imprisoned him. Thus, the authority of theologians failed to make a limited monarchy of the Mughul government. It remained a despotism.

But if the Qur'ān formed the fundamental law of the Mughul State it may be argued that it was a theocracy. A theocracy without an independent religious head is impossible. It is further necessary that the authority of such a theologian should be recognised without dispute by the vast bulk of the population. The Mughul government lacked such an office. The Mughul government was no more a theocracy than the government of George II in Ireland.

The Mughul government was then a despotism but of a peculiar brand. Its absolute authority was never so interpreted by its rulers. Theoretically, and to a large extent in practice, the judiciary was independent. Administration of justice through Hindu Pañchāyats and Qāzīs' courts owed nothing to the king though he made provisions for the maintenance of the Qāzīs. The Mughul rulers made few laws of their own and did not claim the right to do so.

II. THE EMPEROR

There does not seem to have been any generally accepted law of succession. Dominion was not even supposed to run in the house of Bābur alone. Mahdī Khvāja was Bābur's son-in-law. Claim to the throne does not seem to have been confined to the sons of the last ruler. Khusrav, Akbar's grandson, was a hot favourite for the throne when Akbar lay dying. Nomination by the reigning monarch did not have much effect. Bābur's Prime Minister, Mir Khalīfa, knew Bābur's wishes when he was trying to supplant Humāyūn. At Jahāngīr's death, his nominee, Shahryār, was quietly passed over. Aurangzīb's rebellion against Shāh Jahān challenged the right of the reigning monarch both to nominate a successor and to take steps that his nominee should succeed him. The eldest son does not seem to have possessed any incontestable claim. Aurangzīb was not Shāh Jahān's eldest son. Shāh Jahān had become the eldest only after having Khusrav murdered. The empire was not considered an indivisible entity. Bābur's kingdom was inherited by Kāmrān and Humāyūn. Humāyūn's dominion was divided between Hakīm and Akbar. Aurangzīb intended a fourfold division of the country.

As the new ruler took his seat on the throne, the court would resound with the cries of 'Badshah Salamat', proclaiming to the rest of the country that a new king had ascended the throne. The new monarch announced a breach with his non-royal past by taking a title—a Salim would blossom forth into a Jahāngīr, a Khurram into a Shāh Jahān. Presents would then be offered to the new king. A design for the new coins would be selected and a verse to adorn them chosen. The popular proclamation would come on the Friday following the accession. Before the Muslims assembled for the Friday prayers, the Imām would start by reading the *Khutba*. This would include prayers, among others, for the reigning monarch. The new monarch's name would now be added to the list.

The emperor was the fountain of all honours, source of all administrative power and the dispenser of supreme justice. These were not empty phrases. He summoned a few of his highest officers inside his private apartments to discuss necessary business with them. Once a week or oftener he held a court of justice. To these might be added the king's appearance in a balcony early in the morning when he received such complaints and demands for redress as his subjects chose to present to him.

The emperors came to the salutation balcony at sunrise soon after their morning devotions. Most imperial palaces had a special window—*Jharokha*—assigned for the purpose. This would overlook a spacious court where not only a large number of people could get together for *Darshan,* but where a review of troops could also be held. This done, the emperor felt himself free to receive petitions. Badāūnī's complaints about the 'low people' assembling here in Akbar's time suggest that the institution worked effectively under Akbar. Under Jahāngīr we find admission to the enclosure jealously guarded by officials. Shāh Jahān complained that he could not obtain even twenty petitions daily.

At noon the emperor viewed from here elephant fights held twice a week; lions fought buffaloes, leopards killed deers, jugglers performed their tricks to amuse the emperor.

The *Jharokha Darshan* thus mainly served as a means of proclaiming the king's presence amidst his subjects.

The king next appeared in the Dīwān-i-'Ām. Shāh Jahān came to it straight from the *Jharokha.* Aurangzīb appeared twice here, in the forenoon and the afternoon. Akbar seems to have held it in the afternoon. The morning sessions under Shāh Jahān were devoted to the inspection of workshops and stables; and public business proper seems to have been done in the afternoon only. Aurangzīb held two public sessions for some years only and confined himself to one afternoon session later on.

It was not a *Durbār* as we understand the term today—a place for formal audience and amusement of the king. It did not provide any *Tāmāshā.* It was the king-in-court transacting State business in public. It was an assembly of officials presided over by the king.

The court had a set of officers. The *Mīr-i-Tuzak* acted as the chief secretary. The imperial news-writer daily attended the court, with two reporters. The Superintendent of the Royal Post was present with a staff of royal messengers. The Chief Huntsman, the Superintendent of the Royal camp, the Superintendent of the Imperial Body-guard and Superintendent of the Guard were always in attendance upon the king.

The business of the day began with the reading of the previous day's orders. They were confirmed and then sent to various departments for proper action. After this the *Dīwān* or the *Bakhshi* read extracts from the official letters they had received from provincial governors, district officers, commanders of garrison towns, and collectors of customs. The emperor would listen attentively and, where needed, issue orders promptly. Some of the high officers in the court would then submit the requests of the State servants serving in the *mofussil* from the private letters received by them. The emperor would pause a little for deliberation and then announce his orders, usually calling for a report from the *Dīwān*, the *Bakhshī* or the *Khān-i-Sāmān*. Sometimes the applicant was told to approach his immediate superiors. The imperial news-writer would also read extracts from the reports sent by his subordinates from different parts of the country. The Superintendent of various workshops or keepers of royal stores would also make reports and submit their demands. Royal messengers sent out by the emperor for bringing reports from local officials submitted them here. Royal Commissioners appointed to make investigation locally submitted their reports.

Appointments of all the *mansabdārs* were made here; questions of their promotion, demotion and dismissal, the grant of *jāgīrs* to them in lieu of salary, posting them to various jobs—all required the sanction of the emperor which was granted in the *durbār*. Usually the governors, *faujdārs* and garrison commanders had direct access to the imperial court with regard to the matters in which they were concerned. The provincial revenue officials, however, had to submit all their reports to the imperial *dīwān* who then presented the papers with his own recommendations. Even the under-*dīwāns* at the capital were required to submit their papers through the imperial *dīwān* who read the appropriate portions with the suggestions in the open court.

Ambassadors, distinguished visitors, defeated rebels, vanquished rulers and their representatives were all received in the *durbār* bringing their presents with them. Here, again, were honours conferred on them, presents given and the terms to be granted to them announced.

The great officers of the State sent to the provinces took their leave of the emperor and received his parting instructions; successful commanders returning from their expeditions were honoured by being received in the open court, sometimes even with their retinues.

On festive occasions, the emperor received the presents of his *mansabdārs,* present and absent. He also announced his own gifts to them. The king's birthdays, the lunar, and till Aurangzīb's reign, the solar New Year's Days, the *Īds* and the *Dusserah* were thus celebrated with great eclat.

Two secretaries belonging to the imperial news-writers' department were on duty every day by turn. Everything said or done in the court was recorded.

The department of the *Khān-i-Sāmān* made heavy demands on the emperor's time in the court. Superintendents in charge of various workshops had to be guided by the imperial taste. Thus all questions concerning workshops, buildings, roads, tents, gardens, imperial sport or amusements, were decided here.

The *Ghusal Khānā* was a retired place for doing important work and holding important consultations where only the highly placed officials of the king were admitted. The commanders of expeditions about to leave, governors proceeding on their appointments were sometimes called to hold confidential consultations with the emperor here. Admission was regulated by permits. A Superintendent of the *Ghusal Khānā* secured the observance of its rule of etiquette. Under Shāh Jahān, at least, if an official was held guilty of an offence against decorum in the *Ghusal Khānā* he was not allowed to leave till he had paid the fine imposed on him. It was an unceremonial gathering. Jahāngīr would interrupt its proceedings by taking his usual cups of wine here. Akbar discussed religious questions here. The emperor sat either on a throne, a chair or on the rich carpet specially spread for him. All members present were allowed to sit.

The *Khilwat Khānā* was any place where the emperor decided to hold confidential consultations in privacy. The *Dīwān* and the *Bakhshī* were almost always present. Other officers concerned could be summoned if the emperor so desired.

Every Wednesday the Dīwān-i-'Ām-o-Khas would be converted into a court of justice. The Superintendent of the Court presented the aggrieved persons, probably explaining in each case their grievances. The emperor would then do justice as he thought fit.

The rest of the time of the emperor was spent in the *harem*, or at prayers, in sleep, or in amusements.

It is necessary to remember that the Mughul emperor seldom missed attendance at one or another of these administrative conferences. As long as this continued, all went well with the empire. No fool could afford to be in the company of such a large number of highly placed officials without learning something from them. No one who was a fool could fail to be discovered as one by such discerning persons.

The Mughul Emperor thus formed the pivot on which the entire administration turned. In camp or in the palaces, well or ill, he never neglected business and thus always played an important part in the administration of the country. He presided over it, inspired its activities, and very largely he determined its character.

III. HIGH OFFICERS OF THE STATE

No absolute ruler, however diligent, can discharge all the duties of the government at the centre, alone. He must have round him persons to whom he can entrust his commissions, who act as his eyes and ears, and spare him a lot of detailed work. Under the early Mughuls, Bābur had Mahdī Khvāja as his Prime Minister and Zain-ud-dīn as his *Sadr*. Humāyūn does not seem to have appointed any one to a position higher than that of a secretary; on his return from Persia Bairam Khān occupied an exceptional position in the State, but more as a great commander than as a high administrator. During Akbar's minority Bairam Khān acted as his regent (*Vakīl*), discharging all the functions of the head of the State in Akbar's name. When Bairam Khān fell, the faction that had brought about his fall could not expect to step into his shoes. Though first Māham Anaga and then Munīm Khān continued to guide Akbar's administration they occupied the position of the power behind the throne. Munīm Khān could not issue orders on his own without at least making the pretence of consulting his young sovereign.

Soon after this Akbar brought about a reorganisation of the government. The *Vakīl* disappeared as an administrative officer, and the title was retained as an honorific office. Henceforward the *Dīwān* signed all the State documents both as the *Dīwān* as well as the *Vakīl*.

The Mughul ministry in Akbar's reorganisation came to consist of the *Dīwān*, the *Mīr Bakhshī*, the *Khān-i-Sāmān*, and the *Sadr* as principal heads of the revenue, the military, the public works and industries and the judicial, ecclesiastical, and education departments, respectively. This division of work continued throughout the Mughul period. Under the Ministers, but having the right of access to the emperor, were the *Mustaufī* (the Auditor General), the Superintendents of the Artillery, of Elephants and of War Boats, the Chief *Qāzī*, the Chief *Muftī* (Legal Adviser) and the Chief *Muhtasib* (Censor).

The *Dīwān* was the King's minister *par excellence*. The work of every other minister came under his supervision. As the keeper of the King's purse he had a say in all matters where any expenditure was to be incurred. All the earning departments were under his control. The *Bakhshī*, the *Khān-i-Sāmān* and the *Sadr* spent the revenues the *Dīwān* raised. All the imperial orders were first recorded in his office before being sent, and he alone issued orders on behalf of the king. Of course, the entire revenue administration of the empire was under him. Thus, the smooth working of the administrative machinery very often turned on the way the

Dīwān's office was run. The Mughul emperors were very fortunate in some of their *Dīwāns*. Rājā Todarmal, Rājā Raghunāth, *Dīwān* Sa'd-ullah Khān and Ja'far Khān left traditions of public service which became the envy of the later ages.

After the *Dīwān* came the *Mīr Bakhshī*. The Mughul emperors never employed Commander-in-Chiefs of their entire army. This was not feasible because the Mughul army mainly consisted of the independent contingents of the *Mansabdārs*. The *Mīr Bakhshī* was his chief military adviser. He worked as the Inspector-General of the Contingents of the *Mansabdārs* and their Paymaster holding annual reviews of troops and troopers.

He was the nerve centre of the administration. All the news-writers outside the capital were his agents. The provincial *Bakhshī* was the news-writer-in-chief for his province. The provincial *Bakhshī's* report usually was a review of the work of all the *Mansabdārs* in the province. The *Mīr Bakhshī* was thus in a position to pass judgment on the work of all the public servants working outside the capital.

At the capital, the *Mīr Bakhshī* had several departmental heads under him. The Superintendents of artillery, elephants and war-boats were placed immediately under him. There was a separate *Bakhshī* of gentleman troops called *Ahadīs*.

The *Khān-i-Sāmān* was the third secular minister. In theory he was an under-minister only, being technically under the *Dīwān*. In actual practice, however, he had independent access to the emperor and was usually allotted lump sum grants which he distributed as he thought fit. He represented his own requirements himself to the emperor in the court. He was the minister in charge of the household department, royal buildings, roads, gardens, purchase, stores and workshops. He thus performed the duties of modern ministers for public works, trade, industry and agriculture, besides acting as the controller of the royal household.

Sometimes very near the king's person, but administratively outside the king's servants, was the *Sadr*. Associated with him there were a Chief *Qāzī* and a Legal Remembrancer (the *Muftī*) and under him worked the Chief *Muhtasib* (Censor) and the imperial collector of the *jizya*, at the capital, and *Qāzīs*, *Muhtasibs*, collectors of the *jizya*, and *Sadrs* in the provinces.

The *Sadr* was the Chief Justice, Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, Minister of Education, and Royal Alms, or all rolled into one. But in the judicial department he functioned more as the Chief *Qāzī* than the *Sadr*. In Aurangzīb's reign there were separate Chief *Qāzīs* and *Sadrs*.

The *Sadr's* main duty was patronage of learning, piety and scholarship. Akbar appointed provincial *Sadrs* besides the imperial *Sadr*. This curtailed the power of the Chief *Sadr* since recommendations for making grants did not always originate with him. Akbar seems to have made it necessary for his later *Sadrs* to take his orders in making grants. Under Jahāngīr this system continued. The *Sadrs* and the other officers under them were usually stipendiaries under Akbar. But Akbar gave his last *Sadr* a *mansab*.

The *Muhtasib* was both an ecclesiastical and secular officer. As a secular officer he examined weights and measures and saw to it that fair prices prevailed in the market. He recovered debts and traced and handed over to their owners fugitive slaves. He saw to it that public streets or markets were not built upon. Under Aurangzīb his ecclesiastical functions predominated, whereas he performed certain border line functions as well; putting down the public sale of intoxicants, wine, *bhāng*, *Tāḍi* (toddy), protecting sexual morality by preventing the prostitutes from carrying on their profession openly in the cities, and preventing gambling may be considered as his border line functions. Besides all this he had to secure the observance of the punitive law against the Hindus as promulgated by Aurangzīb; thus, putting down of public worship by the Hindus, closing down of some of their shrines, the enforcement of sartorial regulations, prevention of the celebration of the Hindu festivals of *Dīpāvalī* and *Holi*, and putting down of newly erected temples were some of his duties. He reported apostasy and blasphemy and secured punishment of the guilty. So far as the Muslims were concerned, he had to secure the observance of the Muslim way of life as understood by Aurangzīb. He put down music, prevented the lighting of lamps on Muslim tombs and shrines on Thursday, forbade the sale of toys representing animate beings, hindered the growth of the beards of uncanonical length and shape, and enforced sartorial regulations. He prevented the public non-observance of the fast during the month of *Ramzān*. At prayer time he sent all Muslims to pray in the nearby mosque.

The *Dārogā-i-Dāk Chaukī* ran the imperial post. His agents were everywhere. At every stage, a horse was kept ready for use by his messengers. They brought news in all ways, on foot and on horse, by rivers or over the mountains.

IV. TAXATION IN MUGHUL INDIA

The Mughul emperors exploited several sources of revenue. They levied direct taxes on income and persons, profession and property. They made money by extensive commercial undertakings of various kinds. They raised substantial sums by indirect taxes such as customs duties, transit dues, octroi, sales tax, and the excise duty on manufactures. Administration of justice brought in a small sum in fines and judicial fees. The emperor was the heir to all property without proper title, and salvages from ship-wrecks were his. Registration fee was paid when transactions were recorded or certain ceremonies performed. The emperors received presents from their officers and subjects as also from foreign rulers sending embassies to India. War often became a source of income; indemnity was sometimes levied besides receipts from plunder. Under Bābur and Humāyūn, and again under Aurangzīb, certain burdens were shouldered by non-Muslims which can be best described as taxes on religion.

It is well to remember that there was always a difference between what the citizens paid and the receipts credited to the treasury. Many officials levied charges which were not credited to the State; some of these formed customary authorised methods whereby they were allowed to supplement their salaries; others were not only not authorised but were from time to time forbidden by various emperors. The first should undoubtedly be included among taxes whereas the second class can only be termed exactions. But both formed the burden the people had to bear.

Among the direct taxes on income, the land revenue figured most. As in modern India, several systems of assessment and collection of land revenue prevailed in Mughul India. All of them were based on the principle that the land revenue demanded by the State should not ordinarily exceed one-third of the actual produce and should never be more than one-half thereof. In certain States of Rajputāna as little as 1/7 or 1/8 of the produce was paid. Aurangzīb fixed one-half of the produce as the maximum.

Of course, in certain cases a share of the actual produce, when harvested, was claimed. But sharing could take several other forms as well. Sometimes the standing crop was divided between the cultivator and the State. In some parts of the country, the cultivator assigned one-third of his field to the State as it was brought under cultivation. To avoid bickering on both sides *Kankut* was resorted to. When the harvest was ripening, skilful appraisers were appointed who tried to estimate the probable yield of the crop.

One-third of the estimated crop was then assigned to the State and was paid when the crop was harvested.

Sharing was seldom considered a satisfactory method of collecting land revenue. It provided several occasions for defrauding the State. One way out of the difficulty was provided by resorting to an outright payment in cash irrespective of the crop area or the value of the crop. This was done by taking an average of the land-revenue paid by a cultivator for all his lands during the last ten years. *Nasaq*, as this system was called, seems to have been much favoured by Aurangzīb.

But the *Zabti* was the system most in use in different parts of the Mughul empire. Developed by Akbar on the lines laid down by Sher Shāh, it set up a demand schedule differing, though ever so slightly, from one assessment circle to another. There were more than 170 assessment circles in the empire, every one of them with a schedule of its own. The assessment circle represented an area where the same, or nearly the same, cash prices for agricultural produce usually prevailed. The schedule of demand was based on the principle that one-third of the produce was due to the State. For this purpose the assessment rates of Sher Shāh were used. These laid down the amount in kind due to the State from one *bighā* of land under different crops. Sher Shāh had prepared his schedule by taking the average produce per *bighā* of various crops in fields of varying fertility. The average seems to have been struck some time about 1542, and the lands selected must have been in the neighbourhood of the capital, Āgra.

Akbar made various experiments for successfully converting Sher Shāh's demand in kind into cash. As we have seen above, he guarded against varying prices in different parts of the country by dividing it into about 172 assessment circles. In an assessment circle, the average of the prices of various crops prevailing during the past ten years was struck and used for the conversion of the State demand into cash.

Thus, wherever the *Zabti* prevailed the cultivators paid land revenue only for that portion of their land which was under cultivation. As it was paid in cash, the rates per *bighā* differed from crop to crop.

Under all types of assessments except the *Nasaq*, the State stood to gain if more land was brought under cultivation or if more valuable crops were substituted for those yielding lower prices. It became thus an urgent duty of the State to encourage agriculture.

A graduated system of assessment was laid down when waste land was broken or fallow land brought under cultivation. The normal rate of assessment was reached in the fifth year, thus allowing a margin for initial expenses in the first four years. Advances were also given to the cultivators in order to enable them to defray the initial cost of the change.

As the State demand was very high, whenever crops failed, remissions were granted. Under Aurangzīb it was customary to leave with the cultivator at least one-half of the actual produce in bad years. Though this may have made a big fall in the income of the State, it does not seem to have provided much relief to the cultivator during famine. They left their land uncultivated and wandered away in search of food.

The cultivators owned the land subject to the State's claim to the revenue. They could sell, mortgage and give it in gift. Usually, there was not much buying of land because in most places enough wasteland was available for cultivation.

The system of collection of land revenue introduced under Akbar safeguarded the rights of the cultivators. Every season surveyors visited the village, and with the help of the *Fatwari,* who was an employee of the village, recorded the area under various crops. On the basis of this record demand slips were issued early in the season, indicating the amount due in cash from every cultivator. The village *Muqaddam* collected the land-revenue some time in cash, some time in kind, but issued receipts for cash. He paid the whole demand for the village in cash and was granted 2½% for his pains by the State. Akbar abolished all customary cesses; the surveyor's fee, the expenses of their board, and the *Muqaddam's* commission were all paid by the State. A copy of the demand register was sent to the *Dīwān's* office. At the end of the collections for the season, an attested list of arrears was sent to the *Dīwān's* office. The arrears formed the first charge on the crop. Any amount received in excess was credited to the next season's land revenue. The collections were made twice a year in one lump sum. In Aurangzīb's reign the *Nasaq* revenue was realised in instalments.

Akbar's demand formed a lighter burden than the modern land revenue assessment except in *ryotwāri areas.* No Zamindars—mere *landlords*—were recognised apart from the territorial chiefs. The cultivator today pays between 50% to 60% of the produce to the landlord, whereas a Mughul cultivator paid only 33 1/3% to the State. But peasant proprietors today pay about 16 2/3% of the produce which is about one-half of what was paid by the Mughul cultivators.

Much has been made of the extra exactions of the officials and their high-handedness. That they continued charging some of the taxes remitted by the emperors seems certain, but the burden of official exactions did not probably differ much from what it is today. The Mughul cultivator had to deal with his revenue officials or *Jāgīrdārs* alone, whereas his descendant today is a victim to the exactions of the officials of the revenue, police, judicial and various other departments as well.

Several estimates have been made of the total revenue of the Mughul empire including the land revenue. Abu-'l-Fazl estimated Akbar's revenue at Rs. 13,21,36,831 and 12,00,000 betel leaves. 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhori estimated Shāh Jahān's revenue at Rs. 38,68,16,584 in the first decade of his reign. But this sum, huge by the standards of those days, and equivalent to about as Rs. 3,09,45,32,472 in its purchasing power today, did not represent the total receipt of the Mughul emperors. It excluded all presents received by the emperors, tributes paid by feudatory princes of various grades, the savings represented by the employment of the contingent of feudatory princes, probably income from the *jizya* and the pilgrimage tax, judicial fines and fees, war indemnities paid by the vanquished rulers and savings in expenditure by deductions from the salaries of public servants and by employing forced labour paid lower than their usual wages.

V. THE MUGHUL ARMY

The Mughul army was composed of several categories. The most numerous was the cavalry. The infantry numbered very much on paper, but militarily its important part was formed by the musketeers. The heavy artillery was mostly used in sieges, but Bābur had used them in open warfare and his successors kept up the practice. The elephants had formed a pivot of the Indian army from time immemorial. Even the Mughuls found them useful. Campaigning in Bihār and Bengal necessitated the maintenance of a large variety and number of boats for military purposes.

The cavalry was made up of three types of contingents. There were the soldiers serving under the *Mansabdārs* who undertook to bring to the field a certain number of soldiers indicated by either the *swar* rank or otherwise in their warrant of appointment. Another contingent consisted of the soldiers provided by the feudatory princes for imperial services. A third group consisted of *Ahadīs,* gentlemen troopers usually owing obedience to no one else but to the king. The contingents of the *Mansabdārs* furnished the most numerous part of the cavalry. In theory, even State contingents were contingents of their *Mansabdār*-princes. The *Mansabdārs* were organised in different ranks ranging from the commanders of 10 to those of 7000. In every rank there were three grades depending on the ratio between the *zat* and the *swar* rank of the commander. The actual number of troops brought into the field by the *Mansabdār* was at first indicated by their command. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, the *swar* rank denoted the number of soldiers a commander was expected to bring into the field. Later on, under Jahāngīr and his successors, a commander was expected to furnish 1/3 of his *swar* rank in northern India, 1/4 in the Deccan and 1/5 for service outside India, in the campaigns beyond Kābul.

A roll of soldiers employed by the *Mansabdārs* was kept. Akbar introduced the custom of taking detailed description of all the soldiers paid for from the treasury. The *Chahra,* as it was called, secured that *Mansabdārs* brought to imperial service soldiers of approved physique. Every horse carried a double brand, an imperial sign and the first word of the name of his commander. Their contingents were reviewed once a year though Aurangzīb excused this obligation to all *Mansabdārs* of 3000 and above in the Deccan.

As it was, even the original organisation of the Mughul army was defective. In the field or on the march, it was a cumbersome, slow-moving organisation into which an Akbar or a Todarmal might put some life. When Akbar appeared in Gujarāt after 22 days' rapid journey, not only were the rebels taken by surprise, even the Mughul commanders would not at first credit the story. Such feats were exceptional and as long as they did take place, the empire was safe. But the vast area of the Mughul camp with its followers always made it a slow thing and an easy target for attack. The imperial *harem* sometimes accompanied the emperor; in the Deccan we find Aurangzīb now permitting, now forbidding, the families of the soldiers from residing in the Mughul camp. But confusion was worse confounded by the fact that the Mughul commanders had no maximum of ease or comfort on the field laid down for them. They wore no uniforms. There could be no orders against wearing *Mufti* while on active service. The result was that neither in dress nor in equipment did the great *Mansabdārs* ever try to effect any simplicity on the battle field. It became a point of honour with some of them to appear as well-fed on active service as in the streets of the capital. Their luxurious standard of life became a scandal and made the Mughul army an easy target for attack by a vigilant and more hardy enemy as the Marāthās. This was made all the more possible because there were no State arrangements for transport in the Mughul army. A soldier or an officer carried whatever baggage he could afford to take with him. This militated against the enforcement of any standard of life in the army as legitimate or permissible.

We have already seen that the lack of any State organisation for supply to the army on active service gave an active enemy a chance of embarrassing and harassing the Mughul troops by falling on their supplies. This again became very apparent during the Marāthā campaign.

The Mughul soldiers were only indirectly recruited by the emperor. The *Mansabdārs* raised them and paid them out of the money specially granted to them by the State. But the soldiers knew no higher loyalty than that to their own commander. Of course, when their commanders rebelled, the rank and file usually followed them in their rebellion. If their commander was killed in action, they fled knowing nobody to whom they could look to for orders or support.

There was lack of regimentation in the Mughul army. This led to a very low proportion of officers to men on active service. The five thousand soldiers under a Mughul *amīr* knew only one commander. Thus, when the single commander was killed in action, even if the soldiers were ready to die in his cause and on his side, no one could come forward legitimately to lead them to action. The morale of the soldiers was therefore lower than it would have been in a well-officered army, such as the Marāthā army proved to be. Panic could only be prevented by the appearance, actual or rumoured, of the commander as of Akbar at Haldighat, on the battle field. All other means proved usually abortive.

Chapter XVIII

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

Sources and Character of Muslim Law

As has been related in Volume VI, Chapter XIV, Muslim law or the *Shar'*, which is the basis of the Islāmic government and society, is considered divine by Muslims, and is, according to them, eternal and immutable. It is supreme over all persons and causes. The Islāmic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), is derived mainly from the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunnah* (the practices and traditions of the Prophet). The first of these, viz., the *Qur'ān*, is its most important source. Next to it is the *Sunnah* or *Hadīs*. It is believed that Prophet Muhammad was "the best interpreter" of the Qur'ānic revelation, and hence his acts and traditions constitute the best interpretations of the law and its application. In all those matters where the *Qur'ān* is either silent or does not give a clear injunction, the authority of the *Sunnah* or *Hadīs* is unchallengeable. But as the law found itself inadequate to meet the needs of the expanding Muslim State and society, two other sources were drawn upon. These were: the *Ijmā'* or consensus of opinion or universal consent (not of laymen but of learned *mujtahids* or jurists) and the *Qiyas* or analogy, that is the analogical reasoning with regard to the principles of the *Qur'ān* and the teachings of Muhammad. But the first two sources, namely the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīs* were considered the most valuable and were described as the *usul-ul-usul* or the 'bases of the bases' of Islāmic jurisprudence.[1] In the course of time the law became very complex on account of conflicting interpretations by numerous *mujtahids* or jurists who held divergent opinions with regard to legal points and other matters that were not covered by direct injunctions of the *Qur'ān* or the *Hadīs,* and therefore, there grew up several well-defined schools of law. Leaving aside the schools of the Shiah and *Khāriji* sects, there emerged in the course of time four schools of law in orthodox Islām (Sunnism), which are considered the most authentic schools. These are: (1) the Hanafi, (2) the Maliki, (3) the Hanbali, and (4) the Shāfī. The Hanafi School was generally speaking followed in Northern India throughout the medieval period. It is so even now.

From the fact of its origin Muslim law is primarily religious, and the secular laws, if any, are subservient to the canon law. Moreover, the basis of Islāmic legislation is not legal; it is ethical. The *Qur'ān* does not "lay down legal formulas, but indicates what is right conduct and what is wrong."[2] It is for this reason that the Islāmic law is not susceptible of change or growth. The one relieving feature of the law, however, is that constant interpretation and re-interpretation play an important role in its development. This sometimes softens the rigidity of the law. Sometimes Muslim jurists wisely accept the *fait accompli* on the part of their rulers and statesmen and recognise their enactments as legal. For example, when in 712 A.D. Muhammad bin Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind, accorded the Hindus of Sind and Multan the status of *zimmīs* which was the special privilege of Christians and Jews, the famous Muslim Jurist, Abu Hanifah, recognised this enactment as legal. It may be said that instances of such "accommodating character were rare, but they were there and on account of circumstances sometimes made Islāmic what was originally considered un-Islamic."[3] But the sources of Muslim law being trans-Indian, no Indian jurist, however learned and eminent, was considered competent enough to come forward with a bold interpretation of the above type. Nor was he considered capable of laying down a legal principle or elucidating any obscurity in the *Qur'ān* or supplementing the *Qur'ānic* law, "by following the line of its obvious intention in respect of cases not explicitly provided for by it."[4]

Muslim Law and Non-Muslims

All the schools of Muslim law were unanimous in holding that non-Muslims had no place in an Islāmic state, and that if for any reasons they were suffered to exist they could not be allowed to enjoy the same rights as Muslims who alone were its citizens. The law for non-Muslims, particularly for the Hindus, was Islām or death, and, failing that, permission could be given to them, according to Hanafite school *only*, to live as *zimmīs*, i.e., people living under an agreement as second-grade citizens with certain disabilities imposed on them. They were guaranteed safety of their lives and allowed to follow their religion, but not to observe it in an offensive manner and not to carry on any religious propaganda and proselytism. They were also subjected to some legal and political disabilities, such as not being allowed to wear fine clothes, ride on horse-back or carry arms. They were discriminated against in the matter of testimony in law courts and in marriage and also in the matter of protection under the criminal law.[5] They were not allowed to build new temples or to repair the old ones.[6] Above all they had to pay an invidious tax, called the *jizya*,[7] which branded them as an inferior people. In the matter of land revenue and other taxes the law required them to pay at double the rate that the Muslims paid.

The Sultāns of Delhi (1206-1526) found it impossible to enforce the strict observance of the law as described in the books of Muslim jurists. Some of them tried their utmost to conform to the Islāmic law and practice and enforce it in their administration, but they did not succeed. Although they did not leave the Hindus undisturbed to follow their own laws and customs, yet circumstances obliged the Sultāns to make a compromise with the law of the country. Nevertheless the administration of impartial justice as far as the Hindus were concerned was unthinkable in that age.[8]

Akbar repeals the Islāmic law in regard to non-Muslims

The system described above remained in force during the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn and under Sher Shāh who did not introduce any revolutionary change in their policy with regard to the status of the Hindus in the State. It was, however, intolerable to Akbar who was destined to be the first medieval Muslim ruler of Delhi to repeal the discriminatory laws against the non-Muslims so as to create one common citizenship and establish one uniform system of justice for all. This was done gradually, and it took nearly twenty years or more to complete the process. The first law, repealed in 1562, was with regard to the making of prisoners of war and their conversion and those of their families into slaves and Muslims. In 1563 the Hindu pilgrims' tax was abolished, and 1564 saw the abolition of the most discriminatory tax, namely, the *jizya*. The repeal of other Islāmic laws followed, and one by one all social, religious and legal disabilities imposed by the Islāmic law on the Hindus were repealed.[9]

Akbar accorded recognition to Hinduism and other religions in the land with the rights of legitimate propaganda and proselytism.[10] He issued an ordinance permitting non-Muslims to build churches, synagogues, idol-temples and fire-temples without let or hindrance.[11] It was laid down at the same time that there should be no interference with anyone on account of his religion and that all were free to follow any religion they liked.[12] Another important change made after 1580 was the permission given to those Hindus who had been forcibly converted to Islām to revert to the religion of their forefathers, if they so liked, and to Hindu women, who were forcibly married to Musalmans to be restored to their families.[13] A very important ordinance issued was that parents who were impelled by poverty or other compelling reasons to sell their children could buy them back from 'servitude' when they had means to do so.[14] A most revolutionary ordinance led to the repeal of the law imposing punishment of death for criticising the religion of Islām or the conduct of Prophet Muhammad.[15]

Akbar amends personal laws of the Muslims

Akbar did not stop with repealing discriminatory laws against non-Muslims. He went further and tried to amend the personal law of the Muslims. Despite the contrary view expressed by a modern writer,[16] Akbar did make some vital amendments in the personal laws of the Muslims, specially in those relating to marriage and divorce. For example, he ordered that a man should marry only one wife, and that if she were barren, he could marry another. But normally the rule was, 'one man, one wife'. Secondly, a woman who had passed the age of hope and ceased to have menses was not allowed to marry.[17] Thirdly, marriage between cousins and other near relations was forbidden.[18] Fourthly, it was ordered that boys were not to marry before the age of 16 and girls before the age of 14.[19] Another law enacted was that no one was to marry a woman who was 12 years older than himself.[20] Another law was promulgated to the effect that boys below 12 years of age should not be circumcised.[21] These laws were meant to be obeyed and the *kotwals* in the cities were charged with the duty of enforcing them.[22]

Akbar amends personal laws of the Hindus

Akbar interfered with the personal laws of the Hindus also. His regulations relating to the age of marriage for boys and girls and to monogamy were applicable to all, Hindus as well as Muslims, and so also other marriage laws. He issued an ordinance permitting widows to remarry, if they so liked, and this contemplated a basic change in Hindu law. He directed that Hindu widows were not to be compelled to become a *Sati* (i.e., burnt with the dead body of the husband).[23]

Akbar attempts to create common law for all

Akbar made an attempt to create a common religio-social legal system. This he did by prohibiting Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis from slaughtering animals on certain fixed days aggregating about six months in the year,[24] and manufacturing and drinking wine.[25] He introduced the practice of marrying his sons with the daughters of Hindu Rājās without converting these ladies to Islām and observed both Hindu and Muslim ceremonies at these marriages.[26] The laws relating to trade, barter, exchange, sale, contract, etc., were in the main the same for the Hindus and Muslims, and Akbar abolished all discriminatory regulations in the application of these laws. Likewise he prescribed uniform rates of land revenue and other taxes relating to minerals, quarries, manufactured articles, excise, octroi, merchandise, sea-borne trade, etc. The result of these measures was the extension of the scope of common law.[27] This was deliberately done, because Akbar's policy aimed at bringing the various communities in India under one common legal system as far as possible. Conversely, the scope of Muslim jurisprudence shrank in the same proportion. Sometimes Akbar disregarded the Muslim law of evidence by refusing to rely exclusively on the evidence of witnesses. He often had recourse to other sources, such as observing the physiognomy and behaviour of the parties and sometimes even to ordeal, if necessary.

Legal changes under Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān

It seems that Akbar's reforms relating to the personal laws of Muslims, especially those about monogamy, marriage between cousins and other near relatives, and the minimum age of marriage were allowed to lapse after his death. Jahāngīr was inclined during the first few years of his reign to favour orthodox Islām and there was no complaint of any royal interference in the traditional personal laws of the Muslims. But he retained other reforms carried out by his father except one or two such as the marrying of Muslim girls by the Hindus, which he forbade.[28] But he recognised the practice of Muslims marrying Hindu women and forbade forcible conversion to Islām.[29] Shāh Jahān made some important changes in the law. He reimposed the pilgrimage-tax on the Hindus, but remitted it on a representation made by Kavīndrāchārya, a Hindu scholar of Banaras.[30] He forbade the erection of new temples and the repairing of old ones.[31] But this policy was reversed some years later on account of the influence of his eldest son Dārā.[32] Like his father, Jahāngīr, he declared marriages of Muslim girls with Hindus illegal.[33] But some years later, he became indifferent and did not enforce this regulation. He, however, favoured the conversion of Hindus to Islām, and made apostasy from Islām a capital punishment.[34] Similarly he made blasphemy or use of disrespectful language towards Islām, a crime.[35] Shāh Jahān's religious zeal seems to have cooled down after about ten years' reign and he gave up interfering with the legal reforms of his grandfather.[36]

Aurangzīb restores the supremacy of Shar'

Aurangzīb, however, was determined to make the Mughul empire an Islāmic State. He repealed all the legal reforms of

Akbar.[37] The Muslim law relating to circumcision, marriage, divorce, and inheritance was restored. Marriage with Hindu women was permitted only after these women had been converted to Islām. Akbar's orders regarding the grant of complete toleration to non-Muslims and the freedom given to them to propagate their religion were withdrawn. The *jizya*[38] was reimposed, and the Hindus were obliged to pay land revenue and other taxes at double the rate that the Muslims paid.[39] Ordinances were issued for the destruction of Hindu temples and schools. Thus gradually but steadily the *Shar'* became, in accordance with a set plan, the supreme authority in the matters of administration. The Islāmic law remained in force for over twenty-seven years during Aurangzīb's reign and a few years after his death. It was, however, not possible to enforce it during the reigns of his weaker successors, and therefore, its injunctions lapsed in the first quarter of the 18th century.

Criminal Law and Punishment

Islāmic jurisprudence recognises three kinds of crimes.[40] These are: (1) offences against God; (2) offences against the State; and (3) offences against private individuals. Offences against God were those of apostasy, heresy, and criticising or insulting the religion of Islām or Prophet Muhammad. These offences were punishable with death. Akbar, however, repealed this law and accorded freedom to criticise the religion of Islām and the conduct of Muhammad. But when Shāh Jahān thought of restoring Islām to its former position in the State, he, in many cases, inflicted the punishment of death for these offences. During the reign of Aurangzīb apostasy became punishable with death. But with regard to women offenders the Hanafite school laid down that they should be punished with imprisonment. The other three schools, however, insisted on capital punishment for women apostates also. Similarly heretics, too, were punished with death.[41]

The offences against the State and private individuals were compoundable according to the law of Islām. A man guilty of murder was not to suffer capital or any other punishment, if the murdered man's relatives did not ask for retaliation, and accepted compensation in money. It was only when the next of kin of the murdered person refused to accept compensation that the case was sent to the *qāzī's* court for decision.[42] Then the punishment of death was usually inflicted. It may, however, be noted that a Muslim was not to be put to death for murdering a non-Muslim unless the former had killed the latter treacherously.[43]

The punishment for crimes according to Muhammadan law was prescribed under four categories,[44] namely, (1) *Hadd;* (2) *Tazir;* (3) *Qisas;* and (4) *Tashhir. Hadd* means boundary or limit or barrier, and in legal sense it means the punishment which has been exactly prescribed in the *Qur'ān* or the *Hadīs.* This punishment could not be altered, as it is prescribed by the canon law and is considered the right of God. *Hadd* has laid down definite punishments for the crimes of adultery, fornication, false accusation of adultery, apostasy, drinking of wine, theft, and high-way robbery. For example, punishment for fornication, i.e., sexual relations between unmarried persons, was 100 strokes of the whip.[45] The false accusation of a married person with adultery was punishable with 80 strokes of the whip.[46] A thief was to lose his right hand and a robber both his hands and feet.[47] But if a robber was also guilty of murder, he was given the punishment of death.[48] A man found guilty of drinking wine was to be punished, according to Hanafi law, with 80 strokes of the whip; but according to Asshafi he was to receive forty strokes of the whip.[49]

Tazir means censuring and this punishment was given in order to reform the culprit, and inflicted for offences which were not covered by *Hadd.* The degree of punishment under *Tazir* varied with the social status of the accused. Men of high rank, who were guilty of proved offences, were to be let off with a warning. Merchants were sent to prison, and common people were punished with strokes of the whip.[50] Naturally the judge used his own discretion in the matter of awarding this punishment.[51] For example, a man found guilty of stealing an article worth less than ten *dirhams* was to be chastised. But if he repeated the offence, he was to be imprisoned. And if he committed theft again, he was to be imprisoned for life or put to death. The stolen property was to be restored to the owner or deposited in the public treasury.[52]

Qisas means retaliation. It was of two kinds. The first related to murder and the second to cases which did not prove fatal. If a person committed a wilful murder, he was liable to *qisas* or retaliation. The next of the kin of the murdered had the right to kill the offender, but this was to be done under the supervision of the judge. It should be noted that *qisas* was admissible only if the next of kin or murdered person demanded it. If there were more than one claimant for the blood of the offender, the unanimous demand of all was essential in the application of *qisas.*[53] In those cases where one had received a grievous injury short of death the law of retaliation meant that a hand should be cut off for a hand, a foot for a foot, a nose for a nose, a tooth for a tooth, and so forth.[54]

Tashhir was an ancient and un-Islāmic form of punishment which was inflicted in pre-Muslim days and was retained during the medieval age. It is mentioned in the Institutes of Manu. This punishment, inflicted on guilty women, meant that they were mounted on asses and paraded through the public streets. Caliph Umar inflicted *Tashhir* on a man who acted as a false witness. The punishment took the form of shaving the head of the culprit and parading him on an ass with his face turned towards its tail. Sometimes the culprit's face was blackened and he was paraded through the streets. Akbar retained this form of punishment, and inflicted it on men of status. In 1606 Jahāngīr punished his rebellious son Khusrav's two associates by getting them sewn in skins of an ox and an ass, respectively, with horns obtruding. They were seated on asses with their faces turned towards the tail and in this condition paraded through the streets of Lahore.[55] Once Jahāngīr inflicted this punishment on imperial officers for dereliction of duty. The heads and beards of the officers were shaved off, and they were paraded on asses dressed in female attire.[56]

Offences against the State, such as misappropriation, default in the payment of revenue, and rebellions were punished according to the emperor's pleasure. Sometimes the offender was trampled to death under an elephant's feet or bitten to death by a cobra. Tortures of various kinds were also applied.

Islāmic criminal law and punishment remained in force throughout the Mughul age. Even Akbar did not make any fundamental change in the criminal law. The punishments under this law were more severe in the times of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān than in that of Akbar. Aurangzīb was very particular in enforcing Islāmic law in all branches of administration and making the law available for ready reference to his officers and judges. Besides getting a comprehensive legal digest, entitled *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī,* prepared by a syndicate of learned theologians under his auspices, he issued *farmāns* on criminal law and on offences and punishments for the guidance of his officers. One such *farmān* issued to the *Dīwān* of Gujarāt on 16 June, 1672, is available in the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī,* Persian Text, Volume I (Baroda), pages 277-283. It supplements the theoretical Muslim criminal law and is a summary of Aurangzīb's penal law that was enforced during his reign. It is not possible, for lack of space, to notice it here. The curious reader may read it in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Mughal Administration,* 4th edition, pp. 109-115, where it is given in its English garb.

Judicial Organisation

The judicial system of the Mughuls was modelled after that of the Caliphate of Baghdad and of Egypt with such modifications as were necessary on account of the age and conditions in India. The emperor was the head of the judicial organisation and according to immemorial custom he administered justice in person in open court. In fact, he was regarded as the fountain of justice, and people looked to him for redressing their grievances and doing them justice. Naturally, therefore, his was the highest court of justice in the country. Next to him was the chief *qāzī*, entitled *Qāzī-ul-Quzat* who held the office of Chief *Sadr* also. Under the chief *qāzī* were provincial *qāzīs* and *qāzīs* posted at the headquarters of the districts and the *parganās*. There were also *qāzīs* in important towns and in big villages having considerable Muslim population and large enough to be called *qasbas*.[57] These were appointed on the recommendation of the chief *qāzī*. The *qāzīs* decided religious cases mostly dealing with the personal law of the Muslims, such as cases of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and the like. They were also in charge of pious endowments (*auqāf*) of land, property or cash for religious and charitable purposes. The *qāzīs* were also required to officiate at the marriages of the Musalmans, to appoint guardians of the property of orphans, disabled and other handicapped Muslims, and to arrange for the marriage of Muslim widows or Muslim orphan girls. There was a second category of courts which administered secular and common law. These courts were presided over by governors and *dīwāns*[58] of provinces, *amils* (collectors) in the districts and *parganās* and *kotwals* in the towns. The courts of the third category dealt with offences against the State, and were presided over by the emperor and his agents, such as governors, *faujdārs, kotwals* etc. Besides the courts of these three categories, there were village and caste *panchāyats* which decided all kinds of cases—religious, civil and criminal, filed by the Hindus of the village in their jurisdiction, according to customary Hindu law and usage. These courts were not under the control of any *qāzī*, governor or district or *parganā* officer, but their decisions were recognised by the Mughuls.

The Royal Court

There is little evidence as to how and at what hour and day did Bābur and Humāyūn administer justice in person. It is, however, certain that in conformity with the ancient ideal, which both the Hindus and Musalmans regarded as obligatory, they held open court once a week. We know that Bābur and Humāyūn were keen on discharging this duty, and Humāyūn introduced what has been described by his biographer as 'the drum of justice'. It is said that a drum was placed near the audience hall and complainants were required to strike it so as to make their complaints reach the emperor. If a complainant gave the drum one stroke, it indicated a petty dispute; if two, it meant non-payment of wages or salary; if three, it meant a dispute about property, and if four, it indicated the shedding of blood.[59]

Akbar made it a regular practice to listen to complaints and administer justice personally in open court every morning at the *Jharokha Darshan.* Here he spent about two hours in transacting judicial business. In addition to doing justice daily, Akbar set apart Thursday exclusively for holding open court for the administration of justice. This was a formal court and was attended by high judicial officials, such as the chief *qāzī*, *muftīs* and other important law dignitaries. The *kotwal* of the town had also to be present. Acting as the highest court in the land the emperor ascertained facts about every case personally, took the law from the law officers and pronounced judgment. Abu'-l-Fazl writes: "He (Akbar) opens the gates of justice and holds an open court. In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resources of the crafty, but draws his conclusions from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and sublime researches and noble conjectures. Truth takes her place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than *one and a half pahars* (i.e. four and a half hours)".[60]

Jahāngīr followed in the foot-steps of his father, and besides deciding cases every morning, he, too, set apart every Tuesday for administering justice in the open court. In parading his love of justice he outdid his grandfather Humāyūn and hung a chain of gold from the balcony of his *Jharokha Darshan* to a pole fixed outside the Āgra fort to which suitors for justice could tie their petitions which were drawn up and placed before Jahāngīr.[61] Shāh Jahān, too, besides listening to complaints every morning, held court for deciding cases on Wednesday. For some years Aurangzīb followed his ancestral practice of administering justice every morning, and holding a formal court one day in the week. But in the eleventh year of his reign he gave up the practice of appearing at the *Jharokha Darshan.* He, however, retained that of holding a formal court for one day in the week, and this day was Wednesday.[62] He was "desirous of appearing a great lover of justice."[63] It was impossible for the emperor to investigate into all the cases personally, and some of these could be inquired into only locally. So he ordered the governors of provinces to find out the truth and do justice or send the parties to the capital with their reports. The allegation[64] of European travellers that there was no written law and that the emperor's will was supreme in all affairs is erroneous.

This arrangement of transacting judicial business personally by the sovereign was not disturbed even when the emperor happened to be on tours or when he was engaged in a military expedition. The emperor decided both civil and criminal cases and his court was not only the highest court of appeal, but also sometimes a court of first instance as well. Sometimes the emperor would appoint a commission of inquiry and issue instructions to decide cases on the basis of facts revealed in the investigation on the spot. Usually the cases deserving capital punishment were decided by the King himself. Such cases, even if tried by governors or other authorities, were forwarded to the capital for the king's final orders. The standing instructions were that no one was to be executed until the emperor had given his orders for the third time.[65]

The chief qāzī

Apart from the emperor who was the fountain of justice, the chief *qāzī* was the head of the judicial organisation, but in actual practice he was the second judicial agency in the empire. Besides being the chief *qāzī*, he was also the chief *sadr* or head of the ecclesiastical and charity departments. He was appointed by the emperor and could be dismissed by him. But it was expected that there would be no interference with his work as long as he discharged his duties honestly and satisfactorily. The chief *qāzī* was supposed to be learned in Islāmic theology and law and a man of sobriety, integrity and honesty. He was required to hold his court in a mosque or in his house; but all suitors for justice must have free access to his court. During the reign of Akbar and that of his successors, State buildings were provided for the court of the *qāzī*, and he was not allowed to hold court at his residence. The *qāzī* was not authorised to give his own interpretation of the law and had to accept the authoritative rulings of the earlier reputed jurists which were placed before him by the *muftī*. It is for this reason that a deeply learned *muftī* was always attached to the court of a *qāzī* who was not qualified to give *fatwa* or authoritative ruling.[66]

The duties [67] of the *qāzī* were:

(1) to try and decide religious cases and those relating to Muslim personal law;

(2) to execute judgments;

(3) to visit jails and review the condition of prisoners and discharge those of them that deserved freedom;

(4) to recommend deserving candidates for appointment as provincial, district, *parganā* and other subordinate *qāzīs*.

The *qāzī* had some other duties also, e.g., administering the pious foundations (*auqāf*), appointing guardians of Muslim imbeciles and such other people as were incapable of managing their property, drawing of contracts for the remarriage of widows, etc.[68] The court of the chief *qāzī* was primarily an appellate court, but it also decided cases of the first instance, as it was open to anyone in the empire to approach the chief *qāzī* for justice without first having filed his plaint at a local court.

The chief *qāzī's* jurisdiction comprised the whole of the empire. He was competent to decide all kinds of civil and criminal cases. Islāmic law did not draw a distinction between civil, criminal, and personal divisions of law, and, therefore, the *qāzī* was considered competent to administer every branch of law except that relating to political and administrative offences. On account of such a wide jurisdiction and his position as the head of the judiciary, the chief *qāzīs* of the Mughul age, though learned, were, generally speaking, corrupt, and often amassed considerable fortunes for themselves. Akbar took drastic action against his celebrated chief *qāzī* Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabī and exiled him to Mecca, as the emperor had become dissatisfied with his grasping conduct, religious bias, and corrupt administration both as chief *qāzī* and chief *sadr*. 'Abdul-Wahhāb Bohra, the first chief *qāzī* of Aurangzīb, "was so corrupt that during sixteen years of office he amassed a fortune of thirty-three lakhs of rupees in cash, besides jewellery and other valuables."[69] Similarly, other chief *qāzīs* of the various reigns were corrupt and unworthy. There were, however, a few notable examples of honest *qāzīs*. For example, 'Abdul-Wahhāb's son who, too, became chief *qāzī* and chief *sadr,* was so honest that "he did not touch a penny of his father's ill-gotten riches, but gave away his share of them in charity. Not only did he decide all cases without the faintest suspicion of corrupt influence or bribery, but he even declined the customary presents and gifts from his closest friends and kinsmen."[70]

The provincial, district and *parganā qāzīs* as also the *qāzīs* posted in towns and *qasbas* discharged the same duties and had much the same powers in their respective jurisdictions as the chief *qāzī* in the empire. There was also a *qāzī* attached to the army and he was called *qāzī-i-askar*. He did not have exclusive jurisdiction over the army, for it was open to any man in the army to file his complaint in the court of a city *qāzī*. Moreover, if one of the parties to a suit was a civilian, the *qāzī-i-askar* had no power to entertain the plaint.[71]

Secular Courts

The courts of secular and common law and those trying political cases were presided over by one and the same set of officers. That is to say, there were no separate judges (a) to administer the secular and common law, and (b) to try those who were charged with the political offences. In fact, there was no demarcation between these two types of courts, because Muslim jurists did not recognise the distinction between the civil, penal and political divisions of law. The judges for all the types of courts were the emperor, the governors and *dīwāns* of provinces, the *faujdārs* of districts, the *amils* (collectors) and *shīqdārs* of *parganās*, and the *kotwals* of the towns. We have already seen that the emperor decided all sorts of cases and it was open to anyone to approach him for justice. The governors, *dīwāns, faujdārs,* collectors, *shīqdārs* and *kotwals* administered justice on the basis of the common or customary law and equity. All these officers, except perhaps the *dīwāns*, also administered criminal law and decided political cases and cases against robbers and rebels. But the religious and personal laws of the Muslims and the Hindus were outside their purview, which, as we have seen, concerned the *qāzīs*. Like the emperor, the governors set apart a day in the week for holding the court of justice which was attended by the provincial *qāzī, muftī* and other law officers to assist him in the discharge of this duty.[72]

While acting as a judge the governor was instructed to do his best to find out the truth, not only by cross-examining the witnesses but also by a study of the psychology and physiognomy of the parties concerned. He was required to "reclaim the criminals by good counsels, failing which he was asked to punish by reprimands, threats and imprisonment"; but he was to resort to mutilation in very serious cases and to inflict the capital punishment with "utmost deliberation."[73] In March, 1582, Akbar took away the power of inflicting the sentence of death from the governors of provinces.[74] His successors, too, were equally careful in the matter of awarding the capital punishment.

Panchāyats

The Mughul administration of justice did not concern nearly three-fourths of the total population, because the people of the rural areas had their own courts. Every village had its *panchāyat* which decided civil and criminal cases. There were also as many caste-*panchāyats* in each village as there were castes inhabiting it. The members of the *panchāyat* were elected by the people and the *punchās* or judges were those who had rendered some conspicuous service to their caste, or the entire village community. The decisions of the *panchāyats* were almost invariably unanimous and the punishments inflicted were fines, public degradation or reprimand or ex-communication. No sentence of imprisonment or death was awarded, because there was no proper authority to execute these sentences, and also because there were no jails in the villages. The "prestige enjoyed by the Panchayats was great and their authority was moral rather than political or administrative. The fear of public opinion was one of the most potent factors responsible for the prevention of crimes and hardly did any case go out of the boundaries of a village. Normally, cases involving even murder were settled locally. The law administered by the *panchāyats* was usually caste and tribal usage and the customary law of the land."[75]

The administration of justice by the *panchāyats* was appreciated by early British administrators in India. Sir Henry Elliot, for example, describing the administration of justice by the *panchāyats* as had existed in the Punjāb before the introduction of the Indian Penal Code in 1861, writes: "The particular value of this mode of trial was that in intricate points of native customs, often depending upon a state of feeling, which it was difficult for the English officer, as being a foreigner, to enter into, the members of the *panch* were thoroughly at home in their subject and were able to give due weight to a variety of minor considerations which none but a native could perfectly understand. Even in the older provinces, where the regulations are in force, it is found at times convenient to have recourse to this time-honoured method of decision, and the result is so satisfactory, that one is tempted to wish it were more largely resorted to."[76]

Defects in the organisation

There were a few defects in the organisation of the Mughul judicial system. In the first place, there were three separate judicial agencies working at the same time and independent of one another with no unifying bond between them. The chief *qāzī* had no authority to exercise any kind of control over the courts of the governors and other subordinate officers. Secondly, all the courts were courts of first instance and some of them, like those of the emperor, the provincial *qāzīs* and governors, entertained appeals, but they, too, acted very often as the courts of first instance.

Thirdly, the courts were not graded or qualified as lower courts or higher courts. Nor were their relationship and jurisdictions clearly defined. A suitor for justice might file a complaint either in the court of the *parganā qāzī* or in that of the district or provincial *qāzī*, or in the court of the chief *qāzī*. If he liked he could approach the emperor without first applying for justice to any of the lower courts. Fourthly, the powers of the courts, too, were not defined, i.e., it was not laid down that a particular court was competent to entertain and decide cases of certain nature or of a fixed maximum value and not beyond that. These defects remained even in the time of Akbar who had overhauled and reformed every branch of administration, but did not touch the judicial organisation. All that he did was to amend and reform the law, including that of evidence, to replace the incompetent and corrupt *qāzīs* and other law-officers by honest, enlightened and competent ones, and to appoint Hindu judges to decide cases involving Hindu religious and personal laws.[77] At the same time he posted able officers in all important places to report the cases of the oppressed people and of the suitors for justice.[78] But the above-mentioned organisational defects, side by side with some of the reforms introduced by Akbar, including the appointment of Hindu judges, continued throughout the Mughul period.

Mode of conducting investigation

Despite serious defects in the organisation, the system worked remarkably well. All the Mughul emperors except Aurangzīb, who occasionally introduced religious bias in the working of the judicial administration, were inspired by the high ideal of doing even-handed justice, and the people felt that they were receiving justice at their hands. Akbar's standing instructions were that the judges must try to find out the facts of the cases under dispute by every possible device and that they "should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but pursue them by manifold enquiries, by the study of physiognomy and the exercise of foresight, nor, laying the burden of it on others, live absolved from solicitude."[79] The *Mir-i-Adal* and the *qāzīs* were instructed to begin "with a thorough interrogation and learn the circumstances of the case; and should keep in view what is fitting in each particular, and take the question in detail, and in this manner set down separately the evidence of each witness". The judges were also required to give a little gap between the hearings of a case so as to have time to deliberate over it and then take it up and "reinvestigate and enquire into it anew, and with discrimination and singleness of view, search it to its core."[80] The law of evidence thus prescribed by Akbar remained in force throughout the period. Witnesses were also summoned and their evidence was given due weight. During Aurangzīb's reign the evidence of Hindus was not admissible in certain cases.

Spirit underlying the administration of justice

There is little evidence to form a concrete picture of the spirit underlying the administration of justice during the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Sher Shāh was no doubt an impartial judge but his administration of justice was marred by the fact that in upholding the supremacy of Islām, he could not but show a special regard for Muslims. Akbar's ideal as an impartial dispenser of justice is expressed in his happy saying. "If I were guilty of unjust act," he said, "I would rise in judgment against myself. What shall I say then of my sons, my kindred and others."[81] The above was not a copy book maxim to be repeated conveniently at times. The spirit underlying it expressed itself in action during the major part of Akbar's reign. Contemporary foreign observers were highly impressed with his policy of administering justice with humanity. Father Monserrate, who knew the emperor intimately, writes that "the king has the most precise regard for right and justice in the affairs of government....By nature, moreover, he is kind and benevolent and is seriously anxious that guilt should be punished without malice indeed, but at the same time without undue leniency. Hence, in the case in which he himself acts as judge, the guilty are, by his own direction, not punished until he has given orders for the third time that this shall be done."[82]

In order to see that justice is done impartially he ordered that the trying magistrates should not tie themselves down to the letter of the law, but should be guided by its spirit. Moreover, expeditious justice was done, and prolonged litigation was discouraged as far as possible. The emperor's aim was to reform and not to retaliate. That was why he issued instructions to his officials "to connive at men's faults (take a lenient view) as they sometimes became more hardened by punishment."[83] Akbar's successors followed the tradition handed to them by their great and reforming ancestor. Jahāngīr's justice was proverbial. He used to pride himself for being the dispenser of impartial justice, and the memory of him as a just ruler is kept green in Indian tradition even now. "Shah Jahān," writes Manucci, "upheld the maxim of his father that true justice must be enforced."[84] Aurangzīb, too, was keen to administer justice even-handedly in cases in which the prestige and interest of Islām were not involved. He maintained that equal justice should be dispensed to everybody.

LAW AND LEGAL INSTITUTIONS

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3. Srivastava, A.L., op. cit., p. 264.
4. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th ed., p. 100.
5. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, 3rd ed., pp. 351-355.
6. *Futūhāt-i-Firoz Shāhī*, p. 9; Sarkar, op. cit., 265-267.
7. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 268-270.
8. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, pp. 266-267.
9. Srivastava, op. cit., pp. 267-268.
10. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great*, Vol. I, p. 386; Vol. II, p. 267.
11. Badāūnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. II, p. 392.
12. Ibid, p. 391.
13. Ibid, pp. 391-392.
14. Ibid, p. 391.
15. Ibid., pp. 308, 316, 317.
16. Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 308.
17. Badāūnī, M.T., Vol. II, p. 356; Ain., Vol. I, 2nd ed., p. 288.
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19. Ibid, pp. 306, 338;. Ibid, pp. 207-218.
20. Ibid, p. 291.
21. Ibid, p. 376.
22. *Ain.*, Vol. I, pp. 287-288; Vol. II, pp. 44-45.
23. Badāūnī, M.T., Vol. II, pp. 356, 376.
24. Ibid, pp. 321-322.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid, p. 341; A.N., Vol. III, p. 415; Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, *T.A.*, Vol. II, pp. 392-393.
27. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, p. 270.
28. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, R.B., Vol. II, p. 181.
29. *Tūzuk*, op cit., Vol. I, p. 205.
30. Sri Ram Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, 2nd end., p. 86.
31. ‘Abdul-Hamīd Lāhaurī, *Bādshāh-Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 452; Amīnāī Qazvīnī p. 405; Burn, *C.H.I.*, IV, p. 217.
32. Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., p. 87.
33. Lāhaurī, op. cit., I, II, p. 58; Qazvīnī, op. cit., pp. 444-445.
34. Lāhaurī, op. cit., I, II, 58; Burn, op. cit., p. 217.
35. Qazvīnī, op. cit., p. 445; Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., p. 92.
36. Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., pp. 89, 93-95.
37. Sarkar, *C.H.I.*, IV, pp. 240-241.
38. Sarkar, op. cit., 242.
39. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Vol. I, pp. 259, 265, 286; Sarkar, op. cit., 242-243; Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., pp. 143-144.
40. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th ed., p. 104.
41. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Vol. I, pp. 220-21; Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., 113-15.
42. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 1038; Dictionary of Islam, p. 477.
43. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, 980.
44. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 187, 1038.
45. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 187.
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49. *Muslim Institutions*, p. 156.
50. *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 632.
51. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 710.
52. *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, Vol. I, p. 278.
53. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. II, p. 1038; *Muslim Institutions*, p. 151.
54. *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 477.
55. *Tūzuk*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85.
56. Ibid, I, pp. 84-85.
57. *Mirāt*, Per. T., Vol. III (Suppl.), p. 174.
58. *Mirāt*, Vol. I (Per. T.), p. 238.
59. Banerji, S.K., *Humayun Badshah*, Vol. II, pp. 338-339.
60. *A.N.*, Vol. III, p. 257; Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, Vol. II, pp. 274-275.
61. *Tūzuk*, R.B., Vol. I, p. 7; Hawkins, *Early Travels in India*, p. 113.
62. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, 4th ed., p. 94.
63. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, p. 167.

64. De Laet, *Empire of the Great Mogol,* p. 93; Terry, *Early Travels in India,* 326; Thomas Roe, *The Embassy,* pp. 89, 104, 435; Careri, *Indian Travels,* p. 240.
65. *Commentarius,* p. 209; Du Jarric, p. 12.
66. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. II, p. 605; Hedaya, II, ed., pp. 334-335.
67. *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Vol. II pp. 606-607.
68. Ibid.
69. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration,* 4th ed., p. 98.
70. Sarkar, *Aurangzib,* Vol. III, p. 10.
71. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great,* Vol. II, pp. 277-278.
72. *Mirāt,* Vol. I, p. 275.
73. *Ain,* Vol. II, p. 38.
74. *A.N.,* Vol. III, p. 380.
75. Srivastava, *Akbar the Great,* Vol. II, p. 279.
76. *Memoirs on the History, Folk-lore and Distribution of the Races of N.W.F.P.,* pp. 279-280.
77. Badāūnī, M.T. Vol. II, p. 356, Badāūnī describes the appointment of Hindu judges as the innovation introduced by Akbar implying that no Hindu judge was appointed by any Muslim ruler before Akbar's time.
78. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great,* Vol. I, p. 297.
79. *Ain.,* Vol. II (2nd ed.), pp. 38-39.
80. Ibid.
81. *Ain.,* Vol. III (2nd ed), p. 434.
82. *Commentarius,* p. 209; *Mirat,* Vol. I, pp. 164-166.
83. *Mirāt,* Vol. I, p. 166.
84. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor,* Vol. I, p. 167.

CHAPTER XIX

LITERATURE

I. BENGALI

The Bengali literature, during the period under review, was profoundly influenced by the Neo-Vaishṇava Movement initiated by Chaitanya (1486-1533) whose life and doctrine have been discussed in the previous Volume (pp. 566-69). Indeed it may be said without hesitation that the numerous poetical compositions, including lyrics and songs, inspired by the life and teachings of Chaitanya, constitute the richest treasure in the whole domain of Bengali literature before the middle of the nineteenth century A.D. This vast literature may be briefly discussed under a few broad heads.

1. *Vaishṇava Literature*

(a) *Biography*

The earliest biography of Chaitanya, by one of his oldest followers, Murāri Gupta, was written in Sanskrit. The oldest biography in Bengali is *Chaitanya bhāgavata* or *Chaitanya-maṅgala* by Bṛindāvandās, a classmate of Chaitanya. It was composed probably within a decade of Chaitanya's passing away, and in any case not later than 1540 A.D. It is certainly the most authentic and perhaps the most popular biography of the great religious leader. It possesses two special characteristics which are of great historical importance. In the first place, though the author regarded Chaitanya as an incarnation of God, he presents Chaitanya as a human, rather than divine, being. Secondly, the book gives interesting details of the social life in Bengal at the time of Chaitanya. According to a modern critic there are "lyrical touches" in the narrative of Bṛindāvandās and "his sincere devotion and enthusiastic admiration have often imparted a glow to his diction which rescues his expression of sectarian dogma from triviality."[1]

The next important biography is the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* of Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj. The date of composition of this book is a matter of dispute. According to some its probable date is some time between 1575 and 1595, while others hold that the work was completed between 1612 and 1615 A.D. Kṛishṇadās looked upon Chaitanya not as an incarnation of Kṛishṇa alone, but of Kṛishṇa and

Rādhā in the same person, and "his treatment of the life of the master was from this viewpoint."[2] There are some distinctive characteristics of the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita:*

1. It is not only a good biography but also deals in detail and in a masterly manner with the mystic and philosophical aspects of Vaishṇavism propounded by Chaitanya.

2. He quotes authority for his statements—a rare virtue displayed by the authors in the medieval age.

3. The book shows a unique combination of ripe scholarship and a wonderful literary style much in advance of his age.

4. The author gives due credit to the previous writers on the same subject. A classical example is furnished by his account of the quarrel between Chaitanya and the Muslim *Qāzī* of Navadvīp who forbade the singing of *Kīrtan* in public. The account given by him is somewhat different even in material points from that given by Bṛindāvandās, but yet he refers the reader to the latter's book for a fuller and more accurate account.

5. He gives a mere outline of the early life of Chaitanya which Bṛindāvandās had already described in detail, but gives a more detailed account of the last eighteen years of the life of Chaitanya, specially his extensive travels such as we do not find in any other biography of Chaitanya.

Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj was a great Sanskrit scholar and wrote an epic poem on the story of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa in Sanskrit. But he is best known for the *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita* which is regarded by many as the most important work in Vaishṇava literature. An eminent critic has expressed the view that "as a biography and as a work of thought it is a landmark in New Indian Literature."[3]

Among other biographies of Chaitanya, mention may be made of the *Chaitanya-maṅgal* of Jayānanda, another work with the same title by Lochandās, and the *Gaurāṅga-vijaya* of Chūḍāmaṇidās. The first was composed in the fifth decade and the other two in the second half of the 16th century. Lochandās was one of the best lyric poets of the time and introduced a new style of folk songs, known as *Dhāmāli,* dealing almost exclusively with the love affairs of Kṛishṇa and the cowherd maidens. The other two books enjoyed great popularity and contain some new information about Chaitanya. There were other minor biographies of Chaitanya written in the 16th and 17th centuries. There were also biographical works describing the activities of the top-ranking Vaishṇava leaders.

(b) *Padāvalī*

Next to biographical works, the lyrical poems and songs known as *Padāvalī* constitute the most important branch of the Vaishṇava literature in Bengal. These dealt almost exclusively with the *parakīyā prem* (love outside wedlock) of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. Some of the early lyrics reached a very high standard of literary excellence, expressing the intense, all-consuming, selfless love and highly passionate emotion of Rādhā in sweet, almost musical language. Gradually, these lyrics became somewhat stereotyped by the end of the 16th century and degenerated into mechanical repetitions in later age. In the hands of the Vaishṇava poets the love episode of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā was classified, almost in a scientific spirit, into various distinct moods of mind according as Kṛishṇa was looked upon by the devotees as a child, a friend, a lord or a lover. The love episodes also deal with distinct phases characterised by love at sight, secret meetings, separation, union, enjoyment or ill-feeling caused by jealousy, etc. In addition to Lochandās mentioned above, some of the most distinguished lyric poets were Bāsudev Ghosh, Narahari Sarkār, Yaśorāj Khān, Kaviśekhara, Narottamdạs, Balarāmdās, and Jñānadās, all of whom flourished in the 16th century. Another poet, Govindadās Kavirāj, also achieved great renown, though most of his lyrics were written in *Brajabulī,* an artificial language, akin to both Bengali and Maithili, but whose real origin is obscure (Vol. VI, p. 515). Many of the other poets, including Jñānadās and a few others mentioned above, also wrote in *Brajabulī.* Among the later poets mention may be made of Gopāldās of the 17th century, some of whose lyrics have been wrongly attributed to Chaṇḍīdās, Narahari Chakravarti and Jagadānanda of the 18th century, which saw the decline of *Padāvalī* literature. When the number of these lyrics grew very large, several collections of them were made towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century.

Large number of narrative poems on the legends of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā were written with or without lyrical poems interspersed in them. Many of them were very popular and were regularly recited before large gatherings by professional *kathaks* (story-tellers), a religious entertainment current even today.

It may be mentioned that many composers of Vaishṇava lyrics were patronised by the Hindu rulers of Tripura and Cooch Behar as well as some Muslim rulers.

Less well-known, but no less important, were the serious writings on Vaishṇava doctrine and philosohpy by the Gosāins of Brindāvan and others, biographies of Vaishṇava leaders and the historical works. More important among these are the *Premavilāsa* of Nityānanda Dās, the *Bhaktiratnākara* and *Narottamvilāsa* of Narahari Chakravartī, *Rasakadamva* of Kaviballabh, *Rasakalpavallī* of Rāmgopāl Dās and *Rasamañjarī* and *Ashṭarasavyākhyā* of Pītāmbar Dās.

A series of books dealing with the legends of Kṛishṇa, and known as *Kṛishṇa-maṅgala* were written, some of which, like those of Mādhavāchārya, probably a contemporary of Chaitanya, Kaviśekhara and many others became popular.

Particular reference should be made to the literature of a Vaishṇava sect, known in later days as the Sahajiyā, which had much in common with the Tantrics. They carried to an excess, *in practice,* the theory that love with a woman, not one's wife (*parakīyā prem*), was the easiest road to salvation, and the philosophy underlying it was discussed, sometimes with great skill and learning, in a number of treatises, which belong to the Sahajiyā literature.

2. *Maṅgala-kāvya*

Next to the Vaishṇava literature, the *Maṅgala-kāvyas* form the most important branch of the Bengali literature during the period under review. It consists of a series of poetical works describing the glories of many popular gods and goddesses, such as Manasā (Snake-Goddess), Chaṇḍī (a form of Durgā), Dharma-Ṭhākur, Śiva, and others.

The central theme of *Manasā-maṅgala* is the conversion of a rich merchant Chānd Sadāgar who was at first unwilling to worship Manasā but was ultimately forced to do so after his seven sons were killed one after another by snake-bite. The most interesting episode in these Kāvyas is that of Behulā, the widow of the seventh son, who carried the dead body of her husband in a raft to the abode of gods and had him restored to life through their graces after pleasing them by the exhibition of her skill in dance and music. The earliest extant text on this interesting theme, which has not lost its popularity even today, is *Manasā-maṅgala* of Bijayagupta (1484-5 A.D.). Among the numerous later authors of *Manasā-maṅgala Kāvyas* mention may be made of Bipradās Pipilāi (1495-6), Nārāyaṇadeva, and Ketakādās Kshemānanda, probably the best of all, who flourished in the middle of the 17th century.

The *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala Kāvya* is based on two themes which describe how, through the favour of the Goddess Chaṇḍī, (1) the hunter Kālaketu becomes a king and (2) the merchant Dhanapati, after suffering various miseries in the hands of the king of Ceylon, ultimately is restored to his favour, and his son Śrīmanta is married to the daughter of the King.

The composition of the *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala Kāvyas* may be traced to Mānik Datta who flourished before Chaitanya, but the oldest available texts are those of Dvija Mādhava (1579-80), and Mukundarām Chakravarti, better known by his title Kavikaṅkana, whose poem, composed towards the end of the 16th century, is regarded as the best of this class of works. It exhibits poetic talents of a very high order and many of its characters, specially Phullarā and Khullanā, the heroines, Durbalā, the maid-servant, and, above all, Bhāṁḍudatta, the cheat, are wonderful creations. An eminent critic regards the last-named a personification of cunning and wickedness, incomparable in the whole range of medieval Bengali literature. This Kāvya has enjoyed immense popularity and high appreciation of the literary world which has not diminished in the course of time. It depicts a picture of the social condition of medieval Bengal, particularly the life of the common people, which is of great historical value.

Dharma-Ṭhākur, the subject-matter of the *Dharma-maṅgala Kāvyas* was a local God of Rāḍha (West Bengal) worshipped mostly by the lowest classes of society such as the Ḍom, Bāgdī, Hāḍī, etc. The hero of the Kāvya is Lāusen, victorious in many battles and always protected by the favour of Dharma-Ṭhākur. It depicts a large number of characters of all ranks of society with great success, but is full of miraculous events. The author of the oldest extant Kāvya, Mānikrām, flourished about the middle of the 16th century, and he was followed by Rāmdās (1662), Sītāram (1698), Ghanarām (1711) and many others in the 18th century. Ghanarām's *Dharma-maṅgala* is generally regarded as the best.

The *Śiva-maṅgala* or *Śivāyana* has a long history, but no texts older than the 17th century have been discovered so far. The best known work is that of Rāmeśvar Bhattāchārya who belonged to the first half of the 18th century A.D.

Several texts of the *Kālikā-maṅgal* glorifying the Goddess Kālī, were written during the period under review. The main theme is the secret love of princess Vidyā and Sundara, and the Goddess Kāli appears in these texts at the very end when the life of Sundara, condemned to death, is saved by her intercession. The best work of this class is popularly known as *Vidyā-Sundara Kāvya* or *Annadāmaṅgal* of poet Bhārata-chandra, who flourished about the middle of the 18th century A.D. There are other *Maṅgala-kāvyas* glorifying minor gods and goddesses such as Śītalā, Shashṭhī, Lakshmī, Kapilā, etc.

Lastly, mention should be made of *Rāya-mangala* which glorifies Dakshiṇā-rāya, the Tiger-god, i.e. one by worshipping whom men can be saved from the tigers. With Dakshiṇā-rāya is associated the Kālu-rāya, the god who can save men from the clutches of crocodiles, and a Muslim divinity Baḍa Khān Ghāzī (presumably the saviour from the tyranny of the Muslims no less dreaded than tiger or crocodile in the region of the Sundarbans where all the three were worshipped). An interesting episode is the fight between Dakshiṇā-rāya and the Ghāzī which is ultimately stopped by the personal intervention of a god who appears on the scene in a body half of which is that of Kṛishṇa and half that of the Paygambara (Muslim Divinity).

3. *Translations*

Reference has been made in the preceding Volume (p. 511) to the Bengali translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Kṛittivāsa. He was followed by many others during the period under review. Among them may be mentioned two Assamese authors, Mādhava Kandali and Śankaradeva who flourished in the 16th century and translated, respectively, the first six and the last *kāṇḍas* (cantos). The Assamese language of these translations hardly varied from the Bengali in those days. Among the various Bengali translators, the best known is Nityānanda, better known as Adbhuta Āchārya, whose work was at one time more popular than even the translation by Kṛittivāsa, at least in North Bengal.

The other great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, was translated by Kavīndra Parameśvara, the court-poet of Parāgal Khān, the Governor of Chittagong during the reign of Hussain Shāh (1493-1519). Similarly Nusrat Khān, *alias* Chhuṭi Khān, son of Parāgal Khān, had the *Aśvamedha-parva* of Jaimini's *Mahābhārata* translated by his court-poet Śrīkara Nandī. But the best and the most well-known translation of the *Mahābhārata* is the one attributed to Kāśīrām Dās (Dev) which is still the most popular Bengali version—practically the only version known today to the generality of people, the other translations before and after him being practically forgotten. Yet it should be remembered that there are good grounds to believe that actually Kāśīrām Dās translated only the first three *parvas* and about half of the fourth, the remaining fourteen and a half *parvas* being translated after his death by more than one person. Kāśīrām completed the translation of the Virāṭ (or third) *Parva* in 1604-5 A.D. Though Kāśīrām was the author of only a part, the whole of the translation is today ascribed to him even in the colophons of the known manuscripts. Kāśīrām Dās was a great poet and so were many of his collaborators who completed the work. No other Bengali work, with perhaps the single exception of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛittivāsa, is so popular among all classes of people even today. These two translations which, particularly the *Rāmāyaṇa*, show sometimes wide divergences from the original sanskrit texts, have enjoyed the position of national epics in Bengal for well nigh four hundred years.

Like the two great epics, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* was also translated into Bengali. Raghunāth Pandit, a contemporary of Chaitanya, wrote the *Premataraṅgiṇī* which is really a general summary of the first nine *skandhas* (cantos) and the literal translation of the remaining three *skandhas* of the *Bhāgavata.* The great Śankaradeva of Assam mentioned above, and two other poets translated parts of the *Bhāgavata,* respectively, in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Reference may also be made to the translations of the Vaishṇava works of the Gosāins of Bṛindāvan, the *Purāṇas, Chaṇḍī* and *Bhagavad Gītā.*

4. *Muslim Writers*

Reference has been made above to the close political association between Bengal under the Muslim Sultāns and the Mag rulers of Arakan. It was with the help of the ruler of Bengal that the king of Arakan, driven away from his kingdom by the king of Burma and after an exile's life in Bengal for 26 years, regained his throne. Arakan was under the political domination of Bengal for many years, and established its authority over Chittagong for some years. All these evidently established a close contact between Bengal and Arakan, and Bengali became virtually the cultural language of Arakan. This explains how Bengali literature flourished in that region. The earliest Bengali poet in the court of Arakan was Daulat Qāzī. At the command of his patron, Āshraf Khān, a high official in Arakan Court, he rendered into Bengali some popular romantic stories current in various languages—Rājasthānī, Hindī, Gujarātī, etc—in Western India in the second quarter of the 17th century. His poem, known as *Satī Mayanā* or *Lor Chandrāṇī* was completed after his death by a still greater poet, Ālāol, another Sūfī in the court of Arakan, in 1659.

Ālāol, the son of a Muslim Governor of Lower Bengal, was captured by the Portuguese pirates and sold as an army recruit in Arakan. His reputation as a poet, scholar and musician endeared him to Sulaimān, a minister of the king of Arakan, Śrīchandra Sudharmā, and he became a friend of Māgan Ṭhākur, the foster-son of the sister of the king. The *Padmāvatī,* the best work of Ālāol, was written at the instance of Māgan Ṭhākur who wanted to have a rendering of Jāyasī's *Padumāvatī*[4] into Bengali verse. Ālāol's book, composed c. 1650 A.D., is, however, not a translation, but an abridged version, embellished by additions of new episodes to make it more suitable to Bengali readers. Ālāol's *Padmāvatī* is a distant echo of the well-known episode of the conquest of Chitor by Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, who was infatuated by the beauty of Padminī, but a number of new episodes of romantic love have been freely introduced. Ālāol also rendered into Bengali verse the Persian romance *Saiful-mulk badiuj-jamāl* and two works of Nizāmi, and was the first to translate Persian poetry into Bengali. His poetic genius was revealed even in these translations.

Though less famous than the two mentioned above, some other Muslim poets flourished in Bengal. One of the oldest was Sābirid Khān, the author of a *Vidyā-Sundara Kāvya* of the 16th century A.D. The distinctive characteristics of the Muslim poets mentioned above as well as several others were their adoption of pure romantic love, not associated with any religious episode, as the theme of their writings, which is almost absent in those of the Hindu poets. But the Muslims also wrote on religious themes such as the life of the Prophet, the tragedy of Hāsān and Husain at Karbala, the lives of the Ghāzis, Nabis, etc. Some Muslim poets also wrote on such subjects as the Sādhan and Yoga systems of the Hindus and Vaishṇava songs. One of them, Saiyad Sultān, who hailed from Chittagong, in his *Rasulvijaya* included some Hindu gods and *Avatārs* (incarnations) among the prophets. His disciple, Muhammad Khān, gave evidence of his knowledge of Sanskrit language and Hindu scriptures not only in his poem *Maktul Husain* (1645 A.D.) dealing with the Karbala tragedy, but in his *Kāvya Yuga-saṁbād* or *Satya-Kali-vivād-saṁbād* (imaginary quarrels between the Satya and Kali *yugas*). A few Muslim writers translated some romantic Hindī or Persian *Kāvyas* or rendered a free version of them in verse.

In conclusion, reference may be made to the only historical work written in Bengali during the period under review. This is the *Rājamālā* or the chronicle of the kings of Tripura (Tipperah) of which the first three parts, out of four, were written in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries bringing the history from the very beginning down to the reign, respectively, of Dharmamāṇikya, Amaramāṇikya, and Govindamāṇikya. There was also another work dealing with historical events, named *Champakavijaya.*

II. ASSAMESE

Reference has been made to Śankaradeva (? 1449-1568) who ushered in the *Bhakti* movement and a new era in Assamese literature (Vol. VI, pp. 517-18). The next great poet was his disciple Mādhavadāsa (? 1489-1596) whose principal works followed more or less the lines laid down by his *Gurū*. These include:

(1) *Bhakti-ratnāvalī,* a study of the different aspects of *bhakti* based on a Sanskrit work,

(2) *Nāma-ghoshā, or Hāzārī-ghoshā,* a devotional handbook or prayer-book of the *Eka-śaraṇa* sect, consisting of a large number of hymns reflecting different moods of a devotee,

(3) *Bara-gītas,* depicting the life of Kṛishṇa in Vṛindāvana among the *gopīs* and containing some poems of prayer,

(4) Nine *Aṅkiyā Naṭs* dealing with the life of child Kṛishṇa.

One peculiarity of the Assamese literature of this age deserves notice. Like the Vaishṇava movement, of which it was a product, it ignored the entire episode of the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa which formed such an important feature in the Vaishṇava movement and Vaishṇava literature of the neighbouring States of Bengal and Mithilā, and of the Braj area (Western U.P.), Rājasthān and Gujarāt.

One of the most important writers of the movement was Rāma Sarasvatī who translated four *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* under the patronage of king Nara-nārāyaṇa of Cooch-Behar in the 16th century. He also rendered into Assamese some stories from the *Purāṇas* depicting the slaying of a demon or a hero. These are known as *Vadhakāvyas*. Similarly Gopāla-Chandra Dvija wrote in Assamese verses the story of Kṛishṇa as told in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Vishṇu Purāṇa* and *Harivaṁśa,* while Bhaṭṭadeva translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Bhagavad Gītā* in prose.

Assamese prose was influenced by the Sino-Tibetan speech of the Āhoms—who overran Assam and founded a "national" Kingdom in Assam (Vol. V, pp. 44-5, Vol. VI, pp. 391-396) which endured throughout the Mughul period. The Āhoms used to write prose historical chronicles called *Burañjis,* in their own Sino-Tibetan language which went out of use by the beginning of the 18th century. Later, when the Āhoms adopted Assamese as their spoken language, the *Burañjis* were written in Assamese. A number of these *Burañjis* have come to light, and have been ably edited and published by Assamese scholars. They date from the 17th century onwards. They have not only enriched Assamese language and literature (and extended the horizon of Indian literature as a whole) but throw valuable light on the political, social and economic condition of the country, particularly North-eastern India, during the 17th-19th centuries.

III. ORIYĀ

The beginnings of the Jagannātha Dāsa period of Oriyā literature have been described in the preceding Volume (pp. 520-21). Many writers flourished during the period under review. They distinguished themselves by translations, adaptations and imitations of Sanskrit books, and Oriyā literature was saturated with the spirit of Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit religious works and classics were thus made available in Oriyā, and there were both romances as well as a good deal of technical literature. Among works of outstanding merit may be mentioned *Kāvyas* based on Purāṇic legends by poets Madhusūdana, Bhīma, Dhīvara, Sadāśiva and Śiśu Īśvaradāsa, as well as love-romances on non-Purāṇic themes by the prolific writer Dhanañjaya Bhañja. The Oriyā adaptation of *Gītagovinda* by Bṛindāvana Dāsa has preserved the music of the original, and Kāhānu Dāsa wrote a Kāvya on the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in 108 cantos of 108 verses each. The *Rasa-kallola*, dealing with the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, is a curious work in which every line begins with the letter '*k*'. Its author, Dīnakṛishṇa Dāsa, who wrote many other works, was not only one of the greatest Oriyā poets, but also a great scholar and a polymath in all Sanskrit sciences. Mention should also be made of some other distinguished works, e.g. "the *Ushābhilāsa* of Śiśu Śaṅkara Dāsa, the *Rahasyamañjarī* of Deva-durlabha Dāsa, and the *Rukmiṇībibhā* of Kārttika Dāsa. A new type, which may be called novels in verse, was started from the beginning of the 17th century, when Rāmachandra Paṭṭanāyaka wrote his *Hārāvaḷī*, in which the hero is an ordinary householder's son and the heroine is the daughter of a farmer. Bhūpati Paṇḍita and Lokanātha Vidyādhara were other distinguished poets, of whom the former wrote a great work, the *Prema-pañchāmṛita* on the story of Kṛishṇa and the Vaishṇava doctrine of faith-cum-knowledge, and the latter was marked for the mellifluousness of his language, comparable in this to Jayadeva himself."

The poets mentioned above, generally speaking, wrote in simple straightforward language, but some of them already showed signs of that artificial style which came to be established in the 18th century, and was marked by "verbal jugglery, unabashed eroticism and even covert or open obscenity." The greatest exponent of this new style was the great poet Upendra Bhañja (1670-1720) who ushered in a new era in Oriyā literature which continued till the middle of the 19th century. It will be convenient, therefore, to deal with this phase of Oriyā literature in the next volume.

IV. HINDĪ

The greatest Hindī writer during the period under review was Gosvāmī Tulasī-dāsa, born in Gonda District in Eastern U.P. some time about A.D. 1523. He left his family, became a mendicant, and began to write his masterpiece *Rāma-charita-mānasa* in A.D. 1574 in his native Awadhī dialect (which in some respects is rather different from the standard or *Western* Hindī, and hence is also called *Eastern* Hindī). It is widely read even to-day and unquestionably, often with a modern Western Hindī *bhāshā-ṭīkā* or translation, is "the Bible of the Hindu masses of North India". It narrates the story of Rāma and through it propounds the philosophy of the *Bhakti* cult. It is distinguished alike by its poetic charm and devotional spirit and its exquisite language, popular and purely Indian, with its native Hindī and borrowed Sanskrit words. Apart from the religious and literary importance of this great work, its author rendered a great service to the Indians submerged under the flood of the Islāmic conquest. A modern author has paid the following tribute to Tulasī-dāsa which he fully deserves:

"Tulasī was a follower and supporter of orthodox Brahmanical ways, and his advent with this and other books did the greatest service in strengthening the Hindus of Northern India in their religion, their old ways, and their culture, which seemed to be overwhelmed in the flood-tide of an aggressive Islam and by the side-attacks on Hindu cultural life through covert preaching against orthodoxy, which inculcated the study of Sanskrit books, going to places of pilgrimage and performing the various religious rites. He brought before the Hindus the ideal of Rāma, the hero, steadfast and kind-hearted, truthful and beneficent, and standing up and fighting evil and defending the weak against the tyrannical demons and ogres. In the days of Turki and Pathan and Mogul rule, this bracing and manly ideal was a necessity for the Hindus, and it certainly saved them from being cast adrift from the bases of their culture. If a writer's popularity is to be gauged by the number of quotations from him known to the masses, then there is none else in the range of Hindi to stand before Tulasī-dāsa."[5]

Tulasī-dāsa wrote many other devotional works of which the *Vinaya-Patrikā* (Letters of Prayer) is the most well-known and perhaps the best. He preached pure devotion to God, but believed in a personal God, endowed with attributes, as was represented by Rāma, an incarnation of the supreme spirit as Vishnu. Though mainly devotional in spirit, the works of Tulasī-dāsa also display a purely humanistic approach based upon a knowledge of men and things around him. He showed a keen sense of human duty and dignity, and urged upon all the pursuit of highest virtues in life. His works have thus a universal appeal to mankind. He wrote in a high-flown Sanskritized Awadhī which strengthened the Sanskrit tradition in North India. Tulasī-dāsa died in 1623.

The spirit of Tulasī-dāsa animated a number of other writers. Two of his younger contemporaries, Agra-dāsa and Nābhāji-dāsa, wrote in Braj-bhāshā the famous *Bhakta-māla* (the Garland of Saints), which gives brief accounts of the Vaishṇava Saints from early period down to the time of Tulasī-dāsa. An extensive commentary to it was written in the same language by Priyā-dāsa in 1704. Hindī, or, more properly, its Braj-bhāshā dialect, was also enriched by a number of devotional poems by another school of writers who regarded Kṛishṇa, rather than Rāma, as the highest incarnation of Supreme God, and drew their inspiration from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* instead of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* The intense love of Rādhā for Kṛishṇa, and the dalliance of the latter with the *gopīs* or cowherd girls of Vṛindāvana formed the theme of many beautiful lyrics, as we find in the Bengali literature of about the same time. The greatest poet of this school was Sūra-dāsa who lived probably from A.D. 1503 to 1563 and wrote several thousands of lovely lyrics on different stages of Kṛishṇa's life. He and seven other disciples of Vallabhāchārya formed a group of devotees and poets of the Kṛishṇa-bhakti cult, known as the *Ashṭa-chāpa* or 'the Eight Stamp-seals'.

Another poet of this school who achieved great renown was Mīrā Bāi (A.D. 1498 or 1503 to 1546), a Rajput princess married to a prince of Mewar. She became a widow at an early age and spent the rest of her life as a *yoginī* (female mendicant) or ardent worshipper of Kṛishṇa. Many romantic stories have gathered round her, and it is difficult to separate the chaff from the grain in these folk tales. The sweet melody of her devotional songs echoing her absolute self-surrender to Kṛishṇa and reflecting the throbbing yearning of her heart for union with her 'Beloved'—the Supreme God in the form of Kṛishṇa—captivate millions of hearts even today from one end of India to the other. These songs were originally composed in the Marwari form of Rājasthānī, but their language has been largely altered to the Braj-bhāshā dialect of Hindī in order to make them popular in Northern India outside Rājasthān and Gujarāt.

The Awadhī dialect of Hindī was enriched by a number of Sūfī writers who wove some popular romantic tales of the folklore type into beautiful allegorical poems by way of elucidating the characteristic Sūfī doctrines. Maulānā Dāūd, the author of the oldest work of this type, *Chandāyan* (Romance of Prince Lor and his wife Chandā), and Kutban who composed the *Mṛigāvatī* (in A.D. 1501) have been mentioned above (Vol. VI, p. 505). Another poet of this school, Manjhan, wrote the *Madhu-mālatī* (before A.D. 1532) which, though found in an incomplete form, displays 'more imagination and glory of love' than in Kutban's work. But the greatest writer of this school was Malik Muhammad Jāyasī whose famous poem *Padumāvatī* was composed between A.D. 1520 and 1540. It is a "detailed Sūfī allegorical treatment of the famous story of Padminī of Chitor" (see above, Vol. VI, pp. 26-7, and p. 50 fn. 21). The work is generally regarded as 'one of the greatest books of medieval Indian literature', and its author, 'a worthy precursor of Tulasī-dāsa in writing a chaste and properly Sanskrit Awadhī—perhaps the best form of Early Awadhī.' The high poetic qualities of the work are widely appreciated. It was translated into Bengali by a Muslim Bengali poet of Arakan in the 17th century,[6] and recently it has been rendered into English. The tradition of this school was continued by a number of other Muslim poets, belonging to the 17th and 18th centuries, viz. Usmān, Shaikh Nabī, Kāsim and Nūr Muhammad. The latest writer in this line was Nāzir Ahmad of Pratāp-garh, who composed his romance of Nūr-Jahān in 1905.

The tradition of Kabīr was continued by the mystic poet Dādū Dayāl (1544-1603), who is regarded as a great poet and a later counterpart of Kabīr. His works show an admixture of Braj-bhāshā and old Kharī-bolī as in the case of Kabīr.

Literature in Braj-bhāshā flourished under the patronage of Akbar and was enriched by the poets and musicians of his court, including Tānsen who wrote 'highly poetic and sometimes profound songs on various topics, devotional, panegyrical and descriptive'. Special reference may be made to Abdur Rahīm Khān-Khānān (1533-1626) the son of Bairam Khān (see pp. 104-10). He imbibed the Hindu spirit and wrote in Braj-bhāshā poems on Kṛishṇa and other topics. Many well-known figures in Akbar's court, like Ṭoḍar Mall, his finance minister, and Bīrbal, his boon companion and court jester, were also literary men. One of these, Keśava-dāsa (1565-1617) introduced a deliberately and artificially rhetorical and artistic type of literature.

"The poets of this Rhetorical School busied themselves with charming lyrical verses describing the beauty of fair women, *nakha-śikha,* 'from the nails of the toes to the topknot of hair', *cap-a-pie,* so to say, and the different types of ladies in love, whether married or unmarried (*Nāyikā-bheda*); the moods of lovers and sweethearts or married lovers; the various *Rāgas* and *Rāginīs* or Musical Modes, conceived as heroes and heroines or as divinities male or female; descriptions of the Seasons (particularly revelling in the accounts of the rainy season and the spring); women in their occupations, avocations and amusements, and social unions; of the various months narrating the occupations and distractions of lovers in union or in separation (*milana* and *biraha*)—the *Bāraha-māsī* poems; and elaborate classifications of figures of speech, of the various sentiments (*rasas*), etc. It was a most complicated *Ars Poetica* and *Ars Amatoria* of late Medieval India, and all this finds its own proper or fitting illustration in different schools of Medieval Indian painting—Rajput and other Hindu (including Orissan and Dakhni, and the schools of the Panjab Hills), and Moghul. It became the most engrossing subject-matter for 'Hindī' and Rājasthānī poets—and poets by the score in every decade—for three centuries, Hindus and Muslims, Brahmans and low caste people, men and women, composed on the above themes."[7]

Hindī literature in the 17th century is not marked by any originality, and it merely followed the old types and traditions. So far as the subject-matter is concerned, the noteworthy poets were "writers on rhetoric and erotics, with an undercurrent of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* or *Rāma-bhakti* or Sūfīsm. Their names are respected in annals of Hindī literature, but they hardly have an appeal for anybody except the specialist scholar."[8]

Mention may be made of Bihārīlāl, the court-poet of Jay Singh Rājā of Amber, and the famous author of the *Satasaī* or Collection of Seven Hundred Verses. Another notable poet was Bhūshaṇa (1613-1712) who distinguished himself by writing laudatory verses in Braj-bhāshā in honour of Shivājī for his heroic fight against Aurangzīb with a view to setting up independent Hindu rule in India. These poems are specially valuable not merely for their forceful and elegant language, poetic imagery and musical melody, but also for the patriotic spirit, so rarely displayed by a Hindu writer in the Medieval Age.

Many other poets flourished in the 17th century, following either the Kabīr or the Jāyasī tradition. It is worthy of note that even after the emergence of Urdu literature in North India, many Muslim writers still adhered to the old Hindī tradition. The last great Hindī poet during the period under review was Lāl Kavi or Gorelāl Purohit, who wrote in 1707 the *Chhatra-prakāśa*, a beautiful epic biography of Chhatrasāl, Rājā of Bundelkhand.

Gurū Govind Singh, the last of the Sikh Gurūs (1666-1709), is included among the illustrious writers of Hindī, for he composed some important works in an old almost *Apabhraṁśa* style of Hindī, including the autobiographical poem, the *Bichitra Nātak* (the wonderful Drama).[9]

The Hindī literature described above was wholly in verse. The beginnings of Hindī prose writings, both Khaṛī Bolī i.e. Delhi-Hindī, and Braj-bhāshā go back to the 16th century, and the style is illustrated by Sūfī works and by biographies of some Vaishṇava devotees of the *Kṛishṇa-bhakti* school. But good modern Hindī prose did not make its appearance before the 18th century.

V. GUJARĀTĪ

Even in the 15th century Rāmānanda's influence in Gujarāt was wide-spread and claimed writers like Bhālaṇ (1494-1554 A.D.) who successfully translated Bāṇa's great classic *Kādambarī*. Bhālaṇ had studied the epics and the Purāṇas in the original. He borrowed the episodes from these sources and moulded them in contemporary sentiments thus giving a distinct literary form through *ākhyānas*. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and Bopadeva's *Harilīlāmṛita,* dealing with the amours of Śri Kṛishṇa had by now lent a new dimension to the folk-songs relating to Rādhā-Kṛishṇa. Bhālaṇ wrote several works depicting episodes from Śri Kṛishṇa's life, making a free use of *garabīs.*[10] He also composed poems in Braj-bhāshā.[11] Poets from different parts of Gujarāt, Keśav Hriderām (C. 1536) and Nākar (C. 1550) composed similar *ākhyānas*, using the *Bhāgavata,* the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Bhālaṇ's *Saptaśati.* A professional class of Brāhmins called the *gāgariābhaṭs,* the popular counterparts of the Purāṇiks, sprang up in whose hands the *ākhyāna* literature became a living tradition.[11a]

The *Bhakti* cult, particularly the school founded by Chaitanya in Vṛindāvan, strongly influenced Gujarātī literature. Mīrāṅbāi and Narasiṁha Mehtā, the two greatest poets of Gujarāt were influenced by the Vṛindāvan school. A pattern of poetic rhapsody developed, imbibing its inspiration from the legacy of Śrī Kṛishṇa's pastoral romance in the woodlands of Vṛindāvan and combining lyrical verse, musical symphony and a responsive dance movement (*rāsa*). The sweet strains of Śrī Kṛishṇa's magic flute were heard time and again and the glimpses of His eternal *rāsalīlā* recreated in the poetic compositions of these two great *bhaktas* of Śrī Kṛishṇa.

To Mīrāṅ, the divine singer of Lord Kṛishṇa, whom she considered as a living Bridegroom, the feet of Śrī Kṛishṇa were her be-all and end-all of life. She regarded herself as a *gopī* of Vṛindāvan.[12] Her earlier songs addressed to Girdhar Gopāl were written in pure homely Rājasthānī, the parent of modern Gujarāti, Mevāḍi and Mārwāḍi, whereas her later songs have the impress of Braj-bhāshā, the sweet language of love and devotion. In company of devotees of Lord Kṛishṇa at Dwārakā, she blossomed forth into Gujarāti with the same ease with which she wrote her earlier songs. She has thus been claimed by three regions and three languages.[13] Her songs breathe a rare intensity of feeling and sensitiveness of emotions. In saintliness and poetic fervour, Mīrāṅ is peerless in Vaishṇava literature.

Narasiṁha Mehtā, who also lived in the sixteenth century,[14] ushered in philosophical poetry and gave a new impetus to Bhakti. About his well-known Bhajan *"Vaishṇava Jana to tene Kahiye,"* Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "That one song is enough to sustain me, even if I were to forget the Bhagavad Gītā". The poet-saint not only composed this favourite hymn of Gandhiji and sang it but also lived it. And living it was a heroic struggle to this Kṛishṇa-*Bhakta,* who was deserted by his own relatives, spurned and thrown out by his own Nāgar Brāhmin community and left desolate by many a domestic calamity. But not once was the saint forsaken by Lord Kṛishṇa, for the humble devotee placed his whole life at the lotus feet of the Lord as a little flower of devotion.[15]

The bulk of Narasiṁha's works which consists of *padas,* about seven hundred and forty in number, are collected in *Śṛingārmālā.* His *Rasasahasrapadi* is a free and elaborate rendering of *rāsa* as depicted in the *Bhāgavata* which also became a source of his large volume of poems relating to the episodes in Śrī Kṛishṇa's life. His poems and songs with their rich vocabulary and charm of language have exercised a great influence on literature and sentiments of many generations. He was the finest representative of Bhakti in Gujarāt.

Popular fiction continued to be cultivated in Gujarāt along with adaptations of Purāṇic episodes. Many authors diverted their attention from religious to secular literature. The stories which were imitations of Guṇāḍhya, the author of *Bṛihatkathā* in Prākṛit, depicted men and women making love, going through intriguing adventures, propounding and solving riddles in each other's company. As such literature fired the imagination of the people, Bhakti, whose intensity by its very nature could be the privilege of a few, lost its vitality, giving way to contemplation of the futility of life and a sense of world-weariness. To be alive was to die to the joys of life: it was a precursor of a happy existence after death. This gospel, a result of the stagnant and political conditions of the time, found expression in the works of Akho or Akhā Bhagat (C. 1615-1674).

Akho, the philosopher-poet, is hardly known outside Gujarāt. Even in Gujarāt not much that is authentic about his life is known except some legendary accounts mostly garnered through his poetry.[16] A goldsmith by caste, Akho lost his parents early in life. His only sister and young wife also passed away. A lady whom he cherished as a sister suspected his honesty. While working in a royal mint, he was imprisoned on a charge of committing defalcation. Disgusted with a world so full of distrust and suspicion, he sought refuge in prayer and performed many rituals, but found no peace. His wanderings took him to Kāśī where he found solace in the Vedāntic philosophy. But he had seen social iniquities and all that was sham in the garb of religion; these served as a fine fabric which he fashioned into poetry.

Popularly known as the *Vedāntakaviśiromaṇi*,[17] Akho was a seeker of ancient wisdom. His several works expounding the Advaita philosophy include *Akhegītā,* his best work wherein his creative faculties and philosophic thought find a full scope. He also has composed seven hundred *Chhappāis,* epigrammatic stanzas and many poems in Hindī. He has given to the people the essence of the Vedānta philosophy in a language that can easily be understood. In literary humour in which he blended biting wit with words of wisdom, Akho has few equals.

The credit of plumbing the hearts of the people and gratifying their literary thirst goes to Premānand (1636-1724 A.D.), a born poet whose talent would have shone in any age and in any language.[18] He was the greatest medieval poet and has to his credit as many as fifty-seven works which were very popular. His works can be broadly divided into the *Ākhyānas* from the Epics and the Purāṇas. He also composed original poems depicting the incidents in the life of the great poet-saint Narasiṁha Mehtā. A supreme master in the art of narrative poetry, Premānand kept alive the Purāṇic traditions and gave the people episodes, fully interwoven with vivid and colourful pictures of contemporary life.

Sāmaḷbhaṭṭ, born about the year 1700, was, after Premānand, the most notable poet of the period. Many Purāṇic works and those of fiction are attributed to him. Gifted with a matchless style and wonderful power of story-telling, he presented stories of worldly wisdom, preserved the romantic atmosphere of early fiction, and provided a valuable literature of escape from the morbid influences of his times.

Mention must be made of the literary activity of the Jaina *sādhus* during the period under review. They continued to compose charitas of their *tīrthaṅkaras, chakravartins* and saints as their predecessors had done in tedious, monotonous rhyme. For variation sometimes they chose Kumārpāl and Vastupāl as their themes. Their language was archaic, and the religious and moral precepts in their compositions made them hardly attractive. However, a few Jaina scholars deserve recognition. The most notable writer of the 16th century was Lāvaṇyasamay who composed over twenty-nine works. Four of these are *rāsas* of *tīrthaṅkaras* and saints. One is *Rāvaṇamandodarīsaṁvād,* a work based on the *Rāmāyaṇa.* He also wrote the well-known *Vimalaprabandh* and other religious and ethical poems. His successor, Nayasundar, who was a student of the Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Hindī and Urdu literatures wrote three social *rāsas,* one Purāṇic *rāsa* and two religious works. He embellished old *rāsa* stories with a wealth of literary and emotional shades from Sanskrit works. His *Naladamayantīrās* is considered to be a rendering of a lost Sanskrit work called *Nalāyana.* Another *sādhu* of considerable literary powers was Samayasundar, who composed about twenty long works, besides a large number of small poems. Ṛishabhadās was yet another Jaina author with an untiring energy who is credited with thirty-two works which include sixteen *rāsas* on *tīrthaṅkaras* and saints.

VI. PUNJĀBĪ

The Beginnings of Punjābi Literature:

There is no written record of any Punjābī literary work prior to the time of Gurū Nānak (1469-1538), founder of the Sikh faith. The Punjābī language, of course, is much older, having developed out of a *Śaurasenī apabhraṁśa* along more or less the same grammatical lines as Braj-bhāshā, Rājasthānī and Pahāri, by about A.D. 1300 (Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 493-4).

The earliest authentic record of writing in Punjābī, where we may see the fixed forms of words and other traditions in language and literature, is the Sikh scripture, an anthology known as the *Ādi Granth,* compiled finally in 1604 by Gurū Arjun Dev, fifth in the line of the Gurūs of the Sikh faith. Since by the Gurū's ordinance it would be sacrilegious for anyone to introduce any alteration, however minor, into the recorded text, this vast store of writing is now before us precisely in its original form and harks back at least to the 15th century, if not to earlier period. As has been pointed out by scholars, the *Ādi Granth* is an unparalleled treasure-house of northern Indian medieval literature and verbal forms, and of literary traditions which can be studied in their authentic shape in it.

The Ādi Granth:

The greatest work in Punjābī is the *Ādi Granth* (lit. The Primal Scripture), sacred book of the Sikh people. Its nature and importance have been discussed in Chapter XX, Section II. As far as the character of its language goes, it is only in part pure or nearly pure Punjābī. For the rest it is either some variety of Hindī, or combined Hindī-Marāṭhī.

The arrangement of the hymns in the *Ādi Granth* is, as was customary in medieval India, in accordance with the *rāgas* or musical measures in which these are to be sung.

The themes which form the basis of the devotional compositions of the Gurūs are the nature and attributes of the Creator; the spiritual quest which consists on the one side in freeing the mind of the great illusion, *Māyā,* and on the other in fervent devotion to God conceived of as the Beloved-Lord; the supreme importance of relating the spiritual life to the realisation of moral responsibility; the objective of the religious life as the attainment of *Mukti, Nirvāṇa,* which in essence means the attainment of the state of spiritual-moral enlightenment; and untiring emphasis on the essence of the religious life as devotion, enlightenment (*Jñāna*) and acts of disinterested good (*Sevā*). The entire message is expressed in poetry, which through powerful image and symbol impresses the movement of the soul on the listener's mind and thus acts so as to 'convert' him.

Significant words from Muslim tradition are also employed, particularly those made familiar to the people in general by the propagation of Islām and the mingling of Hindus and Muslims in the population for three centuries or more. A fairly large collection of words of Persian or Arabic origin can be made from the pages of the *Ādi Granth.*

A considerable part of the terminology employed by the Gurūs comes from the practice of medieval Yoga, particularly in its adumbration of the spiritual ideal to be attained.

The style in which Gurū Nānak has poured forth his soul is generally highly compact and aphoristic, as indicating a mind given to expressing itself in formulae or *Sūtras* as in the Indian spiritual tradition in general. Deep, reflective and intuitive processes of the soul, blossoming forth into these aphoristic utterances —such is the impression which Gurū Nānak's compositions leave on the mind. Gurū Nānak's successors, in general, re-express his themes and purport, and his very phrases, expressive of deep spiritual vision, are met with again and again in their compositions.

One prevalent characteristic of the hymns of the *Ādi Granth,* poetically of greater relevance from the literary point of view than the philosophy, teaching or message, is the adoption by the Gurūs of that Indian tradition of devotional-lyrical poetry in which the entire symbolism of erotic poetry, applied to men and women is transferred to the spiritual quest and passion. In other words, this poetry is devotional-mystical as well as highly metaphysical adopting the style and tradition of medieval Indian eroticism, made current by the devotees of the Kṛishna cult. The Gurūs, of course, adopt as the object of their devotion not the divine cowherd Kṛishṇa, but the Transcendent Creator, *Par-Brahm.*

Other Sikh Writers:

Besides the compositions of the Gurūs, highly influential and poetically significant work in the exposition of the principles of the Sikh faith was done by Bhāi Gurdas (1559-1637). Bhāi Gurdas truly transferred to his own language the thought, tradition and philosophy of India which till then had been confined in northern India to various forms of Hindī and Bengali. He displays mastery of a variety of metres and in each stanza, built on a continuing rhyme-scheme, a wealth of resource in that direction which makes reading him a sheer intellectual treat. Some of the passages, such as those on Gurū Nānak's Advent in Canto one and that on Gurū Arjun, the Martyr, in Canto twenty-four, are examples of the supreme poetry of vision. Bhāi Gurdas is a great poet whose work should be better known outside the limited circle of those who can read Punjābī in Gurmukhī.

A good deal of devotional poetry relating to the Sikh faith was also produced during this period. More significant outside the main stream, is the prose literature which grew in this period. This literature too relates mainly to the exposition of various aspects of the Sikh faith. This may be divided into two broad categories: (a) The Biographies called *Janam-Sākhis* (lit. 'testament of birth') of Gurū Nānak, of which there are several; (b) exposition and exegesis of the principles and texts of the Sikh faith. Among the *Janam-Sākhis* the oldest and the one from which stems the entire basis of the life-story of Gurū Nānak is that of unknown authorship, known as the *Purātan* (ancient, old) *Janam-Sākhi,* whose only extant copy is now available in manuscript form in the British Museum. The Punjāb Government in 1885 got it printed in zinco-photography and it can be seen now in the published copies in exact form and feature. The date of its composition from internal evidence works out to be about 1633.

Among other writers of religious prose, falling slightly outside the strict limits of the period under treatment here, though belonging completely to its tradition, is the great martyr, Bhāi Mani Singh, a direct disciple and school-mate of Gurū Govind Singh. In his

Gian Ratnavali he has composed the life-story of Gurū Nānak as well as treated various issues concerning faith and the spiritual life. In his language he is closer rather to the idiom of central Punjābī with an admixture of Hindī.

The Romancers:

In the secular field, there was a good deal of literary production in Punjābī during this period of the consolidation of Mughul rule over India. Most of those who composed romantic and other tales were Muslims. Their works in Punjābī have popularly been known as Kissas (more puristically Qissas) which means 'tales'. One of the earliest of the writers of Kissas was a Hindu, Dāmodar Ghulati, who flourished during the reign of Akbar to whom he makes a number of encomiastic references in the course of his narrative. The tale he composed is the most famous in the romantic lore of the Punjāb—that of the lovers Hīr and Ranjha. Because of the orientation and finish given to this tale later by Waris Shāh, as also the tragic finale of his version, it has become the romance *par excellence* of the Punjāb, and every Punjābī youth fancies himself in his romantic years the prototype of Ranjha and his sweet-heart the beauteous, faithful Hīr. Dāmodar's version of the tale, whose incidents must have been older than his own time, despite his avowal that he was an eye-witness of all that he narrates, is plain and unvarnished, in a halting form of the popular metre called *Dwaiya*.

Waris Shāh, whose version of the Hīr Ranjha story, as said earlier, is the most popular, was a gifted poet, with flow, command of good dialogue, deeply reflective and tragic tones, and an understanding of the human heart with which only the more imaginative poets are gifted. His version of the story is tragic, in the way somewhat of the story of Romeo and Juliet. On a false report that Hīr has died, Ranjha takes his own life. Later, Hīr dies on hearing of the sacrifice of Ranjha. The limping villain, Kaido, who plays something like an Iago in ruining these lovers, is a very well-known character in Punjāb folk-lore and his name has become a by-word for perfidy and intrigue. Waris himself, and his creations Hīr and Ranjha are the national figures of the Punjāb, both in the Indian and Pakistani countryside. The very popularity of Waris Shāh's version brought in continuing interpolations, which very often look like the genuine original passages.

Another famous romance of the Punjāb countryside is the story of the Muslim lovers, Mīrzā and Sahibān. The most famous version of the Mīrzā Sahibān story is that by Peelu. This is a tale of chivalry and honour and the betrayal of love for family piety. Sahibān's entreaty to Mīrzā to save his life by escaping the wrath of her brothers, despite her loyalty to her father's house, is one of the finest treatments of a theme involving psychological conflict. Mīrzā, too, like Ranjha, is a hero of the Punjābī youth, and his story evokes admiration, rather than compassion, unlike the story of Hīr and Ranjha.

A Hindu poet, Aggra, composed the Saga or Var of Haqiqat Rāi, a Sikh-Hindu youth martyred during the reign of Shāh Jahān for his faith at Lahore.

The Sūfī Poets:

The folk Sūfī poets of the Punjāb, while basing their experiences within the four walls of the Muslim Sūfī doctrine, and employing in their compositions occasionally terms drawn from the long tradition of Sūfī lore, have employed mainly the symbols and images drawn from the Punjāb countryside. Spiritual urges are expressed in terms of the simple objects familiar to the common country-folk, such, for example, as the spinning-wheel, the Persian-wheel, the dancing *dervishes,* characters drawn from popular romances and mythology, Hindu as well as Muslim. The language employed by these Sūfī poets is generally pure Punjābī of the western variety, with the rarest touch, here and there, of Hindī, drawn from the lore of the parallel Hindu orders of *Yogīs.* Through their language and its musical tones these poets are able to transmit passion and ecstasy. Sūfī poetry, because of its appeal to the heart, is highly popular among people of all communities in the Punjāb.

Among the Sūfīs of this period there are Hafiz Barkhudar Vajid, 'Alī Haidar, Sultān Bahu, Shāh Hussain, and Bulhe Shāh. The last three deserve a somewhat detailed notice for the power and popularity of their work. Sultān Bahu (1631-1691), a mystic *dervish,* belonged to the Jhang region (now in Pakistan) and expressed himself in passionate poetry of devotion and renunciation. His effective use of dialect and his rhythm echoing the movement of the soul have imparted to his verse the power to move and to transport.

Shāh Hussain (1539-1593) was a *fakir,* given to a somewhat free way of life, and while perhaps reproved by orthodoxy, was loved by the people for the sincerity of his passion and devotion. His lyrics are passionate and respond immediately to music. They are suffused with ecstasy and are some of the best and purest examples of lyrical poetry in Punjābī. The variety of poetry practised by Hussain, as indeed by other Sūfī poets, is the Kafi, which is the song-lyric of western Punjābī, and connotes as much a musical measure as the lyrical content.

Bulhe Shāh (1680-1758) is the prince of Punjābī Sūfī poets. His lyrics or Kafis have, like the romantic stanzas of Waris Shāh, passed into the tradition of the Punjāb. Bulhe Shāh has expressed the religion of the spirit, which transcends the creeds, and transmits ecstasy, resignation and the sheer passion and mood of love. His symbols are of the Punjāb countryside, and his verse has passed into folk-lore. His rhythms are like the tuning of the flute and the gyrations of dance. Through his verse the fine feelings of the Punjāb people found expression and self-awareness, in a manner which is more truly aesthetic than doctrinal or spiritual.

VII. KĀŚMĪRĪ

Not much is definitely known about Kāśmīrī literature before the 15th century. Apart from some doubtful specimens furnished by a few stray verses, the poetic compositions of Lallā Didi (Lal Ded), *in a modern Kāśmīrī form,* represent the oldest specimens of Kāśmīrī, which have been preserved down to our own times by oral tradition. Lallā was born in A.D. 1335 and died between 1383 and 1386. She had an unhappy domestic life, became a *Sanyāsinī* (ascetic) called Lallā Yogīśvarī, and wandered about singing her little poems of mystic perception of Śiva, of which more than a hundred have been edited and translated by Sir George Abraham Grierson. Next in point of time is another mystic poet, a Muslim Saint named Shāh Nūr-ud-dīn (called by the Hindus Nanda Ṛishi), whose "verses and sayings known as *śruks* give expression to his profound faith in and love for God, and his catholicity of outlook". These verses have been collected in a book known as *Ṛishi-nāmah* or *Nūr-nāmah,* a good portion of which is, however, considered as probably spurious by competent authorities. During the rule of the enlightened Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn (1420-70) flourished a number of writers in both Persian and Sanskrit, as well as in Kāśmīrī. But their works, mostly biographical and panegyrical, are now unknown.

During the 16th century the Kāśmīrī literature was enriched by the exquisite lyrics of love and life composed by a lady, popularly known as Habba Khotūn, who passed through strange vicissitudes in life. Born as a village girl and named *Zun* (Moonlight—Sanskrit *Jyotsnā*), she had an unhappy married life like Lallā, but the king of Kāśmīr, Yūsuf Shāh Chak (1580-86), got her divorced and married her. But she enjoyed only a few years of happy life of a queen beloved by her husband. For Akbar, after conquering Kāśmīr, carried off the king who was never allowed to return.

Habba Khotūn lived for 20 years more, virtually as a hermitess. She is one of the most popular poetesses and occupies a place in the forefront of Kāśmīrī literature. Among other poets who wrote in Kāśmīrī during the period under review, mention may be made of Khwājah Habībullāh Naushahrī who wrote a series of lyric poems, the Hindu poet Sāhib Kaul, the author of *Kṛishṇa-avatāra* and the *Janam-charita,* both based on the Purāṇas, and the poetess Rūpa-bhavānī (1624-1720) who wrote a number of religious poems in a highly Sanskritized language.

VIII. MARĀṬHI

Marāṭhī literature of this period was given a vigorous start by three eminent saints: Santa Ekanātha, Santa Tukārāma and Svāmī Rāmadāsa. Their contribution is both voluminous and varied. They revolutionised the tone of religious writing, provided forms for artistic writing and set high standards of aesthetic expression. Their works inspired several able writers who further enriched the Marāṭhī literature, so much so that this period can be justly termed as the most glorious period.

While the saints and writers of this age were faithful followers of the *Bhakti mārga* initiated in Mahārāshṭra by Jñāneśvara and Nāmadeva, the literature of this period reveals a keen awareness on the part of the writers of the radically changed political, social and religious environment.

Santa Jñāneśvara flourished in the period of the Yādavas who were able to ensure their people peace and prosperity. With the fall of this dynasty and the advent of the Muslims, the people of Mahārāshtra were put to untold miseries. There was no security of life and property. People naturally lost their faith and neglected their social obligations. There was thus an urgent need of a movement that could restore the faith of the people in their ancient religion and culture as well as give them fresh hope and confidence. This work of national rejuvenation was accomplished by the saints and writers of the age under review. We find in the annals of this age the unique reconciliation of worldly and spiritual life, an active implementation of the altruistic faith and a vigorous plea for, and practice of, the philosophy of activism.

It is significant that this new cultural and literary movement can be traced to the very age in which we witness the advent of the Muslims into the Deccan. Janārdana Svāmī (1504-1575), the teacher of Santa Ekanātha, was initiated into this spiritual tradition by the famous saint Nṛisiṁha Sarasvatī, popularly known as Śrī Gurū Dattātreya. Janārdana Svāmī was advised to lead the worldly life and the spiritual life simultaneously. He was later appointed the governor of a fort under a Muslim ruler and attained fame as an able statesman, too. Thus, he demonstrated in that difficult age how the worldly life and the spiritual life can be reconciled to the advantage of both the individual and the society. Dr. R. D. Ranade rightly points out that the Svāmī's life and the *abhangas* (laudatory verses) reveal such a unique reconciliation of worldly and spiritual life as was never attained either before or after. No wonder that the Svāmī was able to give Mahārāshṭra an outstanding saint and writer of the eminence of Santa Ekanātha.

The works of Santa Ekanātha (1533-1599)[19] reveal his mastery of the *Bhāgavata*, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, the *Jñāneśvarī* and the epics. They also reflect his great spiritual achievements. His commentary on the 11th chapter of the *Bhāgavata*, known as the *Ekanāthī Bhāgavata*, runs into 18,800 ōvī verses and is undoubtedly his masterpiece. Next comes his *Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa* (40,000 ōvī verses), followed by *Rukmiṇī Svayamvara* (1,711 ōvī verses). In addition to these he has composed hundreds of *abhangas, gaulans, bharudas* as well as commentaries on the *Chatuḥśloki Bhāgavata, Svātmasukha* and *Chirañjīvapada*. His is the unique distinction of having prepared the scholarly edition of the *Jñāneśvarī*.

Ekanātha's *Bhāgavata* is a spiritual treatise while his *abhangas* narrate his own spiritual experiences. He made the ideas of the Vedānta popular through his works. His *Rukmiṇī-Svayamvara* is a fine poetical work with the theme of the union of Jīva and Śiva. The epic fight of Rāma and Rāvaṇa is depicted by him as the eternal struggle between the soul and the ego. He propagated the path of *bhakti* which led to the service of one's fellow-beings. Thus he combined successfully religion with social service. Indeed, his sympathy and affection for all was really the source of his effective delineation of all the *rasas* in his narratives and the *abhangas*. His passionate love of Marāṭhī is expressed thus:

> If Sanskrit was made by God, was Prakrit born of thieves and knaves? Let these errings of vanity alone. Whether it is Sanskrit or Prakrit, wherever the story of God is told it is essentially holy and must be respected. God is no partisan of tongues. To Him Prakrit and Sanskrit are alike. My language, Marāṭhī, is worthy of expressing the highest sentiments, and is rich-laden with the fruits of divine knowledge.

No wonder that Ekanātha occupies a high place among the saints of Mahārāshṭra as well as among the great poets.

According to tradition, a group of five writers form the Ekanātha *Pañchaka;* they are: Ekanātha, Rāma Janārdana, Jani Janārdana, Vitha Renukanandana and Dasopanta. Dasopanta (1559-1615) has left behind him a rich legacy of 45 works running into more than 200 thousand ōvī verses. His *Gītārṇava, Gītārtha-bodha-chandrikā, Grantharāja, Pañchīkarana* and numerous collections of songs and poems, are still popular and held in high regard. He composed songs in Kannaḍa and Telugu, too. His commentaries on the *Bhagavad Gītā* reflect his original and dynamic thinking on many philosophic and religious problems while his profound scholarship, high poetic ability and deep faith in religious and cultural traditions are revealed in his other works.

The first Marāṭhī version of the *Mahābhārata* was composed by Vishṇudaśanāma, a senior contemporary of Ekanātha. The *Budha-bavani* and *Śukākhyāna* are his other works. His prayer addressed to Kāmākshīdevī has given rise to the speculation that he hailed from Goa.

Of the several other poets of this period, mention may be made of Śivakalyāṇa, Mṛityuñjaya, Ranganātha Mogarekar, Tryambakarāj, Ramavallabhadāsa, Mahāliṅgadāsa and Lolimbarāja who have contributed much to the narrative poetry in Marāṭhī. Of special interest is the *Gurucharitra,* a biography of Śrī Nṛisiṁha Sarasvatī by Sarasvatī Gaṅgādhara of the Kannaḍa region. This work is the first to use the phrase '*Mahārāshṭra Dharma*' and is a useful source for the study of contemporary cultural traditions.

Śantalingappa, a Liṅgāyata poet, was the author of *Karana-hastaki*—a poetical exposition of the principles of the Liṅgāyata sect.

Shaikh Muhammad was the author of the *Yogasaṅgrāma, Pavana-vijaya, Nishkalaṅka-prabodha* and *Jñanasāgara,* in addition to many songs and *abhaṅgas.* Mutoji Vazīr-ul-mulk, a princely scholar, composed in Marāṭhī a commentary on *Sangīta Makaranda,* a Sanskrit treatise on music. Hussain Ambar wrote his *Ambar Huseni*—a Marāṭhī commentary on the *Bhagavad Gītā* in 816 ōvī verses.

This forceful literary movement spread far and wide and brought under its influence people of all castes and creeds. Father Thomas Stephens, an English priest, found the *Purāṇic* form quite useful for propagating Christian religion among the natives. His famous *Khṛishṭa Purāṇa,* in 11,000 ōvī verses of chaste Marāṭhī, is still regarded as one of the fascinating works in that language. As the title suggests, it is a collection of stories and anecdotes from the life of Jesus Christ cited in the Bible. His praise of Marāṭhī language is noteworthy: "Greenest among the herbs, sapphire among jewels, that is my language, Marāṭhī." Another Christian preacher, Father Croix, composed his *Peter Purāṇa* which is a poor imitation of the *Khṛishṭa Purāṇa.* Moreover, his uncalled for ridicule of the Hindu gods and goddesses, customs and manners, has vitiated the value of the work.

Santa Tukārāma (1598-1650) gave a fresh and a more vigorous momentum to the Marāṭhī literary movement. Born in a Kunabi (Sūdra?) family of the Viṭṭhala tradition, Tukārāma was a small-scale merchant. Rakhumābāi and Jijābāi were his wives. In 1619, when he was only 21 years old, his family life was ruined by the death of his first wife and first son, both victims of the severe famine. His trade was ruined too. Thus deprived of his family and occupation, he turned to the spiritual life. He was initiated by Gurū Bābāji in a dream, with the *mantra* of Rāma Kṛishṇa Hari. In another dream, Tukārāma had the vision of God Viṭṭhala with Nāmadeva who advised him to compose the *abhaṅgas.* Tukārāma then studied the works of Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva, Kabīr and Ekanātha.

Tukārāma composed numerous *abhaṅgas* and sang them in the assemblies of the devotees. Scholars have accepted at least 4500 *abhaṅgas* as his, and they reveal his many-sided splendid personality: his deep study of the *Bhāgavata,* the *Bhagavad Gītā,* as also the works of Jñānadeva, Nāmadeva and Ekanātha; his firm belief in God; his faith in religion; his universal love; his great spiritual attainments. His accepted mission was to propagate religion; "to advance religion and to destroy atheism is my business", says he. His contribution to the religious literature of Mahārāshṭra is thus really great. His *abhaṅgas* are sung with delight even to-day, and they are still the source of inspiration for social progress.

Santajī Teli, Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa, Śivaba Kasara, Mahadajipanta Kulkarni, Niloba and Bahinābāī were the more distinguished disciples of Tukārāma who have enriched the devotional literature in Marāṭhī.

Tukārāma was forced into the spiritual world by his adversities. His teachings, therefore, came to be characterised by a measure of pessimism. His emphasis on the need of a detached life was often misunderstood for a total renunciation of worldly life and social obligations. In the context of the political and social conditions of the period such a world-negating attitude could have been undesirable. But this was averted by an effective propagation of an activist philosophy by Svāmī Rāmadāsa for whom Tukārāma had great reverence.

Samartha Rāmadāsa Svāmī (1608-1682) was a born saint. Leaving his home at the age of 12, he performed severe penance for 12 years. It is believed that he was blessed with the vision of Śrī Rāma. Then he travelled for another 12 years visiting holy places all over India. The miserable conditions of the people moved him greatly and he decided to dedicate himself to the service of the people. He began to preach the cult of *Dhanurdhārī Rāma* (Rāma holding the bow) and of *Balabhīma* (the incarnation of strength). He established *Maṭhas* at several places that served as centres of religion, education and culture. He popularised physical culture and training of the youth for military purposes.

The *Dāsabodha* is undoubtedly the most important of his works. "It is the outcome of the fullest experience of the world by a person who has attained the highest spiritual experience. It is prose both in style and sentiment but it is most highly trenchant in its estimate of worldly affairs". It is a veritable guide for all time and for all classes of individuals who desire happiness as well as spiritual joy. He upheld the philosophy of activism and maintained that the ideal man is an active man. In his *Ānandavana Bhuvana,* he gives an inspiring vision of an ideal State where all the wicked are destroyed and all the good are protected. He sees India once again strong and prosperous. He was, nevertheless, a practical leader. He exposes ruthlessly the evil character of the pseudo-saints in his *Janasvabhāva Gosavi.* He analyses rationally the conditions of the people and the causes thereof in his *Asmani Sultani* and *Parachakra-nirupaṇa.* His *Karuṇāshtake* and *Manache Śloka* along with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Rāmavaradāyinī* are still regarded as the best in Marāṭhī literature for properly moulding the minds of the young. Rāmadāsa composed, in addition, hundreds of ōvī verses in the form of brief narratives and prayers, as well as hundreds of *abhaṅgas.* The works of Rāmadāsa, thus, reveal his deep scholarship, keen awareness of the social and political conditions of the people, his profound love for them, his dream of an ideal State and finally his unsurpassed spiritual attainments. He was able to found a distinct school of thought by his dynamic and forceful personality as well as by his devoted life and skill of organization. Of his numerous disciples mention may be made of Jayarāmasvāmī, Raṅganāthasvāmī, Ānandamūrti, Dinakara Gosavi, Venubāi, Giridhara, Kalyāṇasvāmī, Jagannāthabuva, Bhīmasvāmī, Merusvāmī Hariharabuva, Uddhavasuta, Ātmārāma and Bahinābāī (Tukārāma's disciple)—all of whom have profusely written on religious and social topics and particularly on the life and teachings of Rāmadāsa, with an emphasis on the significance of the Rāmadāsa tradition.

While the disciples of Tukārāma and Svāmī Rāmadāsa were busy with the religious and ethical teaching, there were others during this period who paid more attention to the aesthetic aspects of literature, following the tradition of Ekanātha.

The first of such poets was Muktesvara (1609-1690) a grandson of Ekanātha. His *Saṁkshepa Rāmāyaṇa* (1725 ōvī verses) and the five *parvas* of the *Mahābhārata* (14,687 ōvī verses) are counted among the outstanding works of Marāṭhī classical poetry. In addition, he wrote *Śuka-Rambhā-saṁvāda, Śatamukha Rāvaṇavadha, Ekanātha Charitra, Gajendramoksha* and *Hanumantākhyāna.* These works are still considered models of artistic compositions combined with scholarly treatment of the *rasas.*

Vāmana Paṇḍita (1608-1695) was the author of several works, the more important of which are: *Yathārtha-dīpikā, Samaślokī Gītā, Nigamasāra, Karmatatva, Bhāminīvilạsa, Rādhāvilāsa, Rạsakrīḍā, Sītā-svayamvara.* Their captivating style and religious instruction have made them popular with all classes of readers. Vāmana Paṇḍita has employed very successfully metres, figures of speech and other techniques of Sanskrit poetry. Samaraja (1613-1700) wrote *Mudgalākhyāna* and *Rukmiṇī-haraṇa,* the only Marāṭhī epic poem according to the tenets of Sanskrit poetics.

Raghunātha Paṇḍita, a contemporary of Shivājī, composed *Nala-Damayantī-svayamvara* and *Gajendramoksha.* The *Nala-Damayantī-svayamvara* has earned its author undying fame by its epic grandeur, skilful and lively portrayal of characters, figures of speech and interesting dialogues. The poet states that he was inspired to write this work by the *Naishadhīya Kāvya* of Śrīharsha. Ānandatanaya, another scholar-poet of this age, composed 20 narrative *kāvyas* for the use of devotees. The *Sītā-svayamvara,* a composition of 83 ślokas is his longest and the most popular work. Nāgeśa, another contemporary of Shivājī, was the author of *Sītā-svayamvara* and *Chandrāvalī-varṇanā.* These are full of witty and humorous observations on the contemporary social life. Vithal Bidkar (1628-1690) composed *Rukmiṇī-svayamvara, Sītā-svayamvara* and some biographies and prayers.

These writers of long narrative poems chose their themes from the epics and the Purāṇas, wrote in the traditional metres and style, and freely made use of the techniques of Sanskrit classical poetry. Gradually new themes and styles came to be introduced. Śrīdhara (1658-1729) and Kṛishṇadayārṇava initiated the new movement. Kṛishṇadayārṇava wrote *Harivarada,* a commentary on the 10th chapter of the *Bhāgavata.* Śrīdhara composed narratives on the heroes and heroines of the Epics and the Purāṇas. The more important of his works are: *Harivijaya, Rāmavijaya, Pāṇḍavapratāpa, Śivalīlāmṛita, Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmya, Venkaṭeśa-māhātmya, Vedānta-sūrya.* Though he has borrowed freely from the earlier writers like Mukteśvara, he has made his compositions more interesting than any of the earlier ones. His works are read even today by thousands of devotees and lovers of good poetry all over Mahārāshṭra.

The scholar-poets of this age, thus, greatly popularised the narrative form of poetry and have furnished excellent compositions that can be read for personal gratification as well as for religious merit. They have, in their works, set patterns of highly artistic writings. They have also contributed greatly to the development of the Marāṭhī language by incorporating Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Persian words in their compositions.

Finally, mention must be made of the *Rāja-vyavahāra-kosha* prepared under the direction of Shivājī. It is a mine of useful information and is still regarded as an authoritative source for coining new administrative and political terms.

This period also saw the development of an indigenous form of literature known as *pōvāḍās* or ballads. The *pōvāḍās* are songs written in exciting style and narrate historical events in an inspiring manner. Of the numerous *povāḍās* of this period only a few are now available. One of such ballads by Agindas records Shivājī's encounter with Āfzal Khān and another by Tulsīdās gives an account of the heroic capture of Simhagaḍ by Tānājī.

IX. TAMIL

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period of decadence in the Tamil country. Petty kings and chieftains exercised a restricted or uneasy sovereignty over their peoples, while in the north the Mughul Empire was extending its sway and sprawling over the greater part of the Peninsula. Scores of poets and poetasters sedulously aped Sanskrit and classical Tamil models and somehow kept up a show of vigorous literary activity. The courts of the Tamil kings and the Śaiva *mutts* (maṭhas) were the principal centres of such literary activity, and it is gratifying to note that the flame, however it swayed or burned dim, was not allowed to be put out altogether.

Varathunga Pāṇḍyan and Athivirarama Pāṇḍyan were cousin brothers, and both of them accomplished poets. The Pāṇḍyan kingdom had then shrunk very much in size, and Athiviraraman had as his capital Korkai and Tenkasi in the Tinnevelly district. Varathungan was blessed in an angelic wife, and they led a life of piety at a place called Tirukkaruvainallur. Varathungan's principal work is *Pramottarakandam*, an eulogy of the mystic efficacies of *panchākshara, vibhuti, somvara,* etc. Varathungan's devotion to Śivā is revealed in every verse of this work. One typical stanza may be rendered as follows:

> Eyes that gaze at Śiva's temple are alone the eyes,
> Legs that enter His temple are alone the legs,
> Heads that bow before Pārvatī's Lord are alone the heads,
> Hands that make offerings to Śiva are alone the hands,
> Tongues that sing His glories are alone the tongues,
> Ears that hearken to His praises are alone the ears,
> Hearts that meditate on Him are alone the hearts,
> And allegiance to His feet is the only allegiance.

Varathungan's other works include *Ambikaimalai, Ilingapuranam, Tirukkaruvai Paditruppattanthati,* etc. Pandit Somasundara Desikar attributes, I think rightly, the '*Tirukkaruvai*' poems to Varathungan, while others attribute the poems to his brother, Athiviraraman. These '*Tirukkaruvai*' poems are all inspired by the Deity of Tirukkaruvainallur, and several verses from them have gone into popular currency. It is not surprising therefore that the title of *Kutti-Tiruvachakam* (Miniature Tiruvachakam) is bestowed upon the *Paditruppattanthati.*

Athiviraraman, the royal poet, is known to fame as the author of the Tamil *Naidatham,* which has gained the sobriquet of "poets' elixir". He was doubtless indebted to his predecessors, Vyāsa, Śrī Harsha, and Pugalendi, for the story, and to these as also to Kamban and other great Tamil writers for his ideas and poetic imagery. But the finished work is none the less a meritorious poem. Athiviraraman is particularly successful in his delineation of Damayantī's deathless love for Nala, a love that transcends misery, separation and seeming cruelty:

> Even should I, O King, fail to see and win you in this life,
> In another birth at least shall I not, I poor woman,
> Undergo austerities all alone.
> And melt your golden heart to gain you at last?

Athiviraraman's *Kāśīkandam* is a long poem devoted to the praise of Kāśī (Benares), based mainly on *Skanda Purāṇa.* School children are familiar with another of Athiviraraman's works, viz. *Vetriverkai* or *Narunthokai.* The verses and aphorisms of *Vetriverkai* are now a part of our popular culture and we are quoting or echoing them without being conscious of the fact. Here are a few samples:

The accomplished speaker, though a liar,
Gives the lie the varnish of truth;
The untrained speaker, however truthful,
Makes truth itself ring false.

Better the forest where the fierce tigers roam,
Than the city under the rule of a tyrannical king.

From the big seed of the Palmyrah
Grows the sky-labouring tree
Whose shade not one protects.
From the diminutive banyan seed,
Smaller than the egg of a little fish in the river,
Grows the tree whose spreading branches cast a shade
Over a royal army of elephants, chariots, horses and men.
The big are not thus always big,
Nor the small are always small.

The Śaiva *mutts* were at this time a bee-hive of literary activity. While such literary work as was produced was no doubt mainly religious, ethical or theological, several of the productions of these *mutts* have value as poetry as well. Kumara Guruparar, born of Śaiva parents at Srivaikuntam in the Tinnevelly district, grew to be an austere ascetic and became an ornament of the Dharmapuram *mutt*. It is said he toured the north and gave an exhibition of his powers, seated on a fierce lion, before the Mughul Emperor himself. The bibliography of his writings is a long one, of which the most popular are *Needi Neri Vilakkam* and *Madurakkalambakam*. From the former two verses are here extracted:

Youth is like a bubble on the water;
Riches are the sprawling waves on its surface;
This physical frame is as durable as the writing on the water;
Why then, O Lord, do we not seek on the water;

People engrossed in work
Will be sleepless, careless of pain,
Unconscious of hunger,
Impervious to the evil around,
Unresponsive to beauty and love,
And even regardless of honour.

He wrote also many poems in praise of the deities of the various places covered during his pilgrimages in the north and the south.

Sivaprakasar, another well-known figure in Tamil Śaivism, belonged to the Tirumangalam *mutt*. He put into flowing Tamil verse Chamarasa's Kannaḍa classic, *Prabhulinga-lile*, dealing with the life of the Vīraśaiva saint, Allama Prabhu. Although a Vīraśaiva, Sivaprakasar had his affiliations to Śaivism and remained as sugar in milk in Śaiva surroundings. Pandit Somasundara Desikar mentions thirty titles as constituting Sivaprakasar's work, but only *Prabhulinga-lile* and *Nanneri* are widely read today. A verse from the latter may be translated as follows:

> Control over self that restrains the raging ire
> Is alone proof of good breeding;
> Say, is it better to block up the flood,
> Or let it break the banks and ravage the main?

Sivaprakasar composed *Prabhulinga-lile* in the year 1652 A.D. and died two years after, at the age of only thirty-two.

Paranjoti belonged to a *mutt* in Madura, and composed the *Tiruvilayadal Puranam*, a voluminous work of over three thousand stanzas commemorating the *lilās* of Śiva. Inspired by the Sanskrit *Skandam*, the *Tiruvilayadal* is one of the most entertaining of Tamil Purāṇas and is popular especially with the children. History and legend, mythology and hagiology, philosophy and ethics, all are thrown together to make an extraordinary poem. Paranjoti's other works are *Potrikkalivenba and Paditruppattanthati.*

Vīrarāghava Mudaliar of Chingleput was a poet about whom innumerable stories are told. He was born blind, and hence he is called 'Anthakakkavi'. He travelled widely, was appreciated everywhere, and went as far as Jaffna in North Ceylon. He is credited with the composition of countless extempore verses as also such formal works as *Tirukkalurkunra Puranam* and *Seyur Kalambakam.*

Besides the Śaiva poets mentioned above, there was during this period one notable Vaishṇava poet by name Pillaipperumal Iyengar, also called 'Diyya Kavi'. It is said that he was in the service of Tirumalai Nāyaka of Madura. Pillaipperumal was not only a staunch Vaishṇava, but was fanatically devoted to Raṅganātha of Śrīrangam. Other manifestations of Vishṇu were of little significance to him. Pillaipperumal was indeed an embodiment of *bhakti* and was literally intoxicated by his welling love for Raṅganātha. The collection of his devotional lyrics is known as *Ashṭaprabandham.* It has been argued by Pandit Somasundara Desikar that *Ashṭaprabandham* is a composite work, and that only two of the eight poems included in the collection were composed by Pillaipperumal. But the spirit of the whole collection and the strength of tradition would rather support Pillaipperumal's sole authorship of *Ashṭaprabandham.*

Padikkasuppulavar is another of those Tamil poets about whom endless stories have been handed down to us. Tradition has it that he kept every day five gold pieces on the Panchākshara steps of Śivakami Ammai—a circumstance that gave him the name 'Padikkasu' or 'a coin for each step'. Padikkasu lived for many years at Ramnad as court-poet of the local king. Of his works the most important are *Thondaimaṇdala Śatakam, Pullirukku Velur Kalambakam* and *Tandalayar Śatakam.* A verse from the last is here freely rendered:

Blessed with but one grateful son,
  The benefits the whole family shares;
What's the use of a hundred sons,
  When all of them are bereft of sense?
The pig gives birth to a useless many
  Year after year;
But a baby elephant,—
  Its birth most will beneficial be.

Altogether, these two centuries were a period of decadence in Tamil letters. Verbal dexterity is supposed to do duty for poetic fire and transcendent imagery. A fatal facility and fluency hide the general poverty of thought and inspiration. But the poets mentioned above, these among others, saved the period from utter barrenness and kept the spark alive.

X. TELUGU

The reign of Kṛishṇadevarāya, Emperor of Vijayanagara (1509-1529 A.D.), ushered in a new era in the Telugu literature. Hitherto that literature consisted primarily of translation, adaptation and imitation of the Classical Sanskritic literary models and traditions, particularly of epic nature. The age of Kṛishṇadevarāya opened, with new elements, neo-classical vistas and romantic panoramas in the realm of Telugu literature. The *Prabandha*, essentially of the *Kāvya* type, now occupies the place of eminence in the galaxy of literary types in Telugu. Even if the themes of several *Prabandhas* were borrowed from the treasure house of Sanskrit literature, they have an original flavour in treatment, a dignity in diction and an element of their own in sentiment, description, ornamentation and other aspects of poetry. According to the great Sanskrit literary critics of the past, novelty in treatment but not in theme is the hallmark of the creative genius of the poet and the sentimental appeal of the poem which gives aesthetic delight of a high degree, and kindles an experience in a kindred reader is the be-all and end-all of all poetry, and not merely the elements of instruction or of the social life. Most of the *Prabandhas* of the age satisfy these norms and almost all of the composers of the major *Prabandhas* were poets of high intellectual calibre and acumen and were good at original composition. Yet they made use of the background of their Sanskrit lore and followed the traits of tradition to a certain extent not because of their inability to innovate things but because of a certain attitude prevalent amongst the scholarly world and the people at large as well. It was thought even by very able poets like Rāmarājabhūshana that fictitious themes are artificial diamonds, themes of traditional eminence are diamonds fresh from the mine and they become polished ones only when studded in the ornaments of poetic imagery. That was the order of the day and the *Prabandha* had its heyday in the court of Kṛishṇadevarāya.

The court of Kṛishṇadevarāya was named as *Bhuvana Vijaya* (the victory of worlds). The name was given to his court after a series of his victories and after the fashion of the *"Trailokya Vijaya"*, the court of the Reddy kings of Rajahmundry. Every year *Vasantotsavas*, i.e., spring festivals, used to take place in Vijayanagara and poets were felicitated in the *Bhuvana Vijaya*. It was either adorned or visited by almost all the great and eminent poets and scholars of the time. Eight of his court-poets were specially honoured by the royal patron and aptly styled as *"Ashṭa Diggajāh"* (i.e., the eight legendary elephants which are supposed to bear the burden of the mother earth). Allasāni Peddana, the best of the lot and the author of *Manu Charitra*, was honoured with the title, *"Āndhra kavitā pitāmaha"* (i.e., the creator of Poetry in Telugu). He gave a new orientation to poetry in Telugu with an alluring descriptive element, a vivacious portrayal of characters in various passing moods, moving passions and emotions culminating in erotic and other sentiments, a rich poetic imagery and rhetorical sublimity, and a majestic but mellifluous diction of his own. His masterpiece, the *Manu Charitra*, which has as its theme the story of Svārochisha Manu drawn from the Sanskrit *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa* was enriched with the aforesaid qualities. Its characters, Pravara and Varūdhini, assumed a new lively dimension, and almost became proverbial with the Telugu public. They are quoted as classical examples for austere chastity and erotic fillip in contexts of social episodes of love and romance, and became a handsome model for the following generation of *Prabandhas*.

Nandi Timmana, another great poet of the *Bhuvana Vijaya* Court composed a beautiful poem, *Pārijātāpaharaṇa Prabandha*, based on the romantic episode of the Pārijātā or the achievement of Satyabhāmā, in the *Harivaṁśa*. For ages the love episode of the protagonists of this playful romance, Satyabhāmā and Śrī Kṛishṇa, has been green in the memory of the Indian people, and Timmana's masterly delineation of the characters perpetuated their memory in the world of erotic poetry in Telugu. Scores of authors drew inspiration from him and composed works in close imitation of the *Pārijātāpaharaṇa* and the famous *Bhāmakalāpam* of Siddhēndra Yōgī is its spiritual child. The melody of Timmana's style, together with the texture of Peddana's diction and the lavish display of phrase of Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa, has been often applauded by the lovers of Telugu literature.

There were many other poets like Dhūrjaṭi and Mādayagāri Mallana in Kṛishṇadevarāya's Court, and many others, like Rādhāmādhava Kavi and Sankusāla Nṛisimha Kavi who visited him. He was not only a great patron of letters, but himself a poet of the first magnitude too. Timmana says he was a great *rasajña* and praises him with an epithet, "*Kavitāprāvīṇya Phaṇīśa*"—an adept in poetic composition. He was also styled as "*Sāhitī Samarāngaṇa Sārvabhauma*," i.e., Sovereign in the fields of literature and battle as well. He is said to have written many poems and plays in Sanskrit and Telugu, but only a Sanskrit play called *Jāmbavatīpariṇaya* and a Telugu *Mahākāvya* called *Āmuktamālyada* have come down to us. The latter is a versified philosophy of *Viśishṭādvaita*. It deals mainly with the story of Āndāl and Vishṇu Chitta, two of the Ālvārs, the eminent advocates of a true Vaishṇava Bhakti Cult in South India. It is a storehouse of his personality, scholarship, worldly wisdom, knowledge of Political Science, religious understanding and *Bhakti* or sense of devotion to God, and richness of imagination. The *Āmuktamālyada* on account of its grandiloquent style and complex nature in thought and imagination is a hard nut for any ordinary reader and is considered to be one of the "*Pañcha Mahā-Kāvyas*" (i.e., the Five Great Poems) in Telugu—the other four being *Manu Charitra, Vasu Charitra, Rāghava-Pāṇḍaviyamu* and *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyamu,* all belonging to this age.

Dhūrjaṭi, though a staunch Śaivite poet, was much respected by the Vaishṇavite ruler, Kṛishṇadevarāya. He composed a great shrine-epic poem, *Kālahastimāhātmyamu* and a Centum, *Śrī Kālahastīśvara Śataka.* He is famous for elegance of characterisation and unrivalled in sweetness of expression. He is a poet by temperament and always speaks in poetry with heart and soul. The lyrical outbursts in his *Śataka* give us a pen picture of his bold personality and kindred experience.

Mallana tried to create a theme of his own in his *Rājaśekhara Charitra,* but the construction of the plot is loose and rather uninteresting. Rādhāmādhava Kavi, originally Chintalapūdi Ellanārya by name, was so named by Kṛishṇadevarāya after his poem *Rādhāmādhavamu,* in which the romance between Rādhā and Kṛishṇa came back to life. It is said that Sankusāla Nṛisiṁha Kavi, the author of a beautiful poem called *Kavikarṇa-rasāyanamu,* though not a court-poet, was much appreciated by Kṛishṇadevarāya for his '*Kalpana*'. The *Rāmāyaṇa* was retold in the fashion of a *Prabandha* by Ayyalarāju Rāmabhadra Kavi in his *Rāmābhyudaya* which paved the way for certain acrobatics in expression.

Tenāli Rāmaliṅga or Rāmakṛiṣṇa Kavi, a poet of those times, is a very popular figure in the Telugu country—popular more for many merry anecdotes about him than for his poetry. He composed three poems: *Udbhaṭārādhya Charitra, Ghaṭikāchala-māhātmyamu* and *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyamu.* The last two are shrine-epics. *Pāṇḍuraṅga-māhātmyamu,* animated with interesting legends and characters and a grandiose style, earned a good name for him.

Piṅgaḷi Sūrana was another august figure of this age. He in his *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu* evolved a poetic type in Telugu—"*Dvyarthi,*" i.e., double *entendre*—in which the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* run parallel in a single expression. '*Dvyarthi*' is an acrobatic feat in poetic form in which pun strikes the keynote. Sūrana made a remarkable achievement in exploring all the possible means of pun in his work, which stood as a coveted model for other poets who composed not only double *entendres* but also works with threefold and fourfold meaning. Yet *Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīyamu* is the first and also the foremost of its kind in Telugu. His *Kalāpūrnōdayamu* is another great work of all time. The theme, the statement and everything about it is novel to the core. In fact it is a poetic novel. A threefold allegory and a comedy of errors are there in its theme. A complex texture and technical perfection are there in its treatment. The phrase '*Kalāpūrṇōdayamu*' means the birth of one *Kalāpūrṇa* by name. There is an important character of that unusual name in the work, but it is quite possible that the poet was of the opinion that this work, as the word literally means, depicts the full bloom of the art of poetry in Telugu for the first time. Yes, it was a brand new experiment in Telugu poetry in all its aspects. It seems that it was only during the sixteenth century that the Telugu poets became quite conversant with the theories of the various important aesthetic schools in Sanskrit—the Schools of *Rasa, Rati, Dhvani, Auchitya, Vakrōktī* and *Chamatkāra.* But none of them except Sūrana got the will and mettle to tread into the realms of all these "*Sāhitya Prasthānas*" in one stroll. He ventured and hence the propriety in selecting the unusual name. In its masterly delineation of female characters, in its variety entertainment of the *Ṡṛiṅgāra Rasa* and in its eloquent descriptions which often elope with the relevant incident, Sūrana's art is something akin to the Shakespearian. Sūrana was, in the opinion of Dr. C.R. Reddy, an unknown rival to Shakespeare in the East at the time. His *Prabhāvatīpradyumnamu* is another unique poem in Telugu. He was in his element while composing this. He tried to move far away from the rut of the *Prabandha* in order to find a path of his own. He made an organic plot out of a commonplace mythological theme and infused a kind of dramatic element into the characters by means of powerful dialogues and events. He is a great exponent of the '*Kāvya Śilpa*' (i.e., the art and the craft of poesy) like his great predecessor, Tikkana Somayājī.

Bhaṭṭu Mūrti, otherwise known as Rāmarāja Bhūshaṇa, who lived in the middle of the 16th century, was honoured in many a royal court of the day. His poetic genius, craft and equipment were marvellous. He was well versed in music, too, and a rhythmic being by nature. He is a great master of pun, a fountain of poetic fancy and an able exponent of the music of word and phrase and the magic of sense and meaning. His *Kāvyālaṅkāra Saṅgraha,* also known as *Narasabhūpālīya,* is a standard work on poetics in Telugu. He is a great architect of verse and the art of versification reached the zenith of its perfection in his *Vasucharitra* which led to a series of imitations. It had even the honour of being translated into Sanskrit and Tamil. We witness a jugglery of pun in his *Hariśchandra Nalōpākhyānamu,* a first rate "*Dvyarthi Kāvya*".

The Qutb Shāhīs of Golconda, particularly Malik Ibrāhīm, and their feudatories extended patronage to Telugu letters for a time during the latter half of the 16th century. Sāraṅgu Tammayya, Kandukūru Rudra Kavi, Addanki Gaṅgādhara Kavi and Ponnekaṇṭi Telaganna (some of the poets patronised by them) composed works of merit—*Vaijayantī Vilāsamu, Niraṅkuśōpākhyānamu, Tapatīsamvaraṇōpākhyānamu* and *Yayāti-charitra* respectively. *Yayāti-charitra,* a poem composed in pure Telugu, devoid of Sanskrit vocabulary, a feat by itself ably accomplished, was the first of its kind and was followed by a host of such works. Besides this pure Telugu, the pun and the double-*entendre*, several other intellectual gymnastics like the *Chitra,* the *Bandha* and the *Garbha* were in vogue at the time.

Some of the writers of the period took to the composition of *Yakshagāṇa,* an indigenous type of popular play, set to music and dance, which was just evolving itself. The *Sugrīva Vijaya* of Kandukūru Rudra Kavi is an eminent example of the type.

Amongst a host of the poetic works of the time, mention may be made of the following: *Padas* and *Veṇkaṭēśvara Vinnapālu,* devotional lyrics of a category and the *Veṇkaṭeśvara Śataka* of Tāllapākam Peda Tirumalayya; didactic story-poems like *Pañchatantra* of Baicharāju Veṇkaṭanātha; *Prabandhas* like *Sudakshiṇa Pariṇayamu* of Tenāli Annaya, *Indumatī-parinayamu* of Tenāli Rāmabhadra Kavi, *Śṛīngāra Malhana Charitra* of Eḍapāṭi Errana, *Chandrabhānu Charitra* of Tarigoppula Mallana, *Sāmbōpākhyānamu* of Rāmarāju Rangapparāju and *Pāñchāli-pariṇayamu* and *Rājavāhana-vijayamu* of Kākamāni Mūrti Kavi; the '*Dvipada*' works i.e. couplets like the *Ūshā-pariṇayamu,* the *Ashṭamahishīkalyāṇamu* and the *Parama Yōgi Vilāsamu* of Tāllapākam Chinnanna and the *Bhāratamu* of Baṭṭepāṭi Tirumala Bhaṭṭu.

Summing up the characteristics of the age, it may be said that the new spirit of the pompous imperial age led to neo-classical innovations and romantic enterprises. The exuberance of scholarship and enthusiasm of the poets was channelled into various new types like the *Prabandha,* the *Dvyarthi,* the *Yakshagāna* and the like, and new features like *Ślēsha, Achcha Telugu, Chitra, Bandha, Garbha* etc., and into various Puraṇic themes with a few exceptions blended with new aesthetic values and various major sentiments, the predominant being the *Śṛṅgāra* and into a variety of descriptions charged with flights of imagination and above all a grandiloquent diction. The elements of love, devotion, philosophy and the didactic are blended with the content of many of the poetic works of the age which of course impart message of a lasting value, but do not mirror the life of the common man in the contemporary society. Aesthetic delight, more than anything else, was their aim and ambition. Yes, it was chiefly an age of aesthetic considerations in the history of Telugu literature.

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After the fall of the Vijayanagara empire in 1565 (see p. 492) we witness an age of decadence in Telugu literature in the Telugu country from early 17th century onwards almost up to the dawn of the Modern Age. But a few poets worth the name flourished during the period. Four of the Nellore Friends' Circle flourished in early 17th century. Kankaṇṭi Pāparāju composed *Uttara Rāmāyaṇamu* with a classical dignity which excelled Tikkana's work of the same name in quality and popularity, and *Vishṇumāyā Vilāsamu,* a *Yakshagāna* of note. Ṭekumaḷḷa Raṅga Śāyi composed *Vāṇīvilāsa Vanamālikā,* a miniature cyclopaedia, first of its kind in Telugu. Pushpagiri Timmakavi composed *Samīra Kumāra Vijayamu* and

Dharaṇidēvula. Rāmamantri composed *Daśāvatāra Charitra.* All these works are original compositions and not translations.

Never before and never after in the history of Telugu literature, were there so many royal poets as were in this age. Malli Ananta and Kumārānanta of Sidhout composed *Kākutstha Vijaya* and *Kumudvatī Pariṇaya,* respectively, and Surabhi Mādhavarāyalu of Jaṭaprōlu composed *Chandrikāpariṇaya* as almost a rival to the famous *Vasu charitra.* Dāmera Aṅkabhūpāla of Vellore composed *Ūshā-pariṇaya.* Bijjala Timmabhūpāla of Alampūr translated the famous Sanskrit play of Murāri, the *Anargha Rāghava,* in the form of a narrative poem, successfully maintaining the deftness of expression of the original. Some of the aforesaid kings extended patronage to other poets at their courts. Kavi Chauḍappa, a poet of the Sidhout court, composed a *Śataka* which became very popular on account of its amatory and didactic fun and frolic. Elakūchi Veṇkaṭa Kṛishṇayya, reputed by the title '*Bālasarasvati*', the court-poet of Jaṭaprōlu was a "*Mahāmahōpādhyāya*", i.e., a great scholar and teacher. He wrote many works of which mention may be made of his *Rāghava Yādava Pāṇḍavīyamu,* a triple *entendre* in which run concurrently the stories of all the three great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa,* the *Bhāgavata* and the *Mahābhārata* and the translation of the three *śatakas* of the *Subhāshita* of Bhartṛihari, done for the first time in Telugu.

History for the first time formed the theme of two narrative poems during this period:

1. *Rāmarājīyamu,* also known as *Narapativijayamu* of Andugula Veṇkayya deals with a dependable story of Aḷiya Rāmarāya, a great dictator, a king-maker and a king for some time of Vijayanagara (p. 488). 2. *Kṛishṇarāya Vijayamu* of Kumāra Dhūrjaṭī, deals with the story of Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagara (1509-1529) told in the fashion of a *Prabandha.* Both the works are in lucid style. It is interesting to note that one Piṅgali Ellana wrote a poem, *Tōbhya-charitra* by name, dealing with a Christian theme. Muddaraju Rāmana, commentator of the *Rāghava Pāṇḍavīyamu,* also belongs to this period.

Appakavi, a great grammarian of the time, wrote in verse a prolific commentary, *Appakavīyamu* by name, on the *Andhraśabdachintāmani,* the first treatise on Telugu grammar written in Sanskrit. Pre-eminently it is an authority on the subject, not only of Telugu grammar, but also of Telugu prosody, and is the result of deep study. The *Sarvalakshaṇa Śirōmaṇi* of a junior contemporary of Appakavi does a cyclopaedic survey of Telugu grammar, prosody, poetics, rhetoric and lexicography. The author, Ganapavarapu Veṇkaṭa Kavi, though good at writing poetry in a pleasing manner, perpetrated in his *magnum opus,* the *Prabandharāja Veṇkaṭēśvara Vijaya Vilāsamu* all possible feats in the witchcraft of versification in a bewildering manner, sacrificing all aesthetic considerations. His erudition, equipment and ability are amazing and commendable but not the damages caused to the very purpose of poetry. His performance was the highlight of the age, but was a hall-mark of its decadence too.

There is yet another phase in the history of Telugu literature during the 17th century. Literature in Telugu was produced outside the Telugu country also. The Royal Courts of Tanjore and Madura (which are now in the Tamil Nadu State) where the Andhra suzerainty was established under the Nāyaka kings in the heyday of the Vijayanagara empire (pp. 486 ff.) extended patronage to the Telugu poets and scholars pouring in from the Telugu country with their kith and kin after the doom of Vijayanagara. The Telugu colonial literature of those times is noted for its variety in theme, freshness in treatment and for richness in type and sentiment. It was, unlike its counterpart, an age of new life but not decadence.

The Tanjore court could boast of a long line of royal patrons of poets and poetesses. The court of Raghunātha Nāyaka, who ruled over Tanjore from 1600 to 1632, was described by Rāmabhadrāmba, his court poetess, in her *Raghunāthābhyudaya.* Raghunātha was himself a merited poet in Telugu and Sanskrit. His Telugu poems, the *Ramāyaṇa,* the *Vālmīki-charitra* and the *Nala-charitra* are resplendent with *Jāti, Vārta* and *Chamatkāra* (three skilful means of literary expression). His court-poet, Chēmakūra Veṇkaṭa Kavi, composed two poems *Sāraṅgadhara-Charitra* and *Vijaya-Vilāsamu,* in which we often find a bewitching adroit stroke of expression accomplished with a great ease and no effort. Kṛishṇādhvari, another poet of the court, dedicated to the patron his *Naishadha Pārijātīyamu,* a *Dvyarthi Kāvya.* Generally speaking, the poets of this southern school are not lovers of pun, but curiously enough, one such poem as this was produced, of course as a matter of accident.

Vijayarāghava Nāyaka, son of Raghunātha, was very much interested and well versed in the arts of music, dance and drama. He, his son Mannārudēva, Kamarusu Veṇkaṭapati Sōmayāji, the poet-laureate, Raṅgājamma, a poetess, and the other poets of his court composed and staged scores of *Yakshagānas.* The *Yakshagāna* assumed the full stature of a regular play, removed the dearth of dramatic literature in Telugu and had its heyday at Tanjore during the rule of the Nāyaka kings and even afterwards, during the following hundred and fifty years of the Marāṭhā rule over Tanjore. Some of the Marāṭhā rulers and their court-poets produced chiefly a great body of the *Yakshagāna* literature which by then became a popular pastime and a royal entertainment. The themes and characters of the *Yakshagānas* were drawn from the contemporary society. The wit and wisdom of the people and the literary amusements of the royal court found expression in them. Quite unusually, the living language of the people was employed as their medium. The element of humour which was sporadically met with in Telugu literature till then, was amply displayed. In short, they held the mirror unto life and nature. A special mention of the *Mannārudāsa Vilāsamu* of Raṅgājamma, the *Raghunāthanāyakābhyudayamu* of Vijayarāghava and the *Tañjāpurānnadāna mahānāṭakam* of Purushōttama Dīkshita may be made in this context. It may be said to the credit of the *Yakshagāna* that it has been the most popular type of literature and while most of the literary types in Telugu were borrowed from one source or other, it was the only indigenous type peculiar to Telugu and was borrowed by others, i.e., the Tamilians and the Kannadigas.

The Tanjore court under Vijayarāghava was also famous for *Padas* (musical compositions chiefly of lyrical nature). The king and almost all his court-poets composed a large number of beautiful *padas* with erotic as the predominant sentiment.

The court of Madura, a rival to Tanjore, turned a new leaf in the annals of the history of Telugu literature by paving the way to the growth of prose literature and a new type of Śṛiṅgāra Prabandha. The *Rāyavāchakamu* written by a "*Sthānāpati*", i.e., a court-correspondent, in the first decade of 17th century in a slang deals with the history and anecdotes of the Vijayanagara empire. Liṅganamakhi Kāmēśvara Kavi who was in the courts of Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-1659) and Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1659-1682) wrote a prose work called *Dhēnumāhātmyamu* and two poems, *Rukmiṇīpariṇayamu* and *Satyabhāmā-sāntvanamu*. A poet, probably Vikaṭa Kavi Gōpālarayaḍu, for some reasons, became the target of wrath of the queen Maṅgamma (1682-1706), was banished from the State and wrote in his exile *Madhura Maṅgā Puṁśchalivilāsamu* (the amorous sport of the whore Mangamma of Madura), a prose work interspersed with couplets here and there. It is almost an inventory of her illicit contacts and erotic deeds with contemporary princes and generals, couched in vulgar and obscene pranks and prattle. Yet it has a poetic interest of its own and may be useful to the historians to an extent. All that is best in the Madura literature was produced during the reign of Vijayaraṅga Chokkanātha Nāyaka (1706-1732).

A few pieces of literature were now and then produced in places like Gingee and Mysore in the south during the period under review, of which the *Kuvalayāśva Charitra,* a poem by Savaramu Chinanārāyaṇa Nāyaka of Gingee and *Chikadevarāya Vilāsamu,* a *Yakshagāna* of the Mysore court deserve mention.

The 17th century literature in Telugu, colonial or regional as the case may be, though having an individuality of its own to an extent, is on the whole a huge foliage with few flowers when compared with its counterpart in the 16th century.

XI. KANNAḌA

From the sixteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century Kannaḍa literature passed through a transitional stage. Poets of great eminence were few, the prominent among them being Lakshmīśa, Shaḍakshara, Ratnākara Varni and Sarvajña. The Vīraśaivas and Haridāsas produced much didactic and polemical literature. The Jainas, patronised by a few chieftains of the west coast, took to popular metres like *Sāṅgatya* and *Shaṭpadī* for retelling the story of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Maṅgarasa wrote *Nemijineśa Saṅgati* Śāntikīrti wrote *Śāntinātha-purāṇa* in 1519 A.D., Padma Kavi, *Vardhamāna-Charita,* Doddayya, *Chandraprabhā-Charita,* Pañchabāṇa, *Bhujabali-Charite,* Devarasa, *Gurudatta-Charite,* Dharaṇī-Paṇḍita, *Varāṅga Charita* and *Bijjala-Rāya-Charite.* Chandrama's *Karkala-Gommateśa-Charite* deals with the establishment of the Gommata image at Karkala. Salva's *Bhārata* gives the Jaina version of the *Mahābhārata* story. The greatest of the Jaina poets of this age was Ratnākara Varni who wrote the *Śatakas—Aparājitēśvara Śataka, Triloka Śataka, Ratnākarādhīśvara Śataka* and probably *Somēśvara Śataka.* His greatest work was, however, *Bhārateśa Vaibhava* (1557 A.D.). It contains about ten-thousand verses in the *Sāṅgatya* metre and is a valuable source for the study of contemporary life.

The Vīraśaivas were mostly concerned with Puraṇic stories. Oduva Giriya (1525), Bombey Lakka and Halaga dealt with the story of Hariśchandra in the *Śāṅgatya metre.*

Gubbi Mallaṇṇa (1513), Virūpāksha Paṇḍita (1584), and Shaḍakshara (1655) are the three Vīraśaiva poets of eminence in this period. Gubbi Mallaṇṇārya (1513-1530) in his *Bhāvachintāratna,* deals with the story of Satyendra Chōḷa and the efficacy of the Pañchākshari *mantras.* His other work *Vīraśaivāmṛitapurāna* contains

7100 verses dealing with the philosophy of Vīraśaivism, the *līlās* of Śiva and stories of numerous saints of the sect. Virūpāksha Paṇḍita (1584) resided at Vijayanagara and his *Chenna-Basava-Purāṇa* contains about 2900 verses in the Vārdhaka Shaṭpadī metre. His descriptions of nature have freshness and originality. Shaḍakshara, who wrote nearly three quarters of a century later, resided in Southern Mysore. His proficiency in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa was remarkable and in popular legends he was considered equal to Lakshmīśa and Nēmichandra. In Sanskrit he composed *Kavikarṇa Rasāyaṇa, Śivādhikya Bhaktādhikya* and other stotras. Among his three Kannaḍa works *Rājaśēkhara-Vilāsa, Basava-Rāja-Vijaya* and *Śabara-Śankara-Vilāsa,* the first is the best. He has preserved all the rigour and terseness of the *Champū* style and the language is usually elegant and chaste (though occasionally he displays his knowledge of obscure metres and words). This work attained great popularity among all classes.

"Sarvajña" is the pseudonym assumed by a remarkable personality assigned to c. 1600 A.D. That he was a devotee of Śiva and a Sannyāsin may be inferred from his *vachanas.* These *vachanas* are not in prose but in the popular *tripadi* metre which is mellifluous, terse and pregnant with meaning in the hands of a master like Sarvajña. His *vachanas* are also remarkable for the element of satire and humour, comparatively rare in early Kannaḍa literature. Sarvajña preached a universal philosophy transcending caste, colour and creed.

The Brāhmaṇa authors of the times were mostly concerned with the epics and the Purāṇas. Timmaṇṇa had completed the *Mahābhārata* under the patronage of Kṛishṇadevarāya. His contemporary, Nityātma Śuka Yōgi or Chaṭu Viṭhalanātha, undertook the task of rendering the *Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* into Kannaḍa but the *Bhāgavata* seems to be the work of several authors. Chāyaṇa (c. 1550) wrote a *Mahābhārata* in Vārdhaka Shaṭpadī. Battatīśvara (who seems to be different from the Vīraśaiva author of that name) wrote a *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Bhāmini Shaṭpadī metre, but it did not attain the popularity of *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kumāra Vālmīki or Narahari (c. 1650). *Uttara Rāmāyaṇa* in Kannaḍa was written by Yōgīndra and Tirumale Vaidya. The story of Prahlāda furnished the theme for Narahari and Chenniga. Śrīnivāsa Kavi rendered the *Strī Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* and Mallarasa (1680) wrote the *Daśāvatāra-Charitre.*

Chikkadeva Rāya (1672-1704) of the Wodeyar family of Mysore is said to have composed *Binnapa* or "confession," *Gīta Gōpāla, Bhā-*

gavata in prose, *Mahābhārata* from Śāntiparva onwards and *Śēsha* dharma. The *Binnappa* is addressed to his favourite deity Nārāyaṇa of Yadugiri (Mēlkōṭe) with the avowed object of popularising the philosophy and teachings of the Gītā. The *Gītā Gōpāla* in imitation of Jayadeva, consists of songs probably composed by his minister Tirumalārya and other authors of his court. Tirumalārya (1645-1706) wrote about the exploits of his master in *Chikka Dēva-Rāja-Vijaya, Vaṁśāvaḷī, Apratima Vīra Charite,* and his younger brother Singarārya wrote the earliest extant drama in Kannaḍa, *Mitravindā Gōvinda,* based on the *Ratnāvalī* of Harsha. Chikkupādhyāya is credited with more than thirty works including eight Sthala Māhātmyas, songs, *stotras,* commentaries on Tiruvaymoli etc. He wrote the *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* in prose as well as a *champū.* He rendered *Sāttvika-Brahma-Vidyā-Vilāsa, Artha Pañchaka* and *Tattvatraya* on Viśishṭādvaita philosophy into Kannaḍa. His *Śukasaptati* is in prose and the *Chitra Śataka Sāṅgatya* points out some of the peculiarities of Kannaḍa words. Timmakavi has written three *Sthala-Māhātmyas.* Mallikārjuna also wrote *Śrīraṅga Māhātmya.*

Under the patronage of Chikkadeva two women authors flourished. Śṛiṅgāramma (1685) wrote *Padminī Kalyāna* in the Sāṅgatya metre. Sanchi Honnamma is the author of *Hadibadeya Dharma* or the Duties of a Pativrata. This work is remarkable for the vindication of women and pleads for a proper recognition of the status of women. "The woman is the mother who bore and protected man, yet why do men treat women as inferior?" she asks. "The ideal wife devoted to her husband is a blessing to the world and a boon to man. The daughter-in-law is also a girl like one's own child and should be treated with the same affection. The woman also has a corresponding duty towards her husband and children". The Jaina author *Chidānanda* was also patronised by Chikkadeva and wrote *Munivaṁśābhyudaya* dealing with the history of the Jaina gurus of Mūla Saṅgha-Dēśi Gaṇa.

Among the semi-historical works apart from those written on Chikkadeva Rāya may be mentioned the story of Kumāra Rāma by Nanjunda and Gaṅga, *Sarja-Hanumendra-Charite* of Kṛishṇa Śarmā (1700), *Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijaya* of Bhārati Nanja (1648), *Rāja Nṛipa-Charite* (1610), *Jagadeva Rayana Kāvya* (1620), Songs on Kempa Rāya of Yelahanka and Chikkadeva Rāya *Bīḷigi Arasara Vaṁśāvalī* (c. 1700), *Rāja Saṅgīta* on Chikkadeva's son Kaṇṭhīrava (c. 1710).

A large number of devotional songs were composed by the "Haridāsas" of the period who belonged mostly to the Vaishṇava and Madhva sects.

The great poet Lakshmīśa may be assigned to the last quarter of the sixteenth century. His *Jaimini Bhārata* has been considered to be a work of high merit and is deservedly popular. It is written in the Vārdhaka Shaṭpadi metre and contains about 1900 verses. Lakshmīśa's style is elegant, mellifluous and charming and his work has found many imitators. Among the Purāṇas, Timmarasa wrote the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa;* the *Brahmōttarakhaṇḍa* and *Rāmāyaṇa* were rendered into Kannaḍa prose by Chāmarāja of Mysore and Rāmachandraguru Śishya translated the *Āditya Purāṇa.* Nāgarasa has given a fairly good translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* in the Bhāmini Shaṭpadī metre.

Many poets wrote Śatakas or centuries of verses containing didactic matter and addressed to their favourite deities. Among the purely secular works written for amusement and instruction may be mentioned *Saundarya Kathāratna* of Rāmēndra (c. 1550) based on the Sanskrit work of Kshēmēndra, *Śṛiṅgāra Kathe* of Padmarasa (1579), and Narasimha's *Madana Mōhini Kathe* (1650).

Technical works dealing with arts and sciences are comparatively few. An anthology of verses was issued by Abhinavavādi Vidyānanda (c. 1540). On prosody and rhetoric we have Sāḷva's *Rasa Ratnākara* and *Śāradā Vilāsa* dealing with Rasa and Dhvani (1550), Guṇachandra's *Chhandassāra* and Timma's *Navarasālaṁkāra* (1600). Grammar is represented by Bhaṭṭākaḷanka's *Śabdānuśāsana* (1604) consisting of 592 Sanskrit Sūtras for Kannaḍa with a *vṛtti* and a *vyākhyāna.* It is more exhaustive than the earlier grammars. There were many works on lexicography. On Aśva Śāstra we have two works produced under the patronage of Chāmarāja of Mysore—the *Aśva Śāstra* of Rāmachandra and *Hayasāra Samuchchaya* of Padmaṇa Paṇḍita. Astrology and prognostics are dealt with in Mādhava Deva's (Arhad dāsa) *Nara Piṅgaḷi* and Gaṅgādhara's *Raṭṭa Jātaka.* The art of cookery is finely described in Maṅgarasa's *Sūpa Śāstra* (1510). Vīra Bhadra Rāja wrote a Kannaḍa commentary on the *Hastyāyurvēda of Pālakāpya* (1600). On medicine Sāḷva's *Vaidya Sāṅgatya,* Chennarāja's *Vaidya Sāra Saṁgraha,* and Nanjanātha Bhūpāla's *Vaidya Sāra Saṁgraha* are notable. Mathematics is represented by Bhāskara's *Bēhāra Ganita,* Timmarasa's *Kshētra Gaṇita,* and Bāla Vaidya Cheluva's *Kannaḍa Līlāvatī* (1715) and his *Ratna Śāstra* deals with precious stones.

XII. MALAYALAM

The Malayalam language, with the introduction of a new type of devotional literature, underwent a metamorphosis, both in form and content, and it is generally held that modernity in Malayalam, both in language and literature, commenced at this period.

This metamorphosis was brought by Thunchathu Ezhuthachan (16th century) who is known as the father of modern Malayalam.[20] Till his time the language of Kerala with its literary attainments indicated two different courses of development depending mainly on its relationship with either Sanskrit or Tamil. The earliest literary work in Malayalam, now available, is a prose commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, ascribed to the 13th century. A poetical work, *Vaisikatantram*, and a *Champū Kāvya, Uṇṇichairutēvī-charitam,* are also believed to be the works belonging to this century or, at the most, early 14th century. All these works come under a special category, known as *Maṇipravāḷam,* literally the 'pearl-coral combination' of two languages, the language of Kerala and Sanskrit. A grammar and rhetoric on this hybrid literary style was written some time during the 14th century in Sanskrit, and the work, called *Līlatilakam*, is the main source of information for a student of literary and linguistic history.

Pāttu and Manipravāla:

According to *Līlatilakam,* the *Maṇipravāḷa* and *Pāṭṭu* style of literary compositions were in vogue during the period. *Pāṭṭu* means literally 'song', and is, more or less, indigenous in its characteristics, and therefore representative of pure Malayalam school of poetry. From the definition of the *Pāṭṭu* style of poetry given in *Līlatilakam* it can be surmised that the language of Kerala during the period was, more or less, in line with Tamil, and this has misled many to think that Malayalam was Tamil itself during this period and before. A close scrutiny of the linguistic peculiarities of the then Tamil and Malayalam would certainly reveal that they had separate entities, but were closely allied in many respects. No other pair of Dravidian languages is so closely connected as Tamil and Malayalam, and the degree of affinity existing between the two languages was so high that a dispassionate analysis and evaluation of the linguistic subtleties of the two languages alone would help us to demarcate the essential differences between them. The latest researches made in this field have shown that Malayalam, as a separate language spoken in Kerala, began showing independent lines of development from its parental tongue, the proto-Dravidian, or the Tamil of the early Sangam age, preserving the idiosyncracies of the earliest Dravidian tongue, which only in due course, gave birth to the literary form of Tamil, namely Sen Tamil, and Malayalam, the spoken form of it prevalent in Kerala. However, till the 13th century we have no evidence at hand to show that the language of Kerala had a literary tradition excepting to infer that folk-songs, chiefly connected with rituals and religious performances were there, the relics of which are now available and about the antiquity of which nothing definite can be ascertained. The indigenous school of *Pāṭṭu,* referred to in *Līlatilakam,* is a contribution of the early compositions. Side by side with this school only developed the hybrid literary language of *Maṇipravālam.*

Pre-Ezhuthachan period:

Thus the literary traditions prior to the age of Ezhuthachan give a rich heritage of interesting works belonging to these schools. The three early *Maṇipravālam Champūs,* a few *Sandeśa Kāvyas,* like *Uṇṇunīlī Sandeśam* and *Kāka-sandeśam,* and innumerable amorous compositions on courtesans of Kerala, which throb with literary beauty and poetical fancies, combined with a relishing touch of realism about them with regard to the then social conditions— all these constitute the *Maṇipravālam* school of poetry. Many prose works, in the form of commentaries and elucidations of *Purāṇik* episodes used by traditional mono-actors, called *Chākyārs,* were written in this style and they form the bulk of classical works in Malayalam.

The indigenous school also has major works, like *Rāmacharitam, Rāmāyaṇam, Mahạbhạratam* and *Bhagavad Gītā,* by a set of poets belonging to one family, called *Kannassas,* and *Kṛishṇappāṭṭu* by Cherusseri Nambudiri. Some of them, like *Rāmacharitam,* have a close resemblance to Tamil language of the period, and the reason for this is not to be attributed to the then characteristics of the language of Kerala, but to the influence of Tamil works on native poets belonging to the zones lying near the Tamil country. Otherwise the existence of works like *Kṛishṇappāṭṭu* written almost during the same century in pure Malayalam and the early *champūs* composed still earlier, containing similar diction and usages formed in *Kṛishṇapāṭṭu* cannot be explained.

Contribution of Ezhuthachan:

It is against this background that the contribution of Thunchathu Ezhuthachan of the 16th century towards the language and literature is to be assessed. The Malayalam language was by his time developed to be the vehicle of ideas, of even thoughts on higher studies like metaphysics, economics and politics. But as the language had been developing in two different lines in its vocabulary, it became the need of the day to bring in uniformity of style. The credit to effect this goes to Thunchathu Ezhuthachan whose writings became a confluence of the two channels of linguistic currents. He profusely borrowed from Sanskrit its rich lexicography as the poets of Maṇipravālam school did, but with a difference that the mainstay of his style in writing verses rested on indigenous school.

The first work of Ezhuthachan was a translation of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* from Sanskrit, a Vaishṇavic version of the Rāma saga which inspired many poets during the same period to adopt it in their own mother tongues. What Tulasī did for the then North Indian language of the people in generality, Ezhuthachan did for the Keralites. Although the story of Rāma had already been retold in Malayalam by many poets who lived before the days of Ezhuthachan, his adaptation of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* was hailed as the most enchanting work, being liked by the scholars and illiterates alike. The devotional element blended with Vedāntic thoughts most artistically linked with the story of Rāma opened a new chapter in Malayalam literature and brought the readers to an elevated level of literary compositions. It gave the work an entirely fresh look and ultimately it became so popular that every Hindu house made it a religious rite to read *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* daily. The diversified characteristics of the language of Kerala slowly disappeared and merged into this dynamic, new-born literary style, which even today continues as it is.

Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam was immediately followed by *Mahābhāratam*, a work of superb literary excellence, probably written by the author in the maturity of his poetic faculty. The entire bulk of *Vyāsa Bhārata* was condensed by Ezhuthachan allowing no episode to suffer due to this brevity of expression, but at the same time giving chance to the full display of his poetic genius wherever possible. *Bhagavad Gītā*, running to eighteen chapters in *Vyāsa Bhārata,* finds a prominent place in Ezhuthachan's work, giving in a very condensed form the gist of *Gītā*. Another speciality with Ezhuthachan's *Bhāratam* is that the description, figures of speech, and the portrayal of characters have something peculiar about the life of Kerala in them. Thus *Mahābhāratam* stands out in Malayalam literature as a classic written in modern language, and is perhaps a unique work in that respect.

Post-Ezhuthachan period:

Many devotional works composed during and after 16th century are ascribed to Ezhuthachan but none of them stands on a pedestal with the literary excellence and beauty of expression that characterise the works of Ezhuthachan. Many Purāṇas were written during this period closely imitating his style. The period immediately following the age of Ezhuthachan is therefore known as the "*Bhakti Yuga*", the age of devotional literature in Malayalam. Melpattur Narayana Bhattatiri, the author of the immortal Sanskrit *Bhakti-Kāvya, 'Nārāyaṇīyam'* was a contemporary of Ezhuthachan. Bhattatiri stands as a living monument of the erudition in Sanskrit the then high caste Hindus of Kerala attained. Knowledge of Sanskrit alone was counted as a symbol of scholarship not only in that period but also to a great extent during the four centuries that followed. But, a few poets following in the footsteps of Ezhuthachan made remarkable contributions to Malayalam, despite the contemptuous treatment tendered to the writers of native language. The most prominent among them is Poonthanam Nambudiri, the author of *Jñānappana,* a philosophical work in simple Malayalam. It was he who proved more than Ezhuthachan that high philosophical thoughts could be rendered in chaste Malayalam without the help of Sanskrit technical terms.

Later Champū period:

It was during the 16th and 17th centuries that later *Champū Kāvyas,* composed in Maṇipravāla style were written. *Rāmāyaṇam Champū* by Punam Nambudiri and *Naishadham Champū* by Mahishamaṅgalam Nambudiri are the most notable works under this category. One speciality of *Champū Kāvyas* was that they contained both the Sanskritic and indigenous elements of poetry in equal degree, and they finally paved the way for two types of literature unique in many respects, the like of which are not to be found in any Indian language either earlier or later than this age.

Attakkathā Age:

Attakkathā literature, closely following the *champū* style in the use of Sanskrit and Malayalam with a definite purpose and motive, is the first type. *Attam* in Malayalam means 'dance or drama' and *Kathā,* a Sanskrit term, means 'story'. Attakkathās are therefore the stories written for a type of dance-drama, indigenous to Kerala, known as Kathākali. Kathākali, which at present enjoys international reputation, is representative of the fusion of Aryan and Dravidian cultures in the art of histrionics. Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra* had become by the time, a hand-book of the Chākyārs, the traditional actors of Sanskrit dramas in Kerala temples. As early as the 9th century A.D., the institution of *Chākyār Kuthu,* with its colourful and interesting variation of *Kutiyattam* (staging of Sanskrit plays) was there, and the caste Hindus connected with temples looked upon the same as the best means of educating them in Sanskrit and histrionics. As it was not open to the generality of the people living outside the precincts of temples, another form of dance-drama emerged out of it, taking inspiration from the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva. The story of Lord Kṛishṇa was then adapted and a Sanskrit work called *Kṛishṇagīti* was composed for the purpose. The dance-drama based on *Kṛishṇagīti* was known as *Kṛishṇattam,* which again was however confined to temple premises.

The Rājā of Kottarakkara, a princely poet, (16th century) wrote in Malayalam the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* in imitation of *Kṛishnagīti* and the same was styled as *Rāmanattam* as against *Kṛishṇattam.* The entire *Rāmāyaṇa* story was divided into eight parts, and they form the basis for *Rāmanattam* which later paved the way for the art of Kathākali.

When another prince, Rājā of Kottayam, composed stories of *Mahābhārata* for the same purpose, he preferred to call it Kathākali, and the literary composition was thereafter known as *Attakkathā.* The two centuries which followed the days of Rājā of Kottarakkara, the exponent of *Rāmanattam,* witnessed the heyday of *Attakkathā* literature, which continued to wield its charming influence for all writers of the age, and it became a rule that a poet to be recognised should compose an *Attakkathā.* Thus nearly thousand Kathākali plays were written during the period, although only a few of them claim literary excellence.

Unnayi Varyar, whose *Nalacharitam Attakkathā* is the most popular even today, was the most prominent poet (18th century) among not only the Kathākali writers, but also among the classical poets of Kerala. He is often styled as the Kālidāsa of Kerala, and his *Nalacharitam* is the *Abhijñāna-Sākuntalam* of Malayalam literature. Although Kathākali is a dance-drama and its literary form should more or less be on the model of drama, there is nothing common between a typical *Attakkathā* and Sanskrit drama. On the other hand, the principles of dramaturgy to be observed in writing a particular type of Sanskrit drama are completely ignored or violated by an author of *Attakkathā.* Delineation of a particular *Rasa* is an inevitable feature with Sanskrit drama whereas in an *Attakkathā* all the predominant *Rasas* are given full treatment and consequently the theme of an *Attakkathā* often loses its integrity and artistic unity when viewed as a literary work. Any *Attakkathā* fulfils its objective if it affords a variety of scenes depicting different types of characters, and each scene would have its own hero with the *Rasa* associated with that character. When that hero is portrayed he is given utmost prominence to the utter neglect of the main sentiment (*rasa*) of the theme in general. This has its own justification as far as an *Attakkathā* is concerned. The purpose of an *Attakkathā* is not to present a theme with a well-knit emotional plot as its central point, but to present all approved types of characters already set to suit the technique of the art of Kathākali. It is worthwhile to point out that Unnayi Varyar's *Nalacharitam Attakkathā* does not conform to the traditional monotonous setting of a Kathākali play. His composition is a happy diversion from the conservative line and therefore stands singled out as a perfect drama in all the significance and implication of the term. Drama being the most perfect poetic expression of a writer, *Nalacharitam* with all its artistic and literary qualities has the rare privilege of being a unique literary work of the period under review.

XIII. SANSKRIT

The Muslim occupation of large areas in North India adversely affected the growth of Sanskrit literature. Akbar attempted to create an atmosphere of tolerance and Shāh Jahān and Dārā gave some patronage to Sanskrit scholars. But, by and large, the atmosphere of peace and security so necessary for the progress of culture, was lacking. Even a cursory glance at the condition of Sanskrit literature in different regions testifies to this. Kāśmīr, which was once reputed as an important centre of Sanskrit learning, hardly produced any work worth the name after the end of the Hindu rule. In Bengal, also, practically Jayadeva's (12th century A.D.) is the last great name in its literary history. Gujarāt was known for its historical *kāvyas* during the days of the Chālukyas and their successors, the Vāghela chiefs. But the subsequent period did not produce many works of importance. Similar was the position in Bihār. If Sanskrit continued to prosper in these regions, it was mainly under the patronage of the smaller Hindu States.

Different is the story in regard to the South. The vigorous renaissance movement so ably initiated by Mādhavāchārya and Sāyaṇāchārya continued for centuries to inspire both rulers and scholars to strive to enrich their culture in all possible aspects. The Vijayanagara empire lost much of its glory in 1565 but the rulers of the Tuḷuva and Araviḍu dynasties kept alive the tradition of patronage to Sanskrit. It continued to be nourished by the chiefs of the smaller principalities that rose to prominence, like the Nāyakas of Tanjore, the chiefs of Travancore and Cochin, and the Zamorins of Calicut, many of whom were erudite poets themselves.

A brief survey of the progress achieved in different branches of Sanskrit literature also confirms these observations.

THE KĀVYA LITERATURE

Mahākāvya:

In the field of Mahākāvya notable contribution was made by Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and his court-poets. A zealous patron of letters, Raghunātha was himself a well-known poet. Among his *kāvyas* mention may be made of *Achyutarāyābhyudaya, Rāmāyana-sāra-sāṅgraha, Gajendramoksha, Naḷābhyudaya, Pārijātaharaṇa* and *Rukmiṇī-kṛishṇa-vivāha.* The first one is a biography of his father, Āchyutarāya.

Madhuravāṇī, a talented lady in the court of Raghunātha, wrote a *kāvya* on *Ramāyaṇa,* in fourteen cantos, at the instance of the king. She tells us that the king was keen on getting a Sanskrit kāvya written on the lines of his *Āndhra-Rāmāyaṇa,* and he was directed by God in his dream to entrust the work to Madhuravāṇī.

Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita, a minister of the Nāyakas of Gingee, was a prolific writer. He is credited with the authorship of eighteen dramas and sixty *kāvyas.* Among his *kāvyas, Śitikaṇṭhavijaya* deals with the story of Samudramanthana. His son, Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita, a well-known scholar in Mīmāṁsā, contributed to the poetic literature also. His *Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa* is a *kāvya* in ten cantos, with the theme of the marriage of Kṛishṇa and Rukmiṇī.

Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkshita was a versatile writer who flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was a disciple of Venkaṭamakhi, the son of Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita, and the grand-nephew of Appayya Dīkshita, the famous Śaiva scholar of the period. He was a minister of Tirumalanāyaka of Madura. Among his numerous poetical works *Śivalīlārṇava* and *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* rank very high. The former is a *mahākāvya* in twenty-two cantos detailing the sixty-four *līlās* of god Śiva Hālasyanātha by which name he is worshipped at Madura. His *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* deals in eight cantos with the story of the penance of Bhagīratha and the descent of the celestial Gaṅgā on the earth.

Another contemporary poet of repute was Chakrakavi, the author of *Jānakīpariṇaya.* Based on the *Bālakāṇḍa* of *Rāmāyaṇa,* the poet narrates in this *kāvya,* of eight cantos, the story of Rāma culminating with his marriage with Sītā, the daughter of Janaka. Another work based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* is *Rāmachandrodaya* of Veṅkaṭeśa. It is a lengthy *kāvya* in thirty-two cantos, probably composed in 1637 A.D. at Banaras.

Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭatiri is considered 'as one of the greatest scholar-poets Kerala has produced'. He was a contemporary and a friend of Mānaveda Zamorin, king of Kozhikode (1637 to

1648). His contribution to Sanskrit literature is profuse and varied, covering the fields of *kāvya, Mīmāṁsā,* grammar and the like. But his fame rests mainly on his metrical composition *Nārāyaṇīyam.* Though it is a lengthy poem of over a thousand verses in the *kāvya* style, it can be described as a devotional *kāvya* in praise of god Nārāyaṇa of Guruvayur. To this category may be added *Rukmiṇīśa-vijaya* of Vādirāja. This Mādhva pontiff wrote many works on Mādhva philosophy and he was a gifted poet too. His *Sarasabhārati* is another poetical work, dealing with Mādhva theology. His *Tīrthaprabandha* is a rare type of work. It is a travelogue describing the holy places all over India.

Ślesha-kāvya:

With the growing artificiality in poetry which became the characteristic feature of the later periods, a number of works came to be written which can be included in the class of *Ślesha-kāvya,* using the words with double, treble or even more meanings. The authors of such works endeavoured to narrate more than one story in one and the same composition. In the period under study, we notice quite a few experiments of this type.

The *Yādava-Rāghavīya* of Veṅkaṭadhvarin (17th century) for instance, is a poem narrating the stories of both Kṛishṇa and Rāma using the device of double *entendre. Naishadha-pārijāta* of Kṛishṇadhvarin is a similar work dealing at one and the same time with the stories of Kṛishṇa and Nala. This device is seen further extended with the use of treble punning by Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita mentioned above, in his *kāvya, Rāghava-Yādava-Pāṇḍavīya.* This work narrates the stories of *Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata* and *Mahābhārata.* Another work of the same name and the same theme is by Chidambara who was patronised by the Vijayanagara king Veṅkaṭa II (1586-1614) of the Aravidu dynasty. In his *Pañchakalyāṇa-champū* the experiment has indeed reached its climax, where he claims to narrate simultaneously the story of five marriages of Rāma, Kṛishṇa, Vishṇu, Śiva and Subrahmaṇya. He is also reported to have written a commentary on this work, as this was indeed necessary for the understanding of this almost impossible feat.

Historical kāvya:

Achyutarāyābhyudaya of Ḍiṇḍima, Rājanātha III, is an important work in this respect. The author belonged to the famous Ḍiṇḍima family which originally belonged to Mathura. It deals with the history of Achyutadevarāya (1530-1542), the successor of Kṛishṇadevarāya. *Varadāmbikā-Pariṇaya* also pertains to the life of Achyutadevarāya. It is a *champū-kāvya,* its theme being the marriage of the princess Varadāmbikā, the daughter of Śalaka Tirumala with Achyutadevarāya. Apart from the historical value which is not inconsiderable, the *kāvya* is considered as one of the beautiful *champūs* of the later period. The author of the work, Tirumalamba, was a versatile lady in the court of Achyutadevarāya. She is described in inscriptions as *Ōduva* Tirumalamma or Tirumalamma "the reader". She is also credited with the authorship of some verses recording the grants of land made by Achyutadevarāya.

A work of the same period, *Vyāsayogicharita* of Somanātha, throws much light on the scholastic and cultural achievements of Vyāsarāya, who was the *rājaguru* of Kṛishṇadevarāya and was held in high esteem by Achyutadevarāya.

Kavīndra Paramānanda, a contemporary of Shivājī, composed a narrative poem dealing with the life and achievements of Shivājī. The work is known as *Anubhārata* or *Śivabhārata*. The story was further continued by his son, Devadatta, and grandson, Govinda, to cover the period of Shambhūjī. All these three compositions are collectively known as *Paramānanda-kāvyam* and are valuable sources of Marāṭhā history.

Jayarāma Pāṇḍe composed the *Rādhāmādhava-Vilāsa champū* which gives an account of poets assembled at the court of Shāhjī, the father of Shivājī.

Another work of considerable importance for the history of the Marāṭhās is *Śambhurāja-charita* of Harikavi or Bhānubhaṭṭa. It is a poetic biography of Shambhūjī, the son of Shivājī. The work is preserved in fragments only. The author Harikavi was a Brāhmaṇa from the Deccan who had settled in Surat. The work is stated to have been composed in 1685 at the instance of the king's preceptor, Kṛishṇapaṇḍita. Harikavi also composed *Haihayendra-charita* which professes to be a mythical *kāvya* dealing with the story of Kārtikeya, but the story is spun around the life of his patron, Shambhūjī himself.

Rājārāma-charita of Keśava Paṇḍita is an incomplete story of Rājārām. It, however, contains a reference to his journey to Gingee.

Of the many works written on the life of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore by his court-poets, two are noteworthy. Govinda Dīkshita, who was a minister of this family of rulers for three generations, wrote *Sāhityasudhā* which describes the life and achievements of Raghunātha. Another work on the life of Raghunātha is *Raghunāthābhyudaya* of Rāmabhadrāmba. The poem contains valuable references to many historical events.

The Marāṭhā rulers of Tanjore, Ekojī (1674-1687) and Shāhjī (1687-1711) were also great patrons of letters. Many poets of their courts wrote, among others, *kāvyas* of historical importance also.

Gaṅgādhara, a minister of Ekojī, wrote *Bhosalavaṁśāvalī,* a *kāvya* dealing with the history of the Bhonsle family. In the court of king Shāhjī, son of Ekojī, flourished the poet Bhūminātha, also known as Nalla Dīkshita. He wrote a *Champū-kāvya* called *Dharmavijayachampū* to glorify the life and achievements of his patron. Another work on the life of Shāhjī is from the pen of Śrīdhara Veṅkaṭēśa. It is a poem in eight cantos, called *Sāhendra-Vilāsa.*

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, the famous work on the history of Kāshmīr, was continued by different authors in different periods; and the work pertaining to the period under study is the *Rājāvalipatākā* of Prājyabhaṭṭa and his pupil Śuka. The work narrates the history of Kāshmīr after its conquest by Akbar.

Rudrakavi's *Rāshṭrauḍha kāvya* (1596) narrates the history of the Bagulas of Mayuragiri (Khāndesh), throwing light on the political situation of the contemporary Deccan.

Karṇāvataṁsa, an eulogistic account of the rule of Karṇasiṁha of Bikaner, mentions names of Muslim patrons of Sanskrit. *Anūpasiṁhaguṇāvatāra* by Viṭṭhala Kṛishṇa is a glorified account of the rule of Anupasiṁha, son of Karṇasiṁha.

In this category may be included the eulogies by Paṇḍita Jagannātha—*Asaf Vilās* addressed to Āsaf Khān, *Jagadābharaṇa* in praise of Dārā Shukoh and *Prāṇābharaṇa* glorifying the rule of Prāṇanārāyaṇa of Kāmarūpa, also Kavīndrāchārya's *Jagadvijayachandas,* eulogising the achievements of Jahāngīr. Dārā Shukoh, too, composed a *praśasti* in honour of Nṛisiṁha Sarasvati of Banaras; it is in rhythmic prose full of alliterations.

Champū Kāvya:

Chidambara, mentioned earlier, is also the author of two *champūs: Pañchakalyāṇa-champū,* already noticed, and *Bhāgavata-champū* narrating the story of Kṛishṇa. Rājanātha III, Ḍiṇḍima, also mentioned above, composed another *Bhāgavata-champū.* Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkshita, too, wrote in 1637 his *Nīlakaṇṭha-Vijaya-champū,* dealing with the legend of *Samudramanthana.*

Tirumalamba's *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya-champū* has been noticed above. Mitramiśra, the famous author of *Vīramitrōdaya,* was also the author of *Ānandakanda-champū,* dealing with the story of Kṛishṇa.

Venkaṭādhvarin was the author of at least four *champū* works: *Hastigiri-champū* or *Varadābhyudaya* in praise of Varadārāja of Kanchi, *Uttara-champū,* based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa, Śrīnivāsa-champū,* in praise of Venkaṭeśvara of Tirupati and *Viśvaguṇadarśa-champū,* a work of rare imagination. It deals with the journey of two demi-gods through the sky in a *vimāna.* They see various places and peoples. One of them sees only the good side of everything and the other only the dark side. The work mentions the Europeans and their ways. Therefore, it is ascribed by some scholars to a later period.

Lyrics and smaller poems:

Among the lyric poets of this period, Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja was undoubtedly an outstanding scholar and poet. A native of the Andhra region, he flourished in the courts of the Rājputs, the Mughuls and the ruler of Kāmarūpa. He was the author of several scholarly and poetical works. A large number of stray verses, too, are ascribed to him. Of his devotional lyrics, the most beautiful poems are: the *Piyūshalaharī* or *Gaṅgālaharī* in praise of the Gaṅgā, *Amṛitalaharī* in praise of the Yamunā, the *Karuṇālaharī* in praise of Vishṇu, the *Lakshmīlaharī* in praise of Lakshmī and the *Sudhālaharī* in praise of Sūrya.

Gītagōvinda of Jayadeva served as the model for many devotional compositions. *Gītaśaṅkara* is one such work written by Anantanārāyaṇa, a grandson of Appayya Dīkshita. *Kṛishṇagīti* is another work of this type on the life of Kṛishṇa. It was composed by the Zamorin king, Mānaveda, in 1652. Both of these provide excellent themes for dance-dramas.

Mention may be made here of another variety of *kāvya,* the *sandeśa* or *Dūta*-kāvya—written on the model of *Mēghadūta* of Kālidāsa. Quite a few works of this type were written in Kerala. Nārāyaṇa, for instance, who was in the court of Rāmavarman, the ruler of Quilon (1541-1547), composed *Subhagasandeśa.* The author here endeavours to send a message of love to his wife at Trichur, through the messenger Subhaga, a Brāhmaṇa of the Lāṭa country. In his *kāvya, Kāmasandeśa,* the poet Mitradatta employs Kāma, the god of Love himself, as his messenger to convey his love to his wife Chandralakshmī at Tirunavaya.

Bhriṅga or *Bhramara-sandeśa* of Vāsudeva utilises the bee for conveying the love of the hero to his wife, who was separated from him through the wiles of a *Yakshiṇī.*

NĀṬAKA

Mythological Plays

Jagajyotimalla of Nepāl wrote a drama with the popular theme of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, named *Hara-Gaurī-vivāha.* The story of the killing of Kaṁsa by Kṛishṇa is the subject-matter of the *Kaṁsavadha* of Śesh-Kṛishṇa, who was a contemporary of Akbar. He is also credited with three other dramas, *Murārivijaya, Muktacharita* and *Satyabhāmā-pariṇaya.* Another play relating to the legend of Kṛishṇa is *Pārijāta-haraṇa* of Kumāra Tātāchārya. He was the *rājaguru* of Raghunātha and his son, Vijayarāghava, of Tanjore.

Among the dramas based on the *Rāmāyaṇa* mention may be made of *Adbhutadarpaṇa* of Mahādeva. The author here employs the device of a magic-mirror through which Rāma sees the happenings in Laṅkā, where Sītā was imprisoned. The *Jānakīpariṇaya* of Rāmabhadra Dīkshita also deals with the theme of Rāmāyaṇa. The author here uses the device of some characters appearing in disguise,—Rāvaṇa, Śaraṇa and Vidyujjihva appearing in the guise of Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmitra, and so on. Rāmabhadra belonged to the family of famous scholars of Kumbakonam and received the patronage of the Tanjore king, Shāhjī (1684-1711).

The story of Nala has also been dealt with by many authors. Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita wrote *Bhaimīpariṇaya* describing the marriage of Nala and Damayantī. The *Naḷacharita-Nāṭaka* of Nīlakaṇṭha also deals with the same story in seven acts.

Bhūminātha or Nalla Dīkshita, belonging to the court of Shāhjī, wrote a drama entitled *Subhadrā-pariṇaya* on the marriage of Subhadrā with Arjuna. Shāhjī himself was a talented author and composed a play *Chandraśekharavilāsa.* Another work depicting the marriage of Subhadrā, was composed by the Mādhva pontiff, Vijayīndratīrtha, entitled *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya.*

Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita has yet another play to his credit, *Kamalinī-kalāhaṁsa* by name. This work, in four acts, depicts in an artificial way the love affairs of the hero and heroine.

Historical Plays

The *Kāntimatī-Pariṇaya* of Chokkanātha is a play which is semi-historical in character. The theme of this play is the marriage of Shāhjī, the author's patron, with Kāntimatī. His other work, *Sevantikā-pariṇaya,* deals with the marriage of Basavarāja with Sevantikā, the daughter of a prince of Malabar. The hero is identified with Basavappanāyaka, the ruler of Keladi (1697-1714), to whose court the poet seems to have migrated.

Allegorical Plays

Chaitanya-chandrodaya is a work of Kavikarṇapura of Kānchanapallī in Bengal. The drama deals with the life of Chaitanya, the famous saint of Bengal, through the allegorical figures *Maitrī*, *Bhakti*, *Virāga* and the like.

Dharmavijaya of Bhūdeva Sukla is an allegorical play eulogizing the 'advantages of the life of spiritual duty' through the characters, Virtue and Vice, in personified form. *Amṛitodaya* of Gokulanātha is also a play in five acts depicting the progress of *Jīva* from creation to annihilation. The author was patronised by Fateh Singh of Śrīnagar (1615). The famous Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita who has been referred to earlier, is also credited with the authorship of an allegorical play *Bhāvanā-purushottama* which is stated to have been composed at the instance of Sūrappa Nāyaka, the ruler of Gingee. Vijayīndratīrtha, mentioned above, has written an allegorical play *Ubhayagrastarāhūdaya*. He is stated to have written this work in reply to *Prabodha-Chandrōdaya* of Kṛishṇamiśra and *Saṅkalpa-Sūryōdaya* of Veṅkaṭanātha Vedāntadeśika.

Erotic Plays

A number of *Bhānas*—a type of one-act play mainly dwelling on an erotic theme—were written during the period under review. *Śṛiṅgāra-Sarvasva* of Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita, for instance, belongs to this category. Nalla Dīkshita is also credited with the authorship of a similar play of the same name. Rāmabhadra Dīkshita is the author of a work of this type, viz., *Śriṅgāratilaka*. *Rasavilāsa* of Chokkanātha also belongs to this category.

TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE:

Alaṁkāra

Appayya Dīkshita, the famous philosopher, and Jagannātha, the eminent poet, were perhaps the most outstanding scholars of this period who contributed a good deal to the study of Poetics. Appayya Dīkshita's more important works in this field are: *Chitramīmāṁsā*, *Kuvalayānanda*, *Vṛittivārtika* and *Lakshanaratnāvalī*. Of the works of Jagannātha, the notable are: *Rasagaṅgādhara*, *Chitramīmāṁsā-Khaṇḍana and Bhāminī-Vilāsa*. The views of Appayya Dīkshita were subjected to a severe scrutiny by Jagannātha Paṇḍita, and thus a number of intricate and finer aspects of Sanskrit rhetorics came to be well-defined in this age.

Gaṅgādhara Kavīndra and Rāmānanda are two authors of Mithilā who wrote *Kāvyaḍākinī* and *Rasataraṅgiṇī*, respectively. Śrīnivāsa Dīkshita and his son Rājachūḍāmaṇi Dīkshita were also well-known writers on Alaṁkāra. The former is credited with as many as seven works on the subject. Raghunāthamanohara of Champā, identified with Choul in Kolaba district of Mahārāshṭra, is the author of two works called *Kavikaustubha* and *Chhandoratnamālā*. The latter is not yet found, but it is quoted in the former work.

In the field of grammatical studies Bhaṭṭojī Dīkshita stands foremost. His *Siddhāntakaumudī*, an elucidation of the work of Pāṇini, is perhaps more popular than Pāṇini's work itself. His *Prauḍhamanoramā* is a commentary on this work and *Bālamanoramā* is its abridgement. He is also the author of another commentary on *Ashṭādhyāyī*, named *Śabdakaustubha*. Nāgoji Dīkshita, the disciple of Bhānu Dīkshita, the grandson of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita, was another reputed grammarian of this period, with about a dozen works on the subject to his credit. Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Nārāyaṇīyam*, mentioned earlier, wrote a work on grammar, *Prakriyāsarvasva*, which is a commentary on the Sūtras of Pāṇini. His *Mānamēyōdaya* is an important contribution to the Mīmāṁsā literature.

Music:

Many scholars in the court of Vijanayagara wrote works on music. Rāma Amātya, for instance, who flourished in the court of Aḷiya Rāmarāya (1552-65) wrote *Svaramelākalānidhi* which deals with different *rāgas* of the Karṇāṭaka system of music. Puṇḍarīkaviṭhhala, a native of Khāndesh, moved to the court of Akbar and composed a number of works on music such as *Rāgamālā* and *Rāgamañjarī*. Chaturadāmodara who flourished in the court of Jahāngīr wrote his *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* dealing with music and dance. Jagajyotimalla, referred to earlier, also wrote a work on music called *Saṅgītasārasarvasva*.

Raghunātha, the Nāyaka of Tanjore, was considered as an authority on music. His work on the subject is *Saṅgītasudhā*.

Venkaṭamakhi was a student of Raghunātha and patronised by the latter's son Vijayarāghava. Among others, his work *Chaturdaṇḍiprakāśikā* is a treatise on music, with special reference to Vīṇā.

Philosophy:

Appayya Dīkshita, mentioned above, contributed more than hundred scholarly works to the fields of Advaita philosophy and Śaiva *siddhānta*. More important among his works are: *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* which is a commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's commentary on *Brahma-sūtras*, and *Chaturmatasāra-saṅgraha* which summarises the doctrines of Madhva, Rāmānuja, Śankara and Śrīkaṇṭha.

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was another great Advaita scholar of this period. Among his numerous works, *Advaita-siddhi* is considered as the best contribution to Advaita literature. It is written in reply to *Nyāyāmṛita* of Vyāsarāya. It is said that Akbar was impressed by his scholarship and honoured him.

Among the scholars of the Mādhva philosophy the foremost was Vyāsarāya (1478-1539). He was the *rāja-guru* of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇadevarāya and continued to be honoured by Achyutadevarāya. His important works on Dvaita philosophy are *Nyāyāmṛita, Tarkatāṇḍava,* and *Chandrikā.* They are collectively known as *Vyāsatrayī.* Vyāsarāya's disciple, Vijayīndratīrtha (1514-1595), was a prolific writer with more than 18 works to his credit, in addition to the commentaries on the works of his teacher. Vādirājatīrtha (1480-1600) was a great exponent of the Dvaita philosophy, to whom over 90 works are ascribed. Many other scholars like Satyanāthayati (1648-74), Rāghavēndratīrtha (1623-71) and others enriched the literature on Dvaita philosophy considerably, by their numerous contributions.

Epigraphical Literature:

Reference should be made here, at least in passing, to the epigraphical literature. Numerous inscriptions on stone and copperplates, written in ornate poetic style, have enriched the Sanskrit literature of the early part of this period. Outstanding among them is the *Rājapraśasti* at Udaipur, composed in 1676. It is a *Mahākāvya,* in twenty-two cantos, engraved on as many slabs. The author was a Telugu Brāhmaṇ named Raṇachhoḍa.

XIV. ARABIC

As in the pre-Mughul period, Arabic compositions in India under the Great Mughuls mainly touched religious subjects such as the Qur'ān, Hadīth (Apostolic Traditions), Fiqh (Jurisprudence), Sūfīsm and Grammar. Arabic writings on purely literary topics, such as dealt with in Persian, were few and far between during the period under review. Almost the entire range of Arabic literature then produced is represented by commentaries, super-commentaries, glosses and annotations on the Qur'ān.

The study of theological sciences owes very much to the frequency of visits by Indian ulemas to centres of religious instructions in the Hejaz. The establishment of the supremacy of Portuguese navigation in the Indian ocean in the 16th century made voyages between India and Arabia safe. Apart from the casual visits, there were scholars who migrated to the holy cities of Mecca and Madina for receiving specialized knowledge in their fields of study. Among such scholar-migrants, the most conspicuous was Sayyid 'Alī al-Muttaqī (d. 1568)[21] of Burhanpur. He commanded great reverence and popularity not only among the contemporary learned men but also among the ruling potentates such as Ottoman Emperor Sulaiman I and Sulṭān Maḥmūd III of Gujarāt who granted stipends for the pupils of his madrasah at Mecca. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān, named *Shu'ūn al-Munazzalāt,* containing learned notes on grammatical and philological subtleties of Qur'ānic words and phrases. But the work which gave him an everlasting fame is the *Kanz al-'Ummāl,*[22] an encyclopaedic collection of Apostolic Traditions, of which Abūl Ḥasan al-Bakrī, the author's preceptor, says: 'al-Suyuti obliged the world by composing the *Jam'al-Jawāmi',* while al-Muttaqī has obliged him by re-arranging the same.' Among the numerous pupils of al-Muttaqi was the famous 'Abdul Wahhāb al-Muttaqī, who was the teacher of Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī. Though Emperor Akbar was not the follower of orthodox religious views, there was no dearth of Ulemas and theological writings in Arabic during his period. Makhdūm al-Mulk 'Abdullāh Sultānpūrī and Shaikh 'Abd al-Nabī Ṣadr Ṣudūr were among the leading Ulemas of Akbar's early period, while Shaikh Sa'du'l-lāh Banī Isrā'īl (d. 1603) of Lahore was a noted author who translated the *Bahr-i-Mawwāj* of Qādī Shahāb al-Dīn Daulatābādī into Arabic. Shāh Fathullāh Ṣhīrāzī, Mīr Sadr al-Dīn, Mīr Ghyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr and Mīrzā Jān Mīr were the standard-bearers of Islāmic learning, and logic and philosophy were the subjects dealt with by them. But the most outstanding figure was 'Abdul Haqq Dihlawī (d. 1642),[23] who wrote mainly in Persian but has to his credit some significant works in Arabic which are as follows:—*Lam'āt al-Tanqīḥ 'alā Miṣhkāt al-Maṣābīḥ,* a valuable and copious commentary on the canonical Hadīth collections, along with an interesting introduction which by itself forms a separate treatise on classes of Apostolic traditions; *Kitāb Asma' al-Rijāl Mishkāt al-Maṣạbīḥ,* an important book on the science of biography in relation to the narrators of Ḥadīth mentioned in the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ; Mạ thabata bi'l-Sunnah fī Ayyām al-Sanah,* a peculiar work containing all traditions which relate to the months of the year; and *Fatḥ al-Mannān fī tā'īd al-Nu'mān,* a treatise on Hanafite Jurisprudence.[24]

Akbar's celebrated court-poet, Faizī, who held the pride of place among Persian poets of his age, used his hands in Arabic with amazing success. That Faizī had a wonderful mastery of Arabic language is illustrated by his remarkable commentary *sawāti'al-Ilhām,*[25] a big book in two volumes without a single dotted letter right through. The work is of little worth as a book of commentary, as Shiblī Nu'mānī[26] rightly remarks, but it is a commendable piece of composition in Arabic, being written in the artificial figure of speech, called *San'at-i-Mahmalah.* Zubaid Ahmad says: "I know of no book outside India which has ever been written with such successful maintenance of this rhetorical device throughout." Faizī's other work, *Mawārid al-Kalām Wa silk Durar al-Ḥikam,*[27] written in similar vein as the preceding work, deals with moral aphorisms. In view of the fact that more than fifty per cent. of the Arabic alphabets are dotted, it is indeed a great intellectual exercise and literary skill to write page after page in Arabic without using a single dotted letter.[28] Akbar's court-poet, Ḥakīm 'Alawī Khan Jīlānī (d. 1605) wrote an Arabic commentary on Avicenna's *al-Qānūn.*[29] Qāzī Nūrullāh Shūstarī, an eminent Shiah scholar of Persia, was appointed Qāzī of Lahore by Akbar. Though he wrote mainly in Persian, he composed several treatises in Arabic on theological topics. The ṣūfīstic mission of the Naqshbandis,[30] which spearheaded Islāmic reaction against Akbar's heresy and scepticism, produced great theologian-scholars such as Khwāja Bāqībillāh, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindī and Shaikh Farīd. Shaikh Tāj al-Dīn Sambhalī (d. 1640),[31] who flourished during Jahāngīr's reign, wrote several works in Arabic, namely *al-Risāla fi Mulūk Khulāṣat al-Sadat Naqshbandīah, Jāmi'-al-Fawā'id* and *Ādāb al-Murīdīn.* Besides, he rendered Jami's *Nafaḥāt al-Uns* and Wā'iz Kāshifi's *Rashaḥāt* into Arabic. As the Mughul patronage of culture reached its culminating point under Shāh Jahān, literary pursuits in Arabic naturally received general encouragement. Of the numerous scholars and theologians for whom the Emperor reserved his special regard and favour, the most outstanding was Mullā 'Abdul Ḥakīm Siālkūtī (d. 1656)[32] who wrote commentaries on the exegetical work of al-Baidāwī and on the *'Aqā'id* of 'Allāma Taftazānī. His reputation as theological commentator had spread far beyond the borders of India even during his lifetime.[33] Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpūrī (d. 1651) wrote a large number of glosses on various classical works. His treatise on a discussion of 'Form' and 'Matter', entitled *al-Dawḥat al-Mayyādah fi Ḥadīqat al-Ṣurah wal Ma'adda* and another on philosophy, called *al-Ḥikmat al-Bāligha,* are popularly studied in Indian schools.

Shaikh Nūr al-Ḥaqq (d. 1662),[34] son of Shaikh 'Abdul Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dihlawī, was an accomplished traditionist, jurist and historian, and worked all through his life for the cause of Ḥadīth literature. In recognition of his scholarship Shāh Jahān appointed him Qāzī of Akbarābād. 'Abdul Bāqī (d. 1673) and 'Abdur Rashīd

(d. 1672) were two contemporary philosophical writers of Shāh Jahān's age. Both wrote commentaries on the *Adab al-Sharīfīyyah,* a popular treatise on dialectics by Sayyid al-Sharīf 'Alī bin Muḥammad Jurjānī. Muḥibbullāh Illāhābādī (d. 1648),[35] renowned Ṣūfī and author, wrote his *Marātib al-Arba'ah,* a commentary on the Qur'ān from the ṣūfīstic view-point. He expounded the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabī, on the lines of whose work *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam,* he compiled his *Anfās al-Khawāṣ* which is full of mystical and theosophical discussions, advocating the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (Pantheism).

Emperor Aurangzīb was the most enthusiastic among the royal patrons of Islāmic studies and one of the best books produced on the Ḥanafī Law is the *Fatāwā-i-'Ālamgīrī,* a compendious six-volume work composed by a team of Indian theological doctors headed by Shaikh Nizām. The very fact that the book was compiled by a group of eminent jurists, and not by a single author, directly under royal supervision, eloquently speaks of the significance of India's contribution to Arabic literature on the subject of Fiqh (Jurisprudence). Aurangzīb's teacher, better known as Mullā Jīwan, wrote a commentary, entitled *al-Tafsīr al-Aḥmadīyyah fī bayān al-Āyāt al-Shara'īyyah,* containing explanations on those of Qur'ānic verses which deal with commandments and prohibitions. Mullā Jīwan's other work, *Nūr al-Anwār,* is a well-praised commentary on Nasafī's famous text, called *Manār al-Anwār.*

Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid (d. 1689), son of Qāzī Muḥammad Aslam, rose into prominence for his highly philosophical writings. At first attached to the court of Shāh Jahān and then of Aurangzīb, Mīr Zāhid is mainly known for his collection of three glosses which he compiled under the title, *Ḥawāshī Thalāthat al-Zāhidīyyah.* Another writer of philosophical treatises who attracted Aurangzīb's attention was Muḥibbullāh Bihārī (d. 1707)[36] who was appointed Qāzī of Lakhnau. His works, *Sullam al-'Ulūm,* a common text-book on Logic, and *Musallam al-Thubūt,* an indispensable work on the principles of jurisprudence, form essential part of curricula of study in the Islāmic religious institutions of the Indian sub-continent.

Sayyid 'Alī Khān Ibn Ma'ṣūm (d. 1705),[37] who wrote purely on non-religious matter, was appointed by Aurangzīb *Dīwān* of Burhanpur. He was well versed in the poetic art and was the author of several poetical compositions, most notable of which is his poem, *al-Badī'īyyah,* that contains examples of all possible rhetorical contrivances. The poem is regarded as a valuable contribution to Arabic literature on rhetoric. Besides, he compiled a biographical dictionary of Arabic poets, called *Sulāfat al-'Asr fi Maḥāsin al-Shu'ara bi kull Miṣr,* which included notices of about a dozen poets of Arabic who were Indian or connected with India. Sayyid 'Abdul Jalīl Bilgrāmī (d. 1715),[38] who flourished towards the end of Aurangzīb's reign, was a distinguished scholar and composed fine verses. The contemporary writer, Ibn Ma'ṣūm, mentioned above, states that he never saw in India a scholar so accomplished as he was.

Among the various centres of Arabic learning in Mughul India, Gujarāt was the most prominent. Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt opened up ports like Cambay and Surat to those Indian scholars who wished to travel by sea to the Hejaz for higher study. The opening of the sea traffic resulted in close and frequent contact between India and Arabia, which in turn led to the extensive study of Hadīth in which native scholars from Gujarāt distinguished themselves in the subsequent centuries.[39] Thus Gujarāt's contribution to Arabic literature, particularly on the theological subject, deserves special mention.

'Abdullah Muḥammad bin Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar Nahrwālī al-Ulūgkhānī, better known as Hājī Dabīr,[40] a prominent noble and general serving in Gujarāt under 'Imādul-Mulk at the time of Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt, wrote *Zafar al-Wālih bi Musāffar wa Alih,* a valuable history of Gujarāt. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfīr 'an Akhbār al-Qaran al-'Āṣhir* (1603) by Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abdul Qādir Aydurs[41] of Ahmadābād is a chronology of the events of the tenth century of the Hijra, written in a simple, lucid and straightforward style. It also contains accounts of contemporary scholars and saints. Shaikh Wajīh al-Dīn 'Alawī of Gujarāt (d. 1589) was a reputed saint-scholar who wrote several works on various subjects of Islāmic learning, mainly comprising annotations and glosses on *Tafsir-i-Baidāwī, Sharḥ Wiqāya,* etc.

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṭāhir (d. 1578)[42] of Pattan (Gujarāt) who enjoyed the title of *Malik al-Muḥaddithīn* (Prince of Traditionists), has been immortalised by his invaluable works on Hadīth, the *magnum opus* being his *Majma' Bahār-al-Anwār.* It is a voluminous dictionary of difficult and uncommon words in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. According to Nawāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, by writing this work, which met with universal approval and recognition, Ṭāhir has placed the world of Islām under a deep debt of gratitude.

Ja'far bin Jalāl bin Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, better known as Badr-i-'Alam,[43] was a leading traditionist and divine of Ahmadābād during the days of Emperor Jahāngīr. He wrote his commentary, *al-Faiz al-Tārī,* on the Hadīth collection of Bukhārī, in two volumes.

His bigger work, entitled *Rawdat al-Shāh,* consisted of as many as twenty-four volumes, of which the first dealt with memoirs of the saints and the last two with traditionists and commentators of the Qur'ān.

In the Deccan, the Qutub Shāhīs of Golconda[44] were renowned patrons of Arabic studies. Muḥammad 'Alī Karbalā'ī composed his *Ḥadā'iq-i-Qutb Shāhī* and Muhazzib al-Dīn Damamīnī wrote his well-known commentary on the Qur'ān, during the reign of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh. Another significant work of the same age was Ḥakīm Niẓām al-Dīn Gīlānī's *Shajarat al-Dānish* consisting of more than a hundred brochures, pamphlets and extracts from other works on a variety of subjects such as medicine, law, philosophy and literature.

XV. PERSIAN

The advent of the Mughuls in India ushered in a glorious epoch of literary traditions in Persian, a language that enjoyed the status of the Latin of Central Asia. The impetus was given by no less a person than Emperor Bābur himself, the founder of Mughul rule in India. Although this cultured monarch is known to the literary world for his *Tuzak* or Memoir which he wrote in Turki, history testifies that besides his native tongue, he was an accomplished poet in Persian too.

According to Abu-'l-Fazl, Bābur was the author of a didactic *mathnavi* in Persian, entitled *Mathnavī-i-Mubīn.*[45] The Emperor's retinue included a number of poets and writers of Persian, notable among whom were Fārighī, Nādir Samarqandī, Ātishī Qandhārī and Ṭāhir Khāwandi. Sām Mirzā, the author of *Tuḥfa-i-Sāmī,* makes particular mention of two other poets, Shaikh Zain al-Dīn and Mullā Shihāb.[46]

The influx of Persian intellectuals from Īrān to India during the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes the most vital factor in the development of Indo-Persian literature. Whatever be the cause of the decline of Persian poetry in Safavid Persia, in this respect Persia's loss proved to be India's gain. Ever since the return from Persia of the fugitive Emperor Humāyūn, swarms of Persian poets kept migrating to India and were attached to Mughul courts, where they found the atmosphere more congenial for the display of their talent. The literary efforts of these immigrants coupled with similar efforts of indigenous litterateurs created in India an intellectual tradition which sometimes seemed to outshine that of Īrān itself both in output and quality.[47]

During the whole of the 16th and 17th centuries, India remained the El-Dorado of Persian emigrants. Rightly has Dr. Hermann Ethe remarked that the India Summer of Persian poetry, brought about by Akbar and his successors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, is one of the brightest features of the Mughul rule in India. The long and distinguished chain of poets of Īrānian and Indian origin brought about the cultural synthesis which led to the evolution of that exquisite body of poetry called *Sabk-i-Hindi* (Indian style),[48] represented by such illustrious names as Faizī, 'Urfī, Naẓīrī, Tālib-i-Āmuli, Kalim, Ghanī Kashmīrī, Ṣā'ib and Bīdil which could bring credit to any literature in the world. Most of these poets were born in Persia but their poetry was born in India and it invariably mirrored the distinctive features of the Indian environment. Puns, chronograms, satires, original similes and concepts constitute the salient merits of Mughul poetry.[49]

Fond of poetry and poets, Humāyūn himself composed good verses and wrote a Persian Dīwān.[50]

Among the poetic geniuses of Humāyūn's age were Shaikh Amānullāh Pānīpatī, Maulāna Jalālī, Mīr Wāisī and Damīrī Bilgrāmī.[51] Qāsim Khān Maujī wrote a *mathnavi,* called *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā* which consisted of 6000 verses. Ghyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, surnamed Khwāndamīr, wrote the general history, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* and among other works, compiled an authentic versified history of Humāyūn, called *Qānūn-i-Ḥumāyūnī.* Qāsim Kāhī of Kabul, court-poet of Humāyūn and Akbar, gained celebrity for his erudition and poetic gift.[52] Yūsuf bin Muḥammad, a migrant from Herat, was attached to Humāyūn's court and wrote *Riyāḍ al-Adwīya, Jāmi' al-Fawā'id, Fawā'id al-Akhbār* and *Badā'i al-Inshā.* The emperor's ewer-bearer, Jauhar Aftābchī, though not a very learned man, prepared a Memoir of Humāyūn, which is of unusual importance as a source book, in view of its being a reliable record of the Emperor's private life during his exile in Īrān. The *Humāyūn-nāma,* compiled by Gulbadan Begum, sister of Humāyūn, is an intimate account of the events of the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Interspersed with a large number of Turkish words, the book reflects the influence which the Turkish language had on Persian at that time. Bāyazīd Bayāt's *Tadhkira-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar* is a useful history of the reigns of Humāyūn and early years of Akbar.

The accession of Akbar to the throne in 1556 marks an era of unprecedented blossoming of Persian verse and prose. The most dynamic factor behind this literary efflorescence was the munificence of patronage and encouragement which the Emperor and his nobles gave to poets and writers, historians, thinkers, philosophers and theologians.[53] Abu-'l-Fazl states that thousands of poets were continually at the court of Akbar. At least fifty of them, according to the cumulative evidence of the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* and the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh,* produced Dīwāns.

Ghazālī Mashhadī (d. 1572), the first poet-laureate of Akbar's court, proved a very talented poet with his *mathnavis,* such as *Mashhad-i-Anwār,* the *Mir'at al-Ṣifāt, Naqsh-i-Badī‘ī Qudrat-i-Āthār* and a Dīwān, entitled *Āthār al-Shabāb,* an anthology of poems dedicated to Akbar. Faizī, who succeeded Ghazālī as Akbar's poet-laureate, was a versatile poet and writer.[54] Badāūnī and subsequent memoir-writers have ascribed the authorship of over a hundred Persian works to Faizī, but unfortunately all the titles are not known to us. Abu-'l-Fazl, however, mentions a few works of Faizī, the principal among which is his Dīwān which, according to Shibli,[55] was entitled *Tabāṣhīr al-Ṣubh.* The Dīwān consists of *qaṣidas, Ghazals, Tarkīb bands, Tarjī‘ bands,* elegies, *Qita‘s* and *rubāīs.* In pursuance of the literary practice then in vogue, Faizī had planned to write a Khamsah in imitation of the Khamsah of Nizāmī Ganjawī. He composed some portions under each proposed title, but could complete only two, i.e., the *Markaz-i-Adwār* and the *Nal Daman* in imitation of Nizāmī's *Makhzan al-Asrār* and *Lailā Majnūn* respectively. Faizī's prose works include a Persian adaptation of Līlāvatī, his Epistles, chronogrammatically entitled *Laṭīfa-i-Fayyāḍī* and Persian translation of Hindu religious books. In short, Faizī was a true representative of a great age. A leading Īrānian literary critic, Dr. Riḍā Zāda Shafaq,[56] asserts that Faizī enjoyed a great reputation in Ottoman Turkey and his influence was responsible for the popularity of Persian literature in that country.

‘Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān[57] was the very embodiment of erudition and culture during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. An accomplished scholar and talented poet, Khān-i-Khānān's fame chiefly rests on his large-hearted patronage of men of letters and poets. Great literati of the age such as Mullā Shakībī, Mahwī Hamadānī, ‘Urfī Shīrāzī and Mullā ‘Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandi were directly attached to his court. He himself produced an exquisite Persian version of the Memoirs of Bābur under royal orders. His remarkable library in Ahmadābād "embalmed the great ideals of the oriental world and the memory of a culture that had in its time profoundly influenced the world."[58]

‘Urfī Shīrazī[59] was the brightest luminary in the Khān-i-Khānān's poetic firmament and was the recipient of richest presents and highest rewards from his patron and from Akbar as well. The contemporary author, ‘Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī[60] remarks that it would take a separate book to describe the numerous rewards and presents which ‘Urfī received from the Khān-i-Khānān. ‘Urfī's greatest legacy to posterity are his exquisite *qaṣīdas* that are characterised by lofty themes, forceful diction, original constructions, freshness of metaphors and novelty of comparisons and lyrical dynamism which contributed very much to the embellishment and development of Persian language and literature. Another talented poet attached to the entourage of the Khān-i-Khānān was Nazīrī Nīshāpūrī (d. 1618)[61] who gave a new dimension to Persian poetry by his genius and inventive mind. His verses are deeply tinged with sūfīstic notions of esoteric significance and noted for introduction of new and strange words and phrases. He is regarded as the 'Qa'-ānī of India' for his sweetness of style and melody of diction.

The most common subject of contemporary prose-writing was history. As the Mughul supremacy in India became well established under Akbar, the emperor began the practice of commissioning chroniclers to write official annals of the dynasty's rule. The most important official history is the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu-'l-Fazl, the Emperor's confidant and minister.[62] This voluminous and monumental work is complementary to his *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, an encyclopaedic directory of the administration of the day. His *Inshā*, collection of official despatches sent by the Emperor to foreign potentates, and his *Ruqa'āt*, collection of the author's private and personal letters, written in highly florid and pedantic style with various rhetorical devices, are representative pieces of writings of the Indo-Persian literature. Selections from Abu-'l-Fazl's letters have always formed part of Persian syllabi at colleges and universities in India. The *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* of Mullā Ahmad Thattawī and others was also compiled at the royal command and is mainly important for an account of Akbar's religious views. Among the unofficial chronicles are the *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* of Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāūnī, which is characterised by thoroughness and sincerity, competence and authenticity, and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām-ud-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshi is a useful source-book, written in a simple and flowing language. Minor historical writings of the age included Faizī Sirhindī's *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Shāhī*, 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī's *Ma'āthiri Raḥīmī* and Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Dihlawī's *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*. The last-named author was a leading divine and theologian of his age. He wrote on almost every theological science and has to his credit such famous works as the *Akhbārūl Akhyār*, containing short biographies of Sūfī saints of India; *Ashi'ātu'l Lam'āt*, a commentary on the well-known book of tradition, the *Mishkāt*, and *Zādu'l Muttaqīn*, another hagiological work. Amīr Fathullūh Shīrāzī was another distinguished scholar of Akbar's age. Badāūnī calls him "the most learned man of his times" and Abu-'l-Fazl remarks: "If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amīr would restore them".[63]

While the munificent patronage of Akbar and his nobles had more than ensured the development of Persian literature in Northern India, the 'Ādil Shāhī rulers of Bijāpur were giving liberal encouragement to the growth of Persian scholarship in the south. The court of Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627) attracted a large number of poets and litterateurs from the north and from Īrān itself. Malik Qummī (d. 1640) was the most prominent poet of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty. The contemporary, Mullā Zuhūrī (d. 1616), decidedly the greatest of the Persian poets who flourished in the Deccan, is a consummate stylist both in verse and prose. His *Sāqī-nāṃa,* written on the model of the Gulistān of Sādī, amply reveals his exalted poetic genius. His *Sih Nathr* evidently projects him as a Persian writer of outstanding calibre, who dominated the intellectual taste of the contemporary elite and norms and standards of literary appreciation. Other prominent poets of the court of Bijāpur were Haidar Zihnī, Sanjar, Bāqar, Ḥasan 'Askarī of Kāshān, Rashīd of Qazwīn and Āqā Muhammad Nāmī of Tabrīz. The 'Ādil Shāhī period is to be especially remembered for having given to the world the celebrated *Tārikh-i-Firishta* or *Gulistān-i-Ibrāhīm* written by Abūl Qāsim Firishta during the reign of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh in 1611. This monumental work is the most compendious of chronicles that medieval India has produced. The Qutb Shāhīs of Golconda were likewise great patrons of Persian scholarship. The *peshwa* Ibn-i-Khātūn, who was Qutb Shāhī ambassador to Īrān, was responsible for the propagation of Persian studies in the kingdom. Mention may be made of the following Persian works of the period:

(a) 'Alī bin Taifūr Busṭāmī's *Hadā'iq al-Salaṭīn,* compiled in 1681, a collection of lives of eminent Persian poets, both immigrant and native;

(b) Muḥammad Husain Tabrezī's Persian dictionary, *Burhān-i-Qāti* compiled in 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh's reign in 1651; and

(c) Abū 'Imād's encyclopaedic work *Khirqatu'l 'Ilm* in six volumes. Besides, there are four metrical histories of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty, all compiled in the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, namely, *Nisbat Nāma-i-Shahryārī, Nasab Nāma-i-Shahryārī, Tārīkh-i-Quṭb Shāhī* and *Tawārīkh-i-Quṭb Shāhī.* Almost all the Deccani rulers had direct cultural contacts with contemporary Persia and hence numerous were the Īrāni poets and scholars who adorned their courts.[64]

Literary activity received great encouragement at the hands of

Akbar's successor Jahāngīr (1605-1627), who seemed to inherit the refined scholarship of his great-grand-father, Bābur. His autobiography, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* is a work of great historical and literary merit. Left unfinished by the Emperor, the memoirs were completed by Muhammad Hādī.[65] His courtier, Mu'tamad Khān, wrote *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī,* which is a primary source material of the history of Jahāngīr's reign. Important historical writings of the period are *Ma'āthir Jahāngīrī* of Kāmgār Khān, *Mawā'īza-i-Jahāngīr* of Bāqir Khān and *Akhlāq-i-Jahāngīrī* of Qāzī Nurūd-dīn Khāqānī. Among the learned personages of Jahāngīr's reign were Ghyath Beg known as I'timād-u'd-Daula, Naqīb Khān and Ni'matullāh. The culture-loving emperor maintained his ancestral tradition of showering generous patronage on poets, the majority of whom were emigrés from Safavid Persia. Among those who basked in the sunshine of royal favour were Nazīrī, Tālib Isfahānī, Shaidā, Sa'īdā-i-Gīlānī, Nishānī and Munīr Lahūrī, while the court of the Emperor's leading noble 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, as mentioned above, was adorned by such a galaxy of poets as Shikābī, Hayātī, Rasmī, Nau'ī and Thanā'ī. But the most conspicuous poet of the age was Ṭālib Āmulī (d. 1626), the poet laureate of Jahāngīr, whose poetry is characterised by novelty of topics, figurative language and fine allegories and metaphors.

Emperor Shāh Jahān honoured the versifiers with bounteous rewards in the true manner of an Eastern monarch. Rightly has a Persian poet 'Alī Qulī Salīm compared perfection in poetry to *henna* that could develop its full colour only in India. Abū Ṭālib Kalīm coming from Hamadan succeeded Qudsī as Shāh Jāhān's court-poet and completed, besides his Dīwān, an epic poem, entitled *Pādshah-nāma,* commenced by Qudsī, describing Shāh Jahān's exploits. Kalīm once called India a second paradise in the sense that whoever quits this garden departs with regret.[66] But the greatest contemporary poet was Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī Ṣā'ib of Tabriz who was the creator of a new style in Persian poetry. The credit of introducing and perfecting illustrative poetry in Persian goes to him alone. Mainly attached to the court of Shāh Jahān's noble, Zafar Khān, Governor of Kāshmīr, Ṣā'ib received from the Emperor the title of Musta'id Khān. Though he returned to Isfahan later on, he recorded his indebtedness to India in many of his verses and once compared his nostalgia for India to a lover's longing for a beloved.[67] Other versifiers who rose to eminence during Shāh Jahān's rule were Qāsim Khān Juwainī, Mīr Muḥammad Husain Sharqī, Muḥammad Husain Rasmī and Mīr Raḍā Dānish Mashhadī. Among the leading native lyricists were Shaidā Akbarābādī and

Hādhiq Fateḥpūrī. The heterodox Sūfī, Sarmad (d. 1660), earned celebrity for his exquisite quatrains, dealing with ecstatic and unorthodox mystic themes.

The prose literature produced in that age is almost entirely represented by histories, such as the three *Pādshāh-nāmas*, written by Amīna-i-Qazwīnī, 'Abdul Hamīd Lahūrī and Muhammad Wārith, the *Shạh Jahạn-nāma* of Muḥammad Ṭāhir Āshṇā. Muḥammad Sādiq Isfahānī, an official of Bengal of Shāh Jahān's time, was a noted historian and scholar and is mainly known for his two works, the *Subh Sādiq,* a detailed historical and geographical work and the *Shạhid-i-Sādiq,* a work of encyclopaedic nature, both dedicated to Prince Shāh Shujā', Shāh Jahān's second son.[68] The Emperor's eldest son, Prince Dārā Shukoh was an erudite scholar and an orthodox mystic of the Qādirīyāh order.[69] He had the *yoga-vāśishṭha,* the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and the *Upanishads* translated into Persian. His *Majma'ul Baḥrain* is a collection of pseudo-lexicographical correspondence between the Sūfī and Hindu cosmologies, esoteric beliefs and practices. The prince's contribution to hagiography is well illustrated by his twin works, *Safīnat al-Auliyā,* a biography of Muslim saints, and the *Sakīnāt al-Auliyā,* containing an account of his spiritual guide Miyān Mīr (d. 1635). Another member of the royal family, Jahān Ārā Begum, daughter of Shāh Jahān, had a genius for poetry. Her *Mūnis al-Arwāḥ,* a biographical account of Khvāja Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī, is marked by simple dignity and chaste scholarship. Of the few epoch-making lexicographical works produced during the period under review, at least the following two deserve special mention: (a) The *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī,* compiled by Jamāl-ud-dīn Ḥusain Injū in 1608, is a well-known dictionary of purely Persian words dedicated to and named after Emperor Jahāngīr, and (b) *The Farhang-i-Rashīdī* of 'Abdul Rashīd Tattawī, compiled in 1654 and dedicated to Shāh Jahān, is a revised and corrected version of the preceding lexicon.

In the puritanical period of Aurangzīb (1658-1707), royal patronage to poets was withheld and Persian poetry lost its time-honoured place in the imperial court. But the Emperor's own daughter, Zībun Nisā, with the nom-de-plume *Makhfī,* was a gifted poetess, well versed in Arabic and Persian.[70] The *Dīwān-i-Makhfī* is a great monument of her poetic genius. But the most challenging Persian poet of the age was Mirzā 'Abdul Qādir Bīdil of Patna, whose poetry crystallises all the intellectual formulas of style employed by his predecessors in India. His lyrical poems, said to comprise about a lakh of verses, along with his *mathnavis,* evidently prove that he could produce genuine poetry in all its splendour and yet honestly reveal his philosophical and mystical predilections. Bīdil is one of the few native poets whose reputation has spread beyond the frontiers of India. He is studied with much appreciation and reverence in Afghānistan.

Several histories were written in Aurangzīb's time and they are noted for their authenticity, for they were not the results of the imperial patronage. The best and most impartial history of the period is *Muntakhab al-Lubāb* of Muḥammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān, which combined objectivity with historical imagination. The *'Ālamgīrnāma* was compiled by Muḥammad Kāẓim under Aurangzīb's orders.[71] The *Mathnavī-i-Ālamgīrī* of Sāqī Musta'ad Khān is particularly rich in the description of Aurangzīb's Deccan campaigns, a chapter which was included in the work without the Emperor's knowledge. The *Mir'atu'l Ālam* of Bakhtāwar Khān is remarkable for its biographical accounts of the intelligèntsia of the age.[72]

The contribution of the Hindus to the development of Indo-Persian studies makes an impressive reading. Not only did the Hindus attain a high degree of proficiency in Persian but they vied with their Muslim compeers in composing verse and prose of high order. History testifies to the Muslim patronage of Sanskrit learning in pre-Mughul era, but it was only in the reign of Akbar that the Hindus participated in the literary efforts in a full-fledged manner. Hindu scholars such as Kishujoshi, Gangādhar, Maheśa, Mahānanda, Devi Miśra, Madhusūdana Miśra, Chaturbhuja and Bhavan were engaged by the Emperor to collaborate with Muslim writers like Faizī, Abu-'l-Fazl, Hājī Ibrāhīm Sarhindī, Badāūnī, and others in the execution of the programme of preparing Persian translations from Sanskrit classics.[73] The result was that the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhąrata, Singhasan Batīsi* etc. were rendered into Persian. Rājā Todarmal (d. 1589), a Hindu courtier of Akbar, translated the *Bhāgawat Purāṇa* into Persian.[74] One Makhanlal also rendered the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Persian and called it *Jahān-i-Zafar*. Amarnāth abridged the account of the world from the four Vedas into Persian under the title *Khayālāt-i-Shaidā*. Jahāngīr continued to patronise translation of works from Sanskrit to Persian and encouraged the Hindu scholars to produce original works on Hindu law, rational sciences and lexicography. The first Hindu who achieved literary greatness in Persian was Chandra Bhān, poetically named *Brahman*,[75] who enjoyed the favour of Prince Dārā Shukoh. His Dīwān of Ghazals and Quatrains reflected his vast erudition and poetic excellence and a happy blend of Hindu and Muslim thought. One of his contemporaries, Jaswant Rai Munshi, also compiled a Dīwān in Persian. Bhopat Rai, better known as 'Bigham Vairagi' (d. 1719), wrote his famous *mathnavi* which mirrored his mystical thoughts and illustrates the influence of Jalāl-ud-dīn Rūmī on his poetry. Another branch of Persian writing in which the Hindus clearly surpassed contemporary Muslim achievements is epistolography; and *Inshā* of Madho Ram, written during Aurangzīb's reign, marks the apex in the efforts of Kāyastha Hindus in this particular field. Hindu historiography which began with Chandra Bhān Brahman's *Chahār Chaman* which is partly modelled on Abu-'l-Fazl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī,* was further enriched by the works of Hindu chroniclers such as Bhagwān Dās, who compiled the *Shāh Jahān-nāma* and Rai Vṛindāban, who wrote the *Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh.* Aurangzīb also found a Hindu historian to record his victories and he was Īśvardās Nāgar, the author of *Futūḥāt-i-'Ālamgīrī.* Munshi Sūjan Rai's *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh,* written in 1695, is perhaps the most interesting work of history written by a Hindu in Persian. There were some minor Hindu historians such as Munshi Hirāman Lal who wrote his *Gawālior-nāma* in Aurangzīb's reign and Nārāyan Kaul who compiled his *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir* in 1710. In short, up to the 18th century the total contribution of the Hindus to Persian poetry became substantial enough to form the subject-matter of a separate book called *Tadhkira-i-Gul-i-Rānā,* by Lakshmī Nārāyan Shafīq. In fact, as Dr. S. M. Abdullah has remarked,[76] at the end of the 18th century the contribution of Hindus to Persian literature was equal to that of their Muslim compatriots. The Persian literature produced during the heyday of the Mughul suzerainty in India exercised a tremendous influence on the formation and shaping of regional literatures, especially those cultivated by the Muslims. One of the most epoch-making results is the evolution of literary Urdu. Other sister languages modelled on the Persian tradition are Punjābi, Pushtu, Sindhi, Baluchi and Kāshmīrī, all of which use Persian script. To all these regional languages, Persian literature gave a number of literary genres, provided models for the writers and themes for numerous literary compositions.

XVI. PROTO-URDŪ

The word '*Urdū*' is derived from the Turki word *Ordū* which meant "a military camp." The language, now known by that name, had not come into existence during the period under review, but it was a product of the dialect current among the Muslims who ruled over Deccan and South India from the 14th century onwards. The literary speech, arising out of it, and known as *Dakhni* or the 'Southern speech', may be traced back to the 15th century. Its use was confined to the Deccan and South India, and it was employed in literature mostly by the Muslims of that region who were less influenced by the local Hindu spirit of the dialects and languages of North India than the other Muslims living in North India. This difference becomes clearly manifest from the fact that Perso-Arabian script was used in the Deccan, in writing the language almost from the beginning, and the literature gradually became more and more Muslim and Persian in its attitude, though it retained until the end of the 17th century "a good deal of its Indian vocabulary and Indian literary *catchets* and *clichés*."

The chief centres of Dakhni literature were Gujarāt, Bijāpur, Golconda, Aurangābād and Bīdar. The oldest writer in this 'Muslim Hindī tradition' was the famous Sūfī Saint Sayyid Muhammad Banda-Nawāz Gesū-Darāz who played an important role in the politics of the Bahmanī kingdom in 1422, as mentioned above (Volume VI, p. 256). He is said to have written over 100 works.

Two great poets flourished in Gujarāt in the 16th century, namely, Shāh 'Ali Muhammad Jān Gamodhani, whose poems were collected under the title *Jawahiru-l-Asrār* ('Jewels of Secrets'), and Shaikh Khūb Muhammad, who composed *Khūb Tarang* ('The Waves of Khūb' or 'The Good Waves') in 1578.

Dakhni literature was patronised by the Qutb Shāhī Sultāns of Golconda, one of whom, Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (1580-1612), was himself a gifted poet. One of his courtiers, Mullā Wajhī, wrote the romantic poem, *Qutub Mustarī,* the theme of which was the love of the Sultān, when still a prince, for a Telugu Hindu girl named "Bhagmati" whom he married, and named the city built in her honour after her, first as "Bhag-nagar" and then after her Muslim name "Haider-Begum". This became the famous city of Hyderabad, the capital of the Nizams and at present of Andhra Pradesh. There were several other good romantic poets in Golconda, such as Ghawwāsī, Ibn-i-Nishati and Tab'i.

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580-1627), the Sultān of Bijāpur, was a great patron of letters and he himself wrote in Dakhni a book on music. Hasan Shawqī wrote a heroic poem on the famous battle, generally known as the battle of Talikota (1565) in which the Muslim Sultāns of the Deccan won a decisive victory over the mighty king of Vijayanagara. Among other poets may be mentioned Rustumī who wrote a poem 'in epic vein' (on the story of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet); Malik Khusnud, the author of the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikha* and another romance, both of Persian origin; and Mīrān Hāshimī. One of the greatest Dakhni poets was a Hindu (Brahmin) who wrote under the Muslim pen-name of Nusratī of whom it has been said that "he excelled in lofty imagination, freshness of subject, and aptness of diction." He wrote a poem in eulogy of his master

Sultān ‘Alī Ādil Shāh II (1656-1672), and also a romance on a Hindu theme—the love-story of Manohar and Madhu-Mālatī, besides a number of odes and lyrics.

Dakhni literature flourished up to the end of the 17th century, but declined after the conquest of the Deccan and South India by Aurangzīb. By the first half of the eighteenth century, the mantle of Dakhni fell on the newly rising Urdū speech of Delhi into which this "colonial form of a North Indian speech" virtually merged, and Urdū became well-established with its present name by 1750.

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1. Sukumar Sen, *History of Bengali Literature,* p. 96.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 97.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 98.
4. For this work, cf. p. 567.
5. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, *Languages and Literatures of Modern India* (Bengal Publishers Private Ltd.), 1963, p. 122.
6. See p. 562.
7. S.K. Chatterji, op. cit., pp. 128-9.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 129.
9. Cf. p. 317.
10. For a full appreciation of Bhālaṇ's works, see Shastri, *Gujarātī Sāhityanuṅ Rekhādarshana* (Khaṇḍa 1), pp. 83-95; Vaidya V.K., *Gujaratī Sāhityanī Rupa-rekhā,* pp. 46-50 and Munshi K.M., *Gujarat and its Literature,* p. 168 ff.
11. Shastri calls him the Ādikavi of Brajabhāshā. *op cit.,* p. 88. According to him, Bhālaṇ was a contemporary of Sūrdās and was familiar with the poetic compositions in Brajabhāshā.

11a. The *gāgariā or māṇ bhaṭ* is peculiar to Gujarat. He has played a great role in the evolution and preservation of *ạkhyān* literature. See Munshi, *op. cit.* pp. 166-167.

12. This is supported not only by her songs but also an anecdote about her meeting with Śri Jīva Gosvāmī, a Vaishṇava Sanyāsi reputed for his learning and exposition of the tenets of Vaishṇavism. She had gone to his place at Vṛindāvan when the saint's disciples stopped her at the door and told her that their master did not see any woman's face. Surprised, Mīrāṇ gave a poignant but touching retort: "I was under the impression that in this land of Braja there is only one male (Purusha), that Supreme person, and the rest are his *gopīs.* If you have contrived to remain a Purusha despite your stay in Braja, I do not know what to say of your discretion." The saint was struck with Mīrāṅ's words of unique devotion. He at once realised that what he had learnt from *śāstras* was dry knowledge. He himself came out to pay homage to her. Ramlal, *Bhārat ke Sant-Mahātmā,* pp. 489-490, Bankey Behari, *op. cit.,* pp. 102-103.
13. The earliest collection of her hundred songs gradually increased to more than a thousand. Later poets and devotees of Mīrāṅ composed songs which they attribute to this mad musician of Lord Kṛishṇa.
14. At one time Narasiṁha Mehta's date was taken as fixed between 1414 and 1480. According to Munshi, he can reasonably be placed between 1500 and 1580 A.D. See Munshi, op. cit. Note on pp. 199-200.
15. Nārasiṁha Mehta joyfully sang, unshaken in his faith and love: "Believe me, all worldly pleasure is shadowy. All things except Kṛishṇa are ephemeral" (*Sukh Saṅsāri mithyā kasi mānjo Kṛishṇa Vinā Bijuṅ Sarva Kạchu;* Also *Bhalu thayuṅ bhāṅgi janjāḷ, sukhe bhajishuṅ Śri Gopāl*).
16. Joshi Umashankar, *Akho Ek Adhyayana,* Chapter I, *Akhānā Chhappā,* Introduction, pp. 1-22.
17. Swayamjyoti, *Akhānā Chhappā,* p. 25.
18. Cf. Vaidya, op cit., p. 74.
19. The date of birth of Ekanātha is given variously as 1521, 1528, 1533 and 1548 A.D. The date of death is given as 1599 or 1608. Dr. S. K. Chatterji assigns to him the date 1548-1599.

20. A somewhat different view about the origin and antiquity of Malayālam is given in Vol. VI, pp. 529-30. Dr. S. K. Chatterji (op. cit. pp. 334-6) fixes the date of modern Malayalam in 1800 A.D.
21. Muḥammad Isḥāq, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature,* Dacca, 1955, p. 232.
22. Zubaid Aḥmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, Jullunder, 1946, p. 17, 42-43. The *Kanz al-Ummāl* is being published by the Dā'irat 'ul Ma'ārif-i-Islāmīyyah, Hyderabad, in several volumes; so far, nineteen volumes have been brought out.
23. See, for a detailed study of Shaikh 'Abd al-Haq's life and works, K.A. Niẓāmī, *Hayāt-i-'Abdul Ḥaqq,* Delhi, 1953; *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition,* pp. 60-61; cf., Aziz Ahmad, *An Intellectual History of Islam in India,* Edinburgh, 1969, p. 68.
24. Muḥammad Isḥāq, op. cit., pp. 146-153.
25. Zubaid Aḥmad, op. cit., pp. 20-25.
26. *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam,* Vol. III, p. 67.
27. Zubaid Aḥmad, op. cit., pp. 85-86, 191-193.
28. H. K. Sherwani, *Cultural Trends in medieval India,* Bombay, 1968, p. 83.
29. Bankipore Catalogue, Vol. IV, No. 107.
30. 'Azīz Aḥmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment,* Oxford, 1964, pp. 183-190.
31. S. M. Ikram, *Rūd-i-Kauthar,* Lahore, 1958, pp. 206-208, 213, 222, 280, 285.
32. *Ibid.,* pp. 334-335.
33. Ḥājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn,* Leipzig, 1835-52, Vol. IV, p. 925; VI, p. 241; VIII, p. 914.
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48. *Indo-Iranica,* Calcutta, Vol. XIII, 2, pp. 19-30, Dr. Momin Muhyīuddin's article, *Sabk-i-Hindī.*
49. Cf. for a detailed study of Mughul poetry, Dr. Ḥadi Ḥasan, *Moghul Poetry: its cultural and historical value,* Madras, 1952.
50. The unique Diwan of Humāyūn, belonging to the Khuda Bakhsh O.P.L., Patna, edited by Dr. Hadi Hasan, has been published at Hyderabad.
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75. *Islamic Culture,* Vol. XIX, 1945, pp. 115-122, article on '*Chandra Bhan Brahman*'; See also *Indo-Iranica,* Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 53-68, article on '*Chandra Bhan Brahman*'.
76. S.M. Abdullah, *Adabiyyāt-i-Fārsī men Hinduwon kā Ḥiṣṣa,* Delhi, 1942, p. 30; Cf. *Indo-Iranica,* Vol. XV, No. 2, 1962, pp. 12-26, article on '*Hindu Efforts at Persian Studies*'.

CHAPTER XX

RELIGION

I. HINDU RELIGION

(a) *General Review*

The majority of Hindus adhered to the orthodox cults of Śiva, Śakti, Vishṇu, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa. But conflicting trends of liberalism and catholicity on the one hand, and rigid exclusiveness and conservatism on the other, were noticeable within the Hindu religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of the Vaishṇava and Tāntric teachers proclaimed the rights of women and Śūdras in the spiritual sphere and welcomed the aboriginals and hill tribes living on the borders to the Hindu fold. Efforts were made even to accommodate the Muslim brethren who preferred to adopt Hindu ways of life and thought. But vehement opposition was offered to such tendencies by the writers of digests on the Dharmaśāstras who laid the greatest possible emphasis on the maintenance of ceremonial purity against contamination from people considered as unclean. Like a tortoise drawing itself within its own shell at the approach of enemy, the Brāhmaṇa *nibandhakāras* tried to maintain the integrity of Hindu religion by keeping themselves away from all contacts with the powerful Muslim community. They tried to regulate the life and conduct of all classes of Hindus in the minutest details for the sake of self-preservation.

The earlier *nibandhakāras* like Lakshmīdhara in the twelfth, Hemādri in the thirteenth and Chaṇḍeśvara in the fourteenth centuries were influential ministers of independent Hindu rulers like Govindachandra Gāhaḍavāla, Mahādeva Yādava and Harisiṁha of Mithilā. They wielded both secular and religious power. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they had to depend on their religious and intellectual authority or at most on the support of petty chieftains. Rāṇī Durgāvatī, who fell fighting against Akbar's forces in 1564, engaged Padmanābha Miśra to write out a digest in seven volumes, named after her as *Durgāvatī-prakāśa*, but only the first part could be completed before her death and the project had to be given up. Todarmal was only the revenue minister of Akbar and no independent ruler; yet he maintained the tradition of patronising the Smṛiti writers by engaging a host of scholars to produce the *Todarānanda*, an encyclopaedia of law, fasts, festivals, purificatory ceremonies, gifts, modes of conduct as well as of astronomy and medicine. In the seventeenth century Mitra Miśra wrote his celebrated *Vīra-mitrodaya* under the patronage of Vīrasiṁha of Orchha (1605-1627). Nīlakaṇṭha's patron was Bhagavanta, a Bundela Chief and Anantadeva composed his *Smṛiti-Kaustubha* under the shelter of Bāz Bahādur (1638-78) of Almora. Of all the later writers of *Nibandha*, Keśava Paṇḍit alone had administrative experience. He served Shivājī and rose to be a Judge (*Daṇḍādhyaksha*) under Shambhūjī. Eminent *Smārtas* like Raghunandana and Ramānāth Vidyā-Vāchaspati of Bengal, Pītāmbar Siddhānta-Vāgīśa of Kāmarūpa and Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa of Mahārāshṭra had no royal patron to back them. But such was the tremendous force of their learning and personality that they were able to counteract much of the liberalising influence of the reformers. The majority of the Hindus remained faithful to the orthodox ideals preached by the *Smārtas*.

(b) *Religious Rights of the Śūdras*

The *Bhakti* movement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries tended to raise the status of the non-Brāhmaṇas. Some of them became spiritual preceptors even of Brāhmaṇas. But the orthodox Brāhmaṇas resisted their claims vehemently. Some of the *Smārtas* went so far as to condemn the Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas as Śūdras and refused to concede to the latter the rights which they had enjoyed in the twelfth century. The earliest symptom of the conflict between the Brāhmaṇas and non-Brāhmaṇas may be detected in the famous controversy between the Vaḍagalai and Teṅgalai schools of Śrī Vaishṇavas in South India. The Teṅgalais held that a true devotee belonging to lower castes should be considered as equal to a Brāhmaṇa, because such a person rose above all castes and creeds. They further asserted that spiritual knowledge could be obtained through a teacher of the lower order. The Vaḍagalais were staunch followers of the caste system and they refused to admit the right of anybody excepting a Brāhmaṇa to impart spiritual initiation or instruction.[1] The liberal views of Teṅgalais did not remain confined merely to the theoretical plane. A Tamil copper-plate inscription of 1596 A.D. records that in the reign of Veṅkaṭapati Deva, a Śūdra priest joined with a large number of other Śūdras and made Kaṇḍiya Devar King of Vriddhāchalam in the presence of Muttu Krishṇappa Nāyaka.[2]

The theory and practice of the Teṅgalais appear to have been introduced in Northern India by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the South Indian follower of Chaitanya, through his work, *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa.* He quotes the authority of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* to show that not only the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatṛiyas and Vaiśyas but also the Śūdras and women have got the right of worshipping the *Śālagrāma-śilā.*[3] Sanātana Gosvāmin supports this proposition in his commentary on the above work by quoting the authorities of the *Vāyu, Nāradīya* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas* as well as the *Hayaśīrṣa-Pāñcharātra.* He also alludes to the practice of the saintly persons in the Madhyadeśa, and especially of the best of the Śrī Vaishṇavas of the south as valid proof for the same. It is noteworthy that his ancestors belonged to Karṇāṭak and his great-grandfather, Padmanābha, settled down in Bengal. He was, therefore, familiar with the southern customs. He also cites the authority of the *Bhāgavata* and the commentary of Śrīdharasvāmin to prove that the Vaishṇavas, even though born of lower castes, are not only equal to the Brāhmaṇas but also superior to them.[4] He then refers to the story of Priyavrata in the *Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa* wherein is related the fact that a hunter named Dharmavyādha worshipped the *Śālagrāma-śilā.* But in subsequent times the Brāhmaṇas managed to interpolate certain verses in the aforesaid *Purāṇa* prohibiting the Śūdras from worshipping the *Śālagrāma-śilā.*[5]

Some of the non-Brāhmaṇa followers of Chaitanya became spiritual preceptors not only of the three lower orders but also of the Brāhmaṇas themselves. Narahari Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa, Burdwan, belonging to the Vaidya caste, had many Brāhmaṇa disciples. Narottama Ṭhākura, who was a Kāyastha by caste, gave initiation to Brāhmaṇas like Gaṅgānārāyaṇa Chakravartī, Rāmakṛishṇa Chakravartī and Dvija Basanta.[6] In Mahārāshṭra Tukārām, a Śūdra saint in the seventeenth century, likewise made some Brāhmaṇa disciples. Similarly in Assam Śaṅkaradeva and his principal disciple, Mādhavadeva, were Kāyasthas by birth, but recruited many disciples including Brāhmaṇas. They had to face, however, severe opposition from the Brāhmaṇas. Many of the Brāhmaṇa disciples of Mādhavadeva such as Gopāl Deb, Hari Deb and Dāmodar Deb seceded from him in the seventeenth century and founded separate communities. They became known as Bāmuniā Gosāins. They insisted on the strict observance of the caste system and refused to admit the authority of any but a Brāhmaṇa to give spiritual initiation. They seem to have made a compromise with the Śakti cult as is indicated by their taking of the flesh of goats, pigeons and ducks.[7]

A great saint like Tulsīdās also appeared in the role of champion of the exclusive rights of the Brāhmaṇas to be spiritual teachers.

While describing the conduct of people in the *Kali* age he sarcastically remarks that the Śūdras contend against the Brāhmaṇas and assert that they are in no way inferior to the Brāhmaṇas and further allege that the real Brāhmaṇas are those who know the Brahmaṇ. He states with evident regret that the Śūdras now impart knowledge to the Brāhmaṇas, take the sacred thread and accept reprehensible gifts. He further adds that those who belong to the lowest castes like oilmen, potters, Chaṇḍālas, Kirātas, Kols and Kalwar, or those who have lost their wife or property, get their head shaved and become Sannyāsis; they get their feet worshipped by Brāhmaṇas and thus destroy their prospects in this as well as in the other world. Finally he remarks ruefully that the Śūdras presume to perform *japa,* austerities and *vratas* and to teach the *Purāṇas* from an exalted seat.[8] This is certainly a fling at the popularity of Ravidās, the shoe-maker, Dharṇā the Jāt, Sena the barber and other religious teachers belonging to the non-Brāhmaṇa castes.

The writers of *Nibandhas* made determined efforts to prevent the non-Brāhmaṇas from usurping their rights and privileges. They stoutly refused to concede to the Śūdras the right to worship the *Śālagrāma-śilā.* Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, who flourished in Mahārāshṭra in the seventeenth century, had considerable sympathy for the Śūdras. But he, too, stated that the Śūdras should not read the *Purāṇas* themselves but should engage Brāhmaṇas to expound these.[9] But Lakshmīdhara in the first quarter of the twelfth century had recognised the right of the Śūdras to read the *Purāṇas* and recite the Paurāṇic *mantras.* Kamalākara allowed the Śūdras only to repeat the thirteen-lettered Rāma-*mantra* (*Śrī Rāma, jaya Rāma, jaya jaya Rāma*) and five-lettered Śiva-*mantra* (*Namaḥ Śivāya*). Both Raghunandana of eastern India and Kamalākara of western India allowed the Śūdras to perform *Vratas* and make gifts to Brāhmaṇas, but they prohibited them from reciting the appropriate *mantras* which were to be uttered by the priest, while his unfortunate client was simply allowed to repeat the word *Namaḥ* (Obeisance).[10]

Raghunandana of Navadvīpa (Nadia), who introduced himself as the son of Harihara Bhattacharyya belonging to the Vandyaghaṭīya section, was the greatest of digest-writers on Dharmaśāstra in the sixteenth century. He wrote as many as twenty-eight works on different aspects of the social and religious life of the Hindus and all these are collectively known as the *Smṛititattva.* He appears to have been indebted to his teacher Śrīnātha Āchārya Chūḍāmaṇi (c. 1470-1540 A.D.) for some of the titles of his books. In his

Jyotishtattva he illustrates a certain proposition by referring to the Śaka year 1489 (1567 A.D.) and it shows that he must have been alive up to that year at least. In less than half a century his authority was recognised all over northern and western India, as is proved by his views having been quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu* written by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa in 1612 A.D. Raghunandana was a valiant champion of the rights of the Brāhmaṇas. This may be illustrated by a simple example. It is stated in the *Agastya-Saṁhitā* that a person's worshipping of the deity becomes fruitless if he offers flowers from trees and plants owned by another person without securing his permission.[11] Raghunandana states in his *Āhnika-tattva* as well as the *Ekādaśītattva* that this dictum is not applicable to the twice-born classes.[12] He thus gives a free license to the twice-born castes to take away flowers from other people's gardens without taking the permission of the proprietor.

To Raghunandana the Brāhmaṇas were the only twice-born caste. Citing the authority of the *Manusaṁhitā* and the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* he came to the conclusion that the Kshatṛiyas had ceased to exist ever since the time of Mahāpadma Nanda and like the Kshatṛiyas the Vaiśyas and Ambashṭhas too had become Śūdras on account of non-performance of appropriate duties.[13] Thus the Hindus, according to him, were classified into two categories—the Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa accepted this theory,[14] though Keśava Paṇḍit, who was associated with the Judicial Department under Shivājī, Shambhūjī and Rājārām, recognised the existence of the Kshatṛiyas and Vaiśyas and prescribed different penalties for reviling persons of different castes. In Orissa, too, the law-book attributed to Pratāparudra ordained difference in the degree of penalty to be awarded to the Kshatṛiyas and Vaiśyas for slander and libel.[15] Anantadeva, whose patron Bāz Bahādur ruled over Almora and Nainital from 1638 to 1678 A.D., defines a *grāma* or village as a place inhabited by Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras, and a *purī* or town as one where besides the above mentioned castes, the Kshatṛiyas also reside. A *pattana,* according to him, is one in which the Kshatṛiyas, duly installed, and the Vaiśyas, fit to carry on business, dwell together. A *Kheṭa* is one where the three higher castes reside and live upon agriculture; a *nagara* is one where all the castes including the mixed ones reside and the area of which is four times that of an ordinary *Kheṭa.*[16]

This question assumed great importance during the reign of Shivājī. With the support of Gāgābhaṭṭa, Shivājī succeeded in restoring to the Syennavis, Chandrasenīyas, Kāyasthas, Marāṭhās and some other castes the rights and privileges of *Shoḍasa-Saṁskāras.*

Raghunandana conceded only one *Saṁskāra,* namely marriage, to the Śūdras.[17] In a royal decree, dated 28 January, 1677, Shivājī called himself a Kshatṛiya and referred to the Vaiśyas also.[18] All these go to show that Raghunandana's theory about the existence of the Brāhmaṇas and Śūdras only in the Hindu religious fold was not accepted by many. Raghunandana wrote a special book entitled *Śūdrakriyā-Vichāra-tattva* for ascertaining the religious rites and ceremonies which the Śūdras were entitled to perform.

(c) *The Tāntrik Cults*

The Tantras did not make much discrimination between the Brāhmaṇas and non-Brāhmaṇas in the spiritual sphere. They admitted the right of all classes to the Tāntrik *Gāyatrī* and *Sandhyā.* All were entitled to read the Tantras and recite the Tāntrik *mantras.* But it must be admitted that the Tantras recognised castes for all secular purposes.[19]

Tāntricism had fallen into disrepute in the early middle age. But earnest and sustained efforts were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to purge it of baser elements. The *Kāmākhyā Tantra* classifies the Tāntrik worshippers into three groups —the *Divyas, Vīras* and *Paśus.* Men with the *Divya* disposition are contented, fearless, truthful, attentive to all and loved by all. They have been compared to Śiva. Those who are of *Vīra* disposition are so strong, vigorous, courageous and enterprising as to inspire fear in the minds of the *Paśus,* who are slaves to the six passions, namely lust, anger, greed, pride, illusion and envy. According to the *Kulārṇava Tantra,* the *Śakti* of the *paśu* is not awakened. The same Tantra explains the true significance of the much abused five M's (*pañcha-makāra*). The nectar which flows from the union of the Kuṇḍalinī *śakti* with Śiva at the *sahasrāra* in the head is true wine. He who kills by the sword of *jñāna* the animals of merit and demerit and devotes his mind to the supreme Śiva is the true eater of flesh. He who controls all his senses and places them in his *Ātman* truly takes fish. He who is permeated by the bliss which arises out of the union of the supreme *śakti* and *Ātman,* enjoys the true union; others are mere fornicators.[20] That this is not a mere idealised picture is proved by Muhsin Fānī, an acute Muslim observer, who states that in 1623 A.D. he migrated in his infancy from Patna to Akbarābād with his relatives and came under the influence of Chaturvāpāh (d. 1637) and his disciple Gaṇeśa.[21] He writes that when a learned *śākta* was shown a statement in a book counselling immorality, he said that the text was contrary to custom and no such thing was to be found in the ancient books.

The Muslim author refers to a class of Śāktas who never drink wine and never indulge in adultery.[22]

A number of saintly scholars produced a number of Tāntric treatises during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus Mahīdhara, a citizen of Ahichhatra settled at Vārāṇasī, wrote the *Mantra-mahodadhi* in 1589 A.D. Brahmānanda Giri, the celebrated author of the *Śāktānanda-taraṅgiṇī* and *Tārā-rahasya* must have been earlier than him, because his disciple Pūrṇānanda's *Śāktakrama* was written in 1571 A.D. Brahmānanda elaborates the various rites to be performed in the course of the worship of Śakti. Pūrṇānanda was a more voluminous writer. His treatises covered subjects ranging from abstruse philosophy to magical rites in connection with the Tāntrik ceremonies. He was born in a village Katihali, in the Mymensingh district of Bangladesh. He made many disciples in East and North Bengal and his descendants held the position of hereditary *gurūs* for many generations. Another Tāntric writer of the sixteenth century was Śaṅkara of Gauḍa (Bengal) who bore the title of Āgamāchārya. In his *Tārā-rahasya-varttika* he explains the mode of worshipping Tārā with special reference to the method of initiation and purification.[22a] The most famous author of this sect was Kṛishṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa of Navadvīpa. His *Tāntrasāra* is a work of high authority not only in Bengal but also in the whole of northern India. As he quotes from Pūrṇānanda's *Śrītattva-chintāmaṇi*[23] which was written in 1577 A.D., he must have flourished some time after that date. Ramātoshaṇa Vidyālaṁkāra who compiled the *Prāṇa-toshaṇī-tantra* in 1820, was seventh in descent from Kṛishṇānanda; it may therefore be presumed that the latter flourished in the seventeenth century.[24] Those who hold that he was a contemporary of Chaitanya depend on uncorroborated legends. Another Bengali writer on the Tantras was Raghunātha Tarkavāgīśa who wrote the *Āgama-tattva-vilāsa* at Napāḍā in Āndul near Calcutta in 1687 A.D. Though north-western India in earlier times and north-eastern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries happened to be citadels of Tāntricism, yet other parts of India were not free from its influence. A Brāhmaṇa of the Kāñchī region, named Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin went on pilgrimage to Jālandhara and was initiated by a Tāntrik preceptor, Sundarāchārya, who asked him to settle down at Vārāṇasī. He wrote several works on the method of worshipping Śiva, Chaṇḍī, Gaṇeśa, Vishṇu and Sūrya. His son Jagannivāsa became the spiritual preceptor of a number of ruling chiefs, of whom the most notable was Devīsiṁha of Bundel. Jaitrasiṁha of the Vāghela dynasty was the author of a work relating to the method of worshipping Bhairava.

Not only the Śaivas and Śāktas but also the Vaishṇavas drew upon the Tantras. Sanātana Gosvāmin relates how one of the heroes of his *Bṛihat-Bhāgavatāmṛita,* an ignorant Brāhmaṇa of Prāgjyotiṣapura, used to worship the goddess Kāmākṣhyā sincerely. The goddess revealed to him in a dream the ten-lettered *Gopāla-mantra* and instructed him how to meditate on it, as well as the way of performing worship.[25] It is worth noting that this is the very *mantra* with which Īśvara-Purī initiated Chaitanya at Gayā. Sanātana Gosvāmin in his commentary on the tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* has cited the authority of the *Trailokya Sammohana-tantra*[26] and the *Rudra-Yāmala-tantra.*[27] Gopāla Bhaṭṭa has quoted the authority of many of the Tantras like the *Gautamīya Tantra,*[28] *Trailokya-Sammohana-Tantra,*[29] *Nārada Tantra,*[30] *Sammohana Tantra*[31] and *Sanatkumāra Tantra.*[32]

The Śākta *Pīṭhas* or holy places were originally four or seven in number, but these were spread over the whole of India. When Kṛishṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa wrote his *Tāntrasāra,* the number swelled to fifty-one, of which only two were located in Bengal. But the *Pīṭhanirṇaya,* written probably in Bengal towards the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century, claims nearly one-third of the total number of Pīṭhas for Bengal alone.[33] This probably illustrates the popularity of the Śākta cult in Bengal. This is also supported by Mukundarāma Chakravartī, who mentions a large number of places associated with the Śakti cult in his *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala,*[34] written towards the close of the sixteenth century. The poet's grandfather was a strict vegetarian, his village deity was Chakrāditya and he begins his work with hymns to Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Sarasvatī, Chaitanya, Rāma, Lakshmī, Chaṇḍī and Śukadeva Gosvāmin. Though his ostensible object was glorifying Chaṇḍī, he did not miss any opportunity of praising the Vaishṇavas and their tenets.[35]

Despite the serious attempts of learned scholars and holy ascetics to reform the Tāntrik Śakti cult, certain sections of people continued to follow the path of sensual enjoyment in the name of religion. Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa Bhaḍa, alias Śivānandanātha, who flourished at Vārāṇasī in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries had to write a series of books to refute the *Vāmāchāra* or the Leftist doctrines and practices which, according to him, were widely prevalent in those days. He, however, claimed to have established the *Dakṣhiṇāchāra* or the Rightist form of worship on a firm footing.[36]

The Aghorepanthīs whose horrible practices were condemned by Bhavabhūti and Rājaśekhara continued to exist even up to the seventeenth century. A revolting account of their most abominable ways of life has been given in the *Dabīstān.*[37]

(d) *The Śaivas*

No new movement appears to have arisen amongst the Śaivas during the period under survey. But a large proportion of the people continued to be followers of Śaivism. Appayya Dīkṣhita (1520-1592), the famous author of more than one hundred works on diverse subjects, attempted to build up a synthesis between Vedāntic monism, Śaivism and the Siddhānta or Āgama schools. His synthetic doctrine known as the *Ratna-traya-parīkshā* seeks to establish the identity of Śaṅkara-Pārvatī and Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa concepts. He lived under the patronage of the Nāyakas of Vellore. Tāyumānavar, a famous Śaiva saint of the seventeenth century, also preached the unity between the Vedānta and the Śaiva Siddhānta. He was a high official in the court of the Nāyaka ruler of Tiruchirappalli. It is said that as the widowed queen offered herself and the kingdom to him he gave her noble advice and left the kingdom in search of spiritual life. A group of five great saints, namely Śivaprakāśa I, Śāntaliṅga, Kumāradeva, Śivaprakāśa II and Chidambara Svāmin, all belonging to the Vīraśaiva or Liṅgāyata sect, flourished in the seventeenth century and composed beautiful hymns and scholarly treatises.

Some of the Śaivas in the sixteenth century practised *satyāgraha* and self-immolation in defence of their religious beliefs. Fr. N. Pimenta relates that he saw with his own eyes a group of Śaiva priests at Chidambaram offering resistance to Krishṇappā Nāyaka of Gingee in 1597, when the latter placed a gilded pole called Sign of Perimal at the Govindarāja shrine there. As the prince did not care to yield to their opposition, they climbed the towers and 'cast themselves down' in his presence and twenty of them died instantaneously. At this Kṛishṇappā got angry and ordered the rest of the priests to be killed. Two of them thus lost their life and seeing this a woman 'cut her own throat'.[38]

In Bengal Śaivism in its popular form underwent a remarkable change. The tribal deity of the aboriginal Koch tribe in North Bengal appears to have been identified with Rudra-Śiva in this period. Mukundarāma Chakravartī slightly touches upon the infatuation of the Koch women for Śiva. This theme has been elaborated with great gusto by Rāmeśvara, a poet of the early eighteenth century, in his *Śivāyaṇa*. The same poet has depicted Śiva as a peasant cultivator, because his wife Pārvatī failed to supply adequate food to her sons out of the alms secured by him.

(e) *Contending Religious Forces in Eastern India*

Assam, Cooch Behar and Tripura were strongholds of the Śakti cult. Human beings used to be sacrificed on special occasions in all these places. Gait quotes the authority of the *Haft Iqlim* to show that some Ahoms used to offer themselves for sacrifice to a tribal goddess called Ai at the time of her annual festival. Such people were known as Bhogīs. They were allowed to do whatever they liked from the day they expressed their desire to sacrifice their life. Rich and nourishing food was supplied to them with a view to making their body plump, as the goddess was supposed to have been specially pleased with such victims.[39] Rājā Nara Nārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar (c. 1555-87 A.D.) erected a new temple of Kāmākhyā and on the day of its consecration sacrificed as many as one hundred and forty men and offered their heads to the goddess on copper salvers.[40] The *Rājamālā* states that Mahārājā Dhanyamāṇikya of Tripura (c. 1490-1514 A.D.) stopped the practice of sacrificing annually one thousand human beings before the fourteen gods and goddesses, that is Śiva, Durgā, Hari, Lakshmī, Sarasvatī, Kārtika, Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, the Earth, Sea, Ganges, Fire, Kāmadeva and the Himālayas, the titular deities of the royal family of Tripura. He ordained that only the worst criminals and captives of war should be offered as sacrifices. Rājadhara, son of Amaramāṇikya, who ruled between 1586 and 1600, became a convert to Vaishṇavism. He built an excellent temple of Vishṇu and engaged singers to sing *kīrtana* songs all the twenty-four hours. According to the tradition current in the Nityānanda family it was Gopījanavallabha, the son of Vīrabhadra, who took the lead in introducing Vaishṇavism in Tripura. Bloody sacrifices, however, did not cease till Govindamāṇikya took effective steps to prevent them in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Śaṅkaradeva, born about 1487 A.D.[41] of a Kāyastha family of feudal chiefs of the Brahmaputra valley,[41a] introduced Vaishṇavism in Kāmarūpa and Cooch Behar. His biographers relate that he did not get congenial atmosphere in Assam under the Ahom King Chuhungmung Svargadeo (c. 1497-1539 A.D.) for the propagation of his faith and that he fled to the domains of Rājā Nara Nārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar. The latter allowed him liberty to preach his religion. Mādhavadeva, the greatest of his disciples, met him for the first time in 1522 A.D. and accompanied him to Cooch Behar in 1543. Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva appear to have attained great success in their mission in the kingdom of Nara Nārāyaṇa. Fitch who visited his kingdom in the latter part of the sixteenth century writes of the conduct of the people: "There they be gentiles and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any sick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it, or other victuals and keep it in their hospitals or let it go". The Vaishṇava movement attracted some tribal people too. The rulers of the Heramba principality in Cachar became followers of Śaṅkaradeva. Mādhavadeva writes in his *Nām-Ghosha*: "Garos, Bhutias, Muslims take the name of Hari; it is a pity such *Hari-nāma* is criticised by some of the learned".[42] Some Brāhmaṇas became their disciples but the majority of them remained hostile to them. Rājā Rudra Siṁha (1696-1714) compelled the Śūdra Gosāins to wear a distinctive badge round their neck and prohibited the Brāhmaṇas from showing reverence to them.

The sect founded by Śaṅkaradeva and Mādhavadeva is known as the Mahāpurushiās. Some European savants imagined them as followers of Chaitanya's school.[43] But there are four fundamental points of difference between the two. Firstly, Śaṅkaradeva considers God as formless and does not believe in image worship, which the Bengal Vaishṇavas consider essential. Secondly, salvation is considered the objective of spiritual life by Śaṅkaradeva while the followers of Chaitanya spurn it and yearn for loving servitude of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. Thirdly, Śaṅkaradeva does not recognise Rādhā at all. Fourthly, the Bengal Vaishṇavas recite the sixteen names beginning with the words, *Hare Kṛishṇa, Hare Kṛishṇa,* but the Assam Vaishṇavas recite only four names, *Rāma Kṛishṇa, Rāma Kṛishṇa.*[44] The chief centres of propagation of Śaṅkaradeva's religion were the *satras,* or refuge of devotees. At the centre of the *satra* lies the *Nāmaghara,* where either the *Gītā* or the *Bhāgavata* is kept on the pedestal and the holy name is recited.

Śaṅkaradeva led the life of a householder with his wife and children, but Mādhavadeva remained an ascetic. Some time after the latter's death in 1596 A.D. several sub-sects sprang up. Vaṁśī Gopāladeva founded a number of *satras* in Upper Assam and installed a stone image of Govinda at Kurua Banhi. His spiritual preceptor, Dāmodaradeva, was the founder of the *Brahma Saṁhati* or *Bāmuniā* school. Another school was founded by Aniruddhadeva, who had to secede from the main body because he could not resist the temptation of introducing some of the occult practices of Tāntricism in the Vaiṣhṇava rituals. Many of his followers were fishermen, who lived on catching the *moā* fish and hence the name of the sect became *Moā Māriā,* the catchers of *moā* fish. But the apologists of the school explained the name as the *Māyā Māriā* or killer of nescience. The Thākuriā sect was organised by Śaṅkaradeva's grandson, Purushottama Ṭhākur, who was originally a follower of Mādhavadeva. Another follower of the latter, named Gopāladeva also seceded and founded the school known as *Kāla Saṁhati.*

A careful perusal of the *Chaitanya Bhāgavata,* written by Vṛindāvana Dāsa, the last disciple of Nityānanda, some time between 1546 and 1550 A.D., reveals the division of Chaitanya's followers also into various sub-sects. Chaitanya died in 1533 and Nityānanda and Advaita must have passed away some time before the composition of this work. This author states that an attempt was made by some people to identify Advaita with Kṛishṇa.[45] At another place he says that those who neglect Chaitanya and worship Advaita are doomed, be they even the sons of Advaita.[46] A rift was noticeable between the followers of Gaṅgādhara and those of Advaita.[47] The number of traducers of Nityānanda was so large that Vṛindāvana Dāsa had to undertake the writing of this work mainly with a view to extolling his virtues. Nityānanda did not observe any of the social conventions. This might be one of the reasons why Rūpa Gosvāmin and Raghunātha Dāsa did not mention his name in any of their works. Vṛindāvana Dāsa severely condemns those who do not show proper respect to Nityānanda. He also deprecates the section of devotees who take delight in describing Chaitanya as a lover of women like Kṛishṇa. Narahari Sarkār of Śrīkhaṇḍa was the chief protagonist of such a section and that is why Vṛindāvana Dāsa does not mention his name even once in his book. Narahari also took the lead in initiating his followers with the *mantra* associated with the name of Chaitanya. The theology of the Bengal Vaishṇavas was formulated at Vṛindāvana by the six Gosvāmīs, Sanātana and Rūpa and their nephew Jīva, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha Dāsa. These Gosvāmīs drew their inspiration from Chaitanya indeed, but they inculcated the doctrine of worshipping Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. To them Chaitanya was more a means to an end than an end in himself. Their works were brought from Vṛindāvana to Bengal by Śrīnivāsa Āchārya, the disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa. Śrīnivāsa was able to convert Vīra Hāmbīr, the powerful ruler of Bishnupur in the district of Bankura in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

Vīra Hāmbīr constructed some magnificent temples dedicated to Kṛishṇa at Bishnupur and composed a few beautiful lyrics in

Bengali. In one of these poems he states that it was Śrīnivāsa Āchārya who showed him the way of devotional life and made him discard the princely arrogance.[48] But history relates that he did not give up fighting, sometimes on behalf of the Mughuls and occasionally against them, even as late as 1608. Narottama Ṭhākur and Śyāmānanda, two of the associates of Śrīnivāsa Āchārya, took prominent part in propagating Vaishṇavism in Bengal and Orissa respectively. The former brought about a synthesis between the different schools of Bengal Vaishṇavism and held a grand festival at Khetari about the year 1582 A.D. to signalise the fact. The images of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa along with those of Chaitanya and his two wives were installed there on the anniversary of the birthday of Chaitanya. Narottama also introduced the *Gaḍāṇhāṭī* school of *Kīrtana* song on that occasion. Jāhṇavā Devī, widow of Nityānanda, was accepted as the undisputed leader of the vast congregation of the Vaishṇavas. It was at her instance that the various religious ceremonies were performed. She undertook three trips to Vṛindāvana and was received with unique honour by the Vaishṇava authors and preceptors there. She is credited with propagating the religion in the localities through which she passed.[49] Sītā Devī, the wife of Advaita, did not come out of the *pardah* but she, too, introduced a new sub-sect in which the male devotees took the garb of women. Buchanan Hamilton found the chief seat of the Sakhībhāva Vaishṇavas at Jangalitala near Gauḍa and discovered that it was established by Sītā Ṭhākurāṇī, who initiated two male disciples and named them Jaṅgalī and Nandinī.[50] He noticed that the sect was popular amongst the lower order of the people.

Biographies and accounts of Vaishṇavas written in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries reveal that out of the 490 leading followers of Chaitanya there were as many as 239 Brāhmaṇas, 37 Vaidyas and 29 Kāyasthas.[51] But the majority of the rank and file of the Bengal Vaishṇavas belonged to other castes, residing mainly in West Bengal and North Bengal. Vaishṇavism was carried to East Bengal by the followers of Narottama Ṭhākur later on. An eminent historian states that Chaitanya took up the noble mission of improving the lot of the lower castes and untouchables by bringing them in his fold and according them equal status with the so-called higher castes.[52] This is why the whole of the prosperous merchant class known as the Suvarṇavaṇiks which had been degraded by Ballālasena out of spite accepted Vaishṇavism. But the virile Namaśūdra or Chaṇḍāla caste residing in East Bengal continued to be votaries of the Śakti cult. Many influential Brāhmaṇas, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas, too, remained attached to Śāktism.

Some cases of conversion of high caste Śāktas to Vaishṇavism are described in the *Premavilāsa, Bhakti-ratnākara* and *Narottama-vilāsa,* but these must have been exceptional. At the same time it is worth noting that Brāhmaṇa poets like Mukundarāma Chakravartī in his *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala,* Rūparāma Chakravartī in his *Dharma-maṅgala* and a Kāyastha poet like Ketakadāsa Kshemānanda in his *Manasā-maṅgala* have made obeisance to Chaitanya and to his Vaiṣhṇava followers. Both the Śāktas and the Śaivas rendered homage to Manasā, the goddess of snakes, Śītalā, the goddess of small-pox, Shashṭhī, the patron goddess of children, and to Dharma, who is supposed to have been the incarnation of Buddha. Some of the Buddhist Sahajiyās became Vaishṇava Sahajiyās. Some of the earliest works of the latter were written in the seventeenth century. Thus Rasika-dāsa composed the *Rasatattva-sāra* in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, Akiñchana-dāsa wrote the *Vivarta-vilāsa* in the middle of the century and the *Āgama* was copied in 1688.[53] These works extol extra-marital love and hold that the union of the human and divine is literally possible.[54]

In Orissa the Brāhmaṇas were attached more to the cults of Śakti and Śiva than to Vaishṇavism. The existence of the Gopīnātha temple at Remuna and the Janārdana temple at Alalnātha proves that Vaishṇavism had some followers in Orissa before the advent of Chaitanya. Rāi Rāmānanda wrote the drama *Jagannātha-maṅgala,* depicting the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa before he met Chaitanya. Gopījanavallabha in his *Rasika-maṅgala,* written in 1660 A.D., states that the masses of people as well as the feudal chieftains were addicted to wine, women and other vices, and they were hostile to the *kīrtana* song and to the Vaishṇavas, whom they drove away from villages.[55] If this description is to be relied on, the conclusion becomes inevitable that Vaishṇavism could not make much progress during the lifetime of Chaitanya. Five great poets of Orissa, namely, Jagannātha-dāsa, Balarāma-dāsa, Achyutānanda, Ananta and Yaśovanta-dāsa, were collectively known as the Pañcha-sakhās or five friends. In the *Śūnya-saṁhitā,* written by Achyutānanda it is related that all of them danced and performed *kīrtana* song in the company of Chaitanya.[56] Some of them are said to have been initiated by Chaitanya, Nityānanda and Sanātana Gosvāmin. But the internal evidence furnished by their writings shows that they were crypto-Buddhists. There were some fundamental points of difference in the doctrine and mode of worship between them and the Bengal school of Vaishṇavism. The sub-sect founded by Jagannātha-dāsa is known as the *Ati-baḍī* (too great) sect. The Oriyas claim that this appellation was given by Chaitanya in appreciation of the *Bhāgavata* written by Jagannātha-dāsa[57], but the Bengali Vaishṇavas treat it as a term of deprecation.[58]

The credit of making Chaitanyaism popular in Orissa goes to Śyāmānanda and his disciple Rasikānanda. The former was a Sadgopa and the latter a Karaṇa by caste. Śyāmānanda studied the Vaishṇava scriptures at Vṛindāvana under Jīva Gosvāmin. Rasikānanda converted a number of feudal lords, the chief of whom was Vaidyanāth Bhañjdeo of Rājgarh. Not only the Hindus but also many aborigines and a few Muslims became converts to Vaishṇavism.[59]

(f) *Vaishṇavism in Northern India*

A great wave of Vaishṇavism passed through the length and breadth of northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was much more emotional than the movement which originated in southern India in earlier centuries. According to the Vallabhāchāri sect the area between Vārāṇasī and Prayāga was the citadel of the Śakti cult before the advent of their Master.[60] But a remarkable change took place not only in this area but also in the whole of Northern India on account of the activities of disciples and admirers of Vallabhāchārya, Hita Harivaṁśa, Haridāsa Svāmī, Śrībhaṭṭa and, above all, of Tulsīdāsa.

The *Pushṭimārga* or religion of grace set up by Vallabhāchārya (1479-1531) was fully organised and developed by his son Viṭṭhalanātha (1516-1576). While Vallabha laid emphasis on serving Kṛishna mentally[61], Viṭṭhala introduced the practice of worshipping the deity eight times a day with vocal and instrumental music and offering him daintiest food. Vallabha has not mentioned the name of Rādhā in his *Kṛishṇāśraya* and *Chatuḥślokī,* though her name occurs in the *Kṛishṇa-premāmṛita, Kṛishṇāshṭaka* and *Purushottama-sahasra-stotra,* ascribed to him. Viṭṭhala is extremely devoted to Rādhā. He says that it is through her grace that one is able to perform worship and meditation. He holds the sweet speech of Rādhā dearer than salvation itself[62]. He engaged Kumbhan-dāsa, Surdās, Paramānanda-dāsa and Kṛishṇa-dāsa, four of the disciples of his father, and Govindasvāmī, Chhitasvāmī, Chaturbhuja-dāsa and Nanda-dāsa, four of his own disciples, to compose and sing songs celebrating the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. These eight prominent poets became collectively known as the Ashṭa-chhāpa or the Eight Die-stamps producing coins in the shape of poems.[63] Viṭṭhala undertook extensive proselytising tours to Dvārakā, Cutch, Mālwa, Mewār and other parts of Rājasthān and Gujarāt and made innumerable disciples. Of these, two hundred and fifty-two were most prominent and their life is described in a big work. Viṭṭhalanātha finally settled down at Gokul. He had seven sons and four daughters. His fourth son, Gokulanāthjī (1552-1610) was a gifted author and commentator. His most notable work is the *Chaurāśī Vārtā.* Each of the seven sons of Viṭṭhala established his *gaddi* or own seat of teaching in Rājasthān, Gujarāt and the neighbourhood of Mathurā, and helped to diffuse the teachings of the sect. The profession of spiritual teacher became strictly hereditary amongst the male descendants of Viṭṭhalanātha. In most of the temples of the sect the child Kṛishṇa is worshipped.[64]

The most prominent poet of the sect is Surdās (c. 1478-1581). From his own writing we learn that he completed his *Sur-sārāvalī* in 1545 A.D. when he was sixty-seven years old. Vallabha depicts Rādhā as the eternal spouse of Kṛishṇa. Surdās gives an elaborate description of the marriage of Rādhā with Kṛishṇa, but she is not portrayed as settling down to conjugal life, exhibiting the wifely virtues like Sītā or Sāvitrī. This is why her marriage with Kṛishṇa has been called a marriage of theological convenience, for it makes their relationship more proper.[65] Unlike the Gauḍīya Vaishṇava poets, Surdās takes delight in describing the manifestation of the supreme powers of Kṛishṇa in his sports with friends of both the sexes. His Kṛishṇa tells Rādhā: "Living in Vraja, you have forgotten yourself; know that *Prakṛiti* and *Purusha* are the same, there is a difference only in word".[66] To the poets and theologians of the Chaitanyaite sect Rādhā is the *hlādinī śakti* (the energy of infinite bliss) of Kṛishṇa.

The Rādhā-Vallabhī sect, founded by Hita Harivaṁśa (c. 1503-1553), assigns to Rādhā a place superior even to Kṛishṇa. Those who are content with the love of Kṛishṇa and do not know Rādhā are satisfied with a mere drop of nectar while neglecting the ocean of nectar, which is Rādhā.[67] Commenting on this verse by the founder of the sect, Harilāl Vyāsa says that Rādhā is the only object of worship; she is the spiritual preceptor and also the *mantra* itself. Farquhar relates that one of the votaries of the sect told him: "Kṛishṇa is the servant of Rādhā. He may do the coolie-work of building the world, but Rādhā sits as queen. He is at best but her Secretary of State".[68] The Gauḍīya Vaishṇavas hold that Hita Harivaṁśa was originally a disciple of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, but as he took the food offered to the deities on the day of fasting he was discarded. The temple of Rādhā Vallabha at Vṛindāvana was constructed in 1585 A.D., according to an inscription which is missing. But an inscription on one of the pillars of the temple gives the date as 1626 A.D. The plan of the temple is much the same as that of Harideva of Govardhan, which was visited by Chaitanya, though it is on a much larger scale. Muhsin Fānī wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century that the Rādhā-Vallabhīs "deliver their wives to the disposition of their preceptors and masters and hold this praiseworthy".[69] But this writer must have confused the Rādhā-Vallabhī sect with the sect of Vallabhāchārya. The latter has been held up to ridicule for such a practice in a dramatic work in Sanskrit, entitled *Pākhaṇḍa Dharma Khaṇḍana,* written in 1639 A.D. It is stated in this work that the "chief religion of the worshippers of Vallabha is the offering of one's son, daughter and wife—not the worship of Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas, not the observance of hospitality, the *Śrāddhas* and the *Vratas*". Much reliance, however, cannot be placed on such writings. Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān* speaks highly of Dāmodara, the head of the sect in Marwar and writes: "his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable".

Another Vaishṇava sect was founded by Haridāsa-svāmī, the spiritual preceptor of the celebrated musician Tānsen. The *Bhāk-Sindhu* states that Haridāsa was born in Samvat 1441 and died in 1537 and at the same time describes him as a contemporary of Akbar. If we take the word *Samvat* for the *Śaka,* his dates will fall between 1519 and 1615 A.D. Growse showed that as there followed only eight Mahants after Haridāsa up to the *Samvat* 1825, Haridāsa must have flourished at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.[70] The *Bhaktamāla* describes him as a veritable Gandharva for his melodious songs. Akbar is said to have visited him with presents. Nābhājī writes that at his door a king stood waiting in hope of an interview. The famous temple of Bihārījī or Bāṅke Bihārījī belongs to this sect and it is visited by more people than any other temple at Vṛindāvana. In 1876 Growse found some five hundred descendants of Svāmī Haridāsa managing this temple.

The Rāma cult popularised by Rāmānanda found its greatest poet in Tulsīdāsa (1532-1623). He did not establish any sect nor did he set up any big temple. But his *Rāmacharita Mānasa* (1574) exerts a much greater influence in moulding the religion of the people of the Hindi-speaking regions than any other book or religious reformer. He also wrote eleven other works. The writer of the *Dabīstān* found the followers of Rāma cult purer in character than the devotees of Kṛishṇa.[71]

This author mentions a sect known as the *Manushya Bhaktas* or worshippers of mankind. They knew no being more perfect than mankind[72] and recognised the being of God in man. Such an idea occurs in a poem ascribed to the Bengali poet Chaṇḍīdāsa. But the idea is as old as the *Mahābhārata* itself.[73]

(g) *Bhakti movement in Western India*

The Bhakti movement in Western India, which had become powerful at the time of Jñaneśvara, received a new impetus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[74] One of its greatest exponents was Eknāth who completed his brilliant exposition of the eleventh book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in 1572 A.D. His date has been discussed above (p. 630, f.n. 19). He expounded the *Chatuḥślokī Bhāgavata* in 1036 verses and also composed twenty-six *abhaṅgas* called *Haripāṭh*. These works proved a great spiritual force in Mahārāshṭra and helped to create there a sense of unity amongst different classes in society. Though a Brāhmaṇa by caste, he proved a champion of equality of rights in the spiritual sphere and a great advocate of the popular dialect. He sings the glory of the *Kali* age, which has been condemned as an accursed age by the orthodox writers: "Blessed is this *Kali* age, in spite of its wickedness, because we can attain salvation simply by singing the glory of Hari. All castes, all creeds, assemble together and praise the Lord according to their knowledge and faith. Your sex or caste does not count....This *kīrtana* is the privilege of the lowest and meanest person. It will deepen your faith and strengthen your spirit. Even the happiness of *mukti* sinks into insignificance before the ecstasy of *kīrtana*".[75] These words strongly recall the preachings of Chaitanya. Eknāth once gave to the Mahārs the food prepared as an offering to his forefathers. The influence he exercised on all classes of people was extraordinary. For example, Ramāvallabha-dās, son of the Prime Minister of Devagiri, happened to get a copy of his *Bhāgavata* during a raid on a place and considering this as a divine favour he gave himself up entirely to religious meditation.[76]

Tukārām (1608-1649) has been called the supreme exponent of *Bhakti* in Mahārāshṭra. He was a great devotee of Rāma and performed *kīrtana* consisting of religious discourses interspersed with songs which attracted crowds of people. The songs were mostly composed by Tukārām himself in a metre known by the name of *Abhaṅg*. Hundreds of his *Abhaṅgs* have been collected and published. Their teaching is that God is to be attained by devoted love and by no other means. In several of his *abhaṅgs* he thanks God that he was born in the Śūdra caste and during a famine lost his money and one of his wives was crying for food.[77] In another *abhaṅg* he writes: "I was born in a Śūdra family, thus was set free from all pride. Now it is thou who are my father and mother, O Lord of Paṇḍharī. I have no authority to study the Vedas; I am helpless in every way, humble in caste says Tukā". He describes himself as initiated into Vaishṇavism by a wandering devotee called Bābājī, who said that his predecessors were Rāghava Chaitanya and Keśava Chaitanya.[78] Bahinī Bāī states in her autobiography that her guru Tukārām received initiation from Bābājī Chaitanya, who in his turn got it from Keśava Chaitanya, the disciple of Rāghava Chaitanya.[79] The *guru* of Rāghava was Viśvambhara, which was the name of Chaitanya when he was a householder. As four generations of *gurus* may cover one hundred years, and as the interval between the birth of Tukārām and the assumption of the ascetic's robe by Chaitanya is 102 years, there appears to have been some historic connection between Tukārām and Chaitanya. This hypothesis is strengthened by an *abhaṅg* of Bahinī Bāī, who says, "My line of Guru ancestry is from the great Chaitanya. In remembering his greatness I am also great in heaven. I make my *sāshṭāṅga namaskāra* to him. Let us make our offerings before Sādhu Chaitanya Rājā (which means Chaitanya, the prince among saints). Chaitanya is the all-pervading *sadguru*".[80] Some of the hymns of Tukārām bear a striking resemblance to the last of the eight verses composed by Chaitanya.[81] Tukārām was at first persecuted by the Brahmins but later on some of them like Rāmeśvar Bhaṭṭ, Kacheśvar Kandoba and Gaṅgārām Māvāla Kaduskar became his warm admirers and followers. In the *sanad* granting property to Nārāyaṇarāo, the son of Tukārām, at Dehu, occurs the definite statement that "Tukārām the Gosāvī used to do *pūjā* to the god with his own hand".[82]

A new sect of Rāma worshippers was founded by Dādu, a cotton-cleaner of Ahmadābād, who flourished about the end of Akbar's reign. He inculcates devotion to Rāma and meditation on him. His followers are divided into three classes, viz. the *viraktas* or ascetics, the *nagas* who are bearers of arms and enter into the service of princes, and the *vistaradhārins* who are ordinary house-holders.

Rāmdās (1608-1681), whose original name was Nārāyaṇa, was not associated with the Pandharpur movement. He established a small but powerful sect, worshipping Rāma. He evinced much greater organising ability than any other Marāṭhā saint. He is credited with the setting up of eleven hundred *maṭhs*, many of which had temples attached to them. More than forty of these *maṭhs* exist even today. These became the centres of propagating his religion. Moreover, he and his prominent disciples undertook extensive tours, in the course of which thousands were attracted to his fold. His masterly work, the *Dāsabodh*, proved a source of inspiration to the people of Mahārāshṭra. Shivājī became his disciple and made handsome donations for the maintenance of the *maṭhs*. In a letter written in 1678 Shivājī acknowledged his indebtedness to his *Guru* thus: "You instructed me to establish a kingdom and a religion, to worship Brāhmaṇas and deities, to protect the people and relieve them of their sorrows". The headquarters of the Rāmadāsī sect is at Sajjangarh, near Satara. He had many ascetic followers, but he considered family life as the best possible life for any man. He advises the householders to be kind in speech, temperate in habit and unceasing in their devotion.[83] He condemned laziness, gossiping and garrulous spirit. His high ethical teachings helped to build up the Marāṭhā nation. But the sect associated with his name has got only a few thousand followers, while the Pandharpur movement, popularised by Tukārām, is still a great living force.

The Śākta and Śaiva cults were highly popular in Gujarāt in earlier times, but Vaishṇavism gained larger number of followers during the period under survey. The Census of 1891 which was not conducted on a scientific basis, stated that only 2% of the Hindu population in Gujarāt were Jains, 8% Śaivites, mostly Brahmins, 15% were animists and 75% were Vaishṇavites.[84] The sect of Vallabhāchārya has got the largest number of followers amongst the rich trading and cultivator classes. Gopāldās, a disciple of Viṭṭhalnāth, wrote the *Vallabhākhyāna*, a poem giving a lucid exposition of the fundamentals of the beliefs and practices of the sect. This work, written in Gujarāti, has got commentaries in several other languages and it is read with interest wherever Vallabhism flourishes.[85]

(h) *Religious movements in Southern India*

Having given rise to a number of influential religious sects from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries, Southern India appears to have been following the older paths in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The only notable exception is the rise of the Haridāsa or Dāsakūṭa movement in Karṇāṭaka in the sixteenth century. Some scholars trace the origin of the movement to Srīpadarāya (d. 1492), who introduced temple services in the Kannaḍa language in place of Sanskrit. His disciple Vyāsatīrtha or Vyāsarāya (1447-1539) appears to have been the head of the Madhva sect at Udipi when Chaitanya visited the *maṭh*. His disciples first of all began to assume the title of Dāsa.[86] According to Rice the Dāsa poets "received their inspiration from Madhvāchārya and from Chaitanya who, about 1510, visited all the chief shrines of South India, teaching everywhere to chant the name of Hari."[87] Purandara-dāsa (1480-1564), the greatest of the Dāsa poets, emphasised the efficacy of reciting the name of Hari. He composed more than two thousand songs. As Chaitanya and Nityānanda are called the fathers of the

Kīrtana song in Bengal, Purandara is called the originator of the Karṇāṭaka music. In one of his songs he condemns ostentatious austerities as a mere show for the sake of earning livelihood. He writes: "All acts done without the abandonment of the sense of 'I', without communion with the holy souls, without belief that everything goes on only at the instance of the Lord, and without the vision in silence of the Lord, are merely austerities practised for livelihood". While Purandara was a Brahmin, his contemporary poet Kanakadās was born in the Kurub or caste of hunters. The Brahmins opposed his admission to the company of Vyāsarāya and he wrote pathetically that the lotus born in mud is offered to the feet of god, that the milk produced from the body of the cow is taken by the Brahmins and the musk grown on the body of deer is used in anointing the body of the high-caste persons. The Dāsas used to walk on foot from place to place, singing *kīrtana* songs, exhorting the people to live a life of truth, virtue and devotion to God. They were able to reform the society by the example of their saintly life.[88]

In the famous temple of Guruvayur in South Malabar a saint named Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa composed in about one thousand verses a summary of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in 1588 A.D. This book, known as *Nārāyaṇīyam,* is widely studied and recited in southern India.

The Dāsa saints refer to Udipi, Śrīrangam and Tirupati as places of pilgrimage. The sanctity of the temple at Tirupati is also testified to by Manucci.[89] The birth-places of some of the medieval saints acquired the status of places of pilgrimage. Thus the temple at Sriperumbudur near which Rāmānuja was born became a centre of attraction for devotees.[90] Alindi and Dehu near Poona have become holy places on account of their association with Jñāneśvara and Tukārām respectively. Similarly Navadvīpa has become a place of pilgrimage for the followers of Chaitanya, who was born there.

(i) *Liberal Trends in Hinduism*

While the orthodox Brahmins considered any kind of contact with the Muslims as contamination, the Vaishṇavas welcomed them in their fold. Chaitanya converted not only the famous Muslim saint Haridās but also a few Pāṭhāns, headed by Bijuli Khān.[91] Muhsin Fānī, who does not make any reference to the Bengal Vaishṇavas in his *Dabistān-ul-Majahab,* writing about the Vairāgīs, says: "Whoever among the Hindus, Mussalmans or others wishes is received into their religion, none are rejected, but on the contrary all are invited."[92] He must have noticed this practice amongst the Vaishṇava ascetics of Upper India. He himself admits that he received the favour of a Hindu saint named Chatur Vāpāḥ.[93] In

1642 A.D. he met another saint, Nārāin Dās, in Lahore and wrote: "A great number of Mussalmans adopted their creed, such as Mirza Saleh and Mirza Haidar, two noble Mussalmans who became Vairāgīs."[94]

A Hindu courtier of Akbar went so far as to produce an apocryphal chapter of the *Atharvaveda* entitled the *Alla Upanishad.* It begins with salutation to Gaṇeśa and the invocation of the mystic *Oṁ.* It states that he who sustains all things and is the bestower of blessings is Allāh, and he is identical with Mitra, Varuṇa and Indra. Akbar is described as a messenger of God and a prophet *rasul* but not *al-rasul,* the prophet.[95] Dārā Shukoh writes in the introduction to his translation of fifty-two Upanishads that some of the most learned *paṇḍits* and *Sannyāsīs* of Banaras explained to him the difficult passages of the Upanishads in A.H. 1067 (A.D. 1656). This is an unmistakable evidence of liberalism on the part of the Hindu scholars.

Some sects arose in the seventeenth century to emphasise the unity of religion between the Hindus and Muslims. Dādū (1544-1603) founded the Parabrahma Sampradāya with a view to uniting different faiths in one bond of love and comradeship. He compiled an anthology of the religious literature of different sects in the closing years of the sixteenth century. Two of his eminent disciples were Sundaradāsa (1597-1689) and Rajjab. Bābā Lāl, a Kshatriya of Mālwa, gave seven interviews to Dārā Shukoh in 1648 and their conversation is recorded in a Persian work entitled *Nadu un mikat,* which appears to be an admixture of the Vedānta and Sūfī doctrines. Another Hindu saint, Prānnāth, who acquired great influence with Chhatraśāl, the Raja of Bundelkhand, went a step further. He composed a book called *Mahitariyal* in which he placed texts from the holy Qur'ān and the Vedas side by side to prove that their tenets are not essentially different. He allowed his Hindu and Muslim disciples to follow the rituals and laws of their respective religions, but insisted on both the Hindus and Muslims dining together at the time of initiation.[96]

Following in the wake of Raidās, the cobbler-saint, Sadhanā, a butcher, attained great reputation as a saint. He used to worship the *Śālagrāma-śilā.* Two of his songs are included in the *Granth Sahib.* A robber tribe of Rājasthān called Meo produced the founder of a new sect in Lāldās in the second half of the sixteenth century. His followers, known as Lāldāsīs, do not believe in rituals and they show their devotion in singing and reciting the name of God.[97]

The diverse Hindu sects were usually tolerant to one another during our period of survey. But cases of bitter hostility were not totally unknown. The *Dabīstān* records a case of fierce fighting between the shaven-headed Vairāgīs and the Nāgā Sannyāsīs at Hardwar in 1640. The quarrel must have arisen on the question of precedence in taking the bath in the Ganges on the occasion of the Kumbha Melā. The Nāgā Sannyāsīs killed a number of the Vairāgīs.[98]

II. THE SIKH RELIGION

It has been mentioned above (pp. 305 ff.) that Sikhism was, to a large extent, a reaction against the oppression of the Muslims to which Nānak, the founder of the sect, was an eye-witness. Another contributing factor was the Bhakti cult which was then at its height in India. Nānak, like other medieval saints, such as Rāmānanda (14th century) Kabīr and Nāmdev (15th century), and Chaitanya (16th century), was a child of this movement. These two factors and forces—Muslim oppression and Bhakti cult—shaped the growth and development of both Sikhism and the Sikh nation.

The same forces may be said to be at work, in greater or less degree, for the other Bhakti movements mentioned above. Thus we find that one of their principal aims was to remove the bitterness then prevailing between the Hindus and Muslims. It may not be a mere coincidence or accident that many of these movements laid great stress on the abolition of idolatry and caste distinctions, which constituted two fundamental differences and causes of provocation and persecution between the two communities. These medieval saints preached that there was only one God and laid stress on the brotherhood of man, resembling, in these respects, their Muslim counterparts, the Sūfīs. They all declared that it does not matter if God was called by any name, Allāh, Khudā, Rām or Hari.

Nānak preached to Hindus and Muslims alike. It was then a blasphemy to equate Hinduism and Islām. But Nānak had malice to none and love for all. To win the confidence of Muslims he would sit in graveyards for hours or even for days in meditation uttering verses in praise of Allāh. He would join prayers in mosques, pointing out to some that their hearts were not concentrated on God, but were wandering in their homes or fields. He explained the significance of their five daily prayers thus: they have five different meanings—firstly to speak the truth, secondly to earn their livelihood by right means, thirdly to give away in charity in the name of God, fourthly to cherish good intentions, and lastly to praise God.[99]

Nānak preached to Hindus against idol worship and caste distinctions both by word and deed. He preferred taking food with his disciples of low castes. People made offerings to the Gurū both in cash and kind in accordance with old traditions. In the beginning Nānak distributed all this among the poor who came to listen to him. Afterwards he organised a free community kitchen called *Langar* where all dined without any consideration of caste, creed or religion. In the *sangat*[99a] (congregation) and *pangat* (langar) all were equal. As everybody was required to earn his livelihood by fair means and hard work, all persons from a labourer to a lord and from a peasant to a prince were considered alike in dignity and prestige. The contribution made by every Sikh in the form of cash, kind or service in the *Langar* was held in similar esteem and regard. It was in this way that Nānak tried to loosen the bonds of caste system. This also developed the spirit of charity, fellow-feeling and service and made the new movement popular. *Langar* became a symbol of equality and fraternity among his followers.

Nānak laid emphasis on the observance of five things: (1) *Nām* or singing the praise of God, (2) *Dān* or charity for all, (3) *Ashnān* or the daily bath to keep body clean, (4) *Sevā* or service of humanity, and (5) *Simran* or constant prayer for the deliverance of soul.

(a) *Nānak's journeys*

Nānak wished to examine the actual working of religions at their great centres and also to give his own message of love and peace. For this purpose he undertook four great journeys. First, he went to the east (1496 to 1509) mainly to visit holy places of Hinduism up to Bengal, Assam, and Sikkim, perhaps Tibet also. Next he travelled to the south as far as Ceylon (1510 to 1515) for seeing Buddhist and Jain places of note. His third journey was to the north (1515 to 1517) to examine *Sidh maṭhs* or places of famous saints in Kāshmīr and the Himalayas. Lastly, he went to the west (1517 to 1521) in Muslim countries of Afghānistān, Īrān, Iraq and Arabia, to study Islām. He travelled on foot.

Nānak adopted peculiar practices and repartees to drive home his teachings into the minds of his audience. At Hardwar he saw people bathing in the Gaṅgā and throwing water towards the rising sun. He also entered into water, turned his face towards the west and began to throw water in that direction. The people asked what he was doing. He enquired what they were doing. He was told that they were offering oblations to their ancestors' souls. Nānak replied that he was sending water to his fields in Punjāb. They asked how this water could reach there. At once the retort came:

"If this water cannot reach my fields which are so near, how can your water reach heaven which is so far away?" At Mecca in deep sleep his feet turned towards the Kaba, the sacred shrine of Islām. Somebody kicked him condemning this disrespect to the house of God. Quick came the simple reply in sweet tongue: "Turn my feet in the direction where all-pervading God is not present."

(b) *Nānak's religion*

Nānak's religion consisted in the love of God, love of man and love of godly living. Nānak's God was the true Lord, the Creator, unborn, self-existent, immortal, omnipresent, unrivalled, transcendent, formless and omnipotent; yet He possessed many attributes of personality. He was an Ocean of Mercy, the Friend of man, the Healer of sinners, Cherisher of the poor and Destroyer of sorrow. He was wise, generous, beautiful and bountiful. He was the Father and Mother of all human beings and took care of them. Christ could think of relationship between God and man as that between father and son. To Nānak this relationship appeared as between husband and wife. A son could not be the constant companion of his father, but a faithful wife could not remain away from her spouse. This position also raised the status of woman. True devotion, complete surrender of self and thoughtful constant repetition of the Name as opposed to mechanical ritualism, would enable an individual to reach God. "Efface thyself so that thou obtain the bridegroom." God could be attained by repeating His Name continuously. Without *Sat Nām* (the True Name) nobody could get salvation. Name signified worship and devotion to God and feeling and realising His presence at all places and at all times. He thus established deep spiritual unity between man and God. The Sikhs greeted each other by saying *Sat Nām, Sat Kartār* or *Sat Śrī Akāl,* meaning True Name, True Creator or True Timeless one.

Nānak held that for the realisation of God, Gurū was essential. He was a divine gift. God manifested Himself for the salvation of mankind in some teacher or Gurū. Without him God could not be realised. It was only through the Gurū that a man could have communion with God. "Man shall not be emancipated without the Gurū's instruction; see and ponder upon this. Even though man performed hundreds of thousands of ceremonies, all would still be darkness without the Gurū".[100] The Gurū could lead one to redemption, and in His presence there was no necessity to worship any god or goddess. But the Gurū could be found only through God's grace. From his disciples Nānak demanded complete surrender to the Gurū. Only then salvation could be achieved through the superior spiritual power of the Gurū. The faithful disciple would follow Gurū's instructions implicitly. He must listen and sing with the utmost devotion and reverence Gurbani or the hymns composed by the Gurū and practise Gurmat[101] or the wisdom as revealed through the Gurū's hymns. But the Gurū was a teacher and not an incarnation of God. "He was a man among men calling upon his fellow creatures to live a holy life."[102] He was to be obeyed but not to be worshipped. Nānak declared that his own Gurū was God. His disciples addressed him by the appellation of *Sat Gurū* or the *True Gurū.*

Nānak laid stress on spiritual discipline which implied devotion, service and culture of emotions. He asserted that salvation could be attained only through upright character and good deeds. In *Japji,* Nānak says:

> Words do not the saint or sinner make,
> Action alone is written in the book of fate,
> What we sow that alone we take,
> O Nānak, be saved or for ever transmigrate.

He further observed: "Abide pure amid the impurities of the world: thus shalt thou find the way of religion."[103] He explained it thus: "They are not to be called pure who wash their bodies and sit at leisure; rather the pure are they, O Nānak, who enshrine the Lord in their hearts."

Nānak emphasised the importance of *Karma* to escape from the transmigration of soul. "Life is as the shadow of the passing bird, but the soul of man is, as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot."[104] He denounced all the external marks of holiness, fasts, pilgrimages and penances. He condemned asceticism and renunciation of the world. A householder was equally acceptable to God as a hermit, and secular business did not stand in the way of emancipation. As a matter of fact ascetics and those who had renounced the world had nothing to do with Nānak's religion. His religion concerned worldly men who led a family life and earned their bread by hard labour. He bitterly censured people who in the garb of saintliness went abegging for their food and clothing at the door of a householder. Live in the world, but lead a good life, and help others to do so, he asserted. Sadh Sangat or Satsang, viz. association with virtuous and holy men, would help in achieving this object. Work, worship and distribute (*Kirt karo, Nam Japo* and *Wand Chhako*) was his motto.

In Nānak's time Indian society was based on caste and was divided into countless water-tight compartments. Men were considered high and low on account of their birth and not according to their deeds. Equality of human beings was a dream. There was no spirit of national unity except feelings of community fellowship. In Nānak's view, divine love was the criterion to judge whether a person was good or bad. As the caste system was not based on divine love for all, he condemned it. Nānak aimed at creating a casteless and classless society, of the modern type of socialist society in which all were equal and where one member did not exploit the other. Nānak insisted that every Sikh house should serve as a place of love and devotion, a true guest house (*Sach Dharmśālā*). Every Sikh was enjoined to welcome a traveller or a needy person and to share his meals and other comforts. Bhāi Gurdas says: "Wherever the holy feet of Guru Nānak touched, Dharmshalas sprang into existence."[105]

Woman received great consideration from Nānak. She was given equal status with man. She was allowed to attend his sermons along with men. *Purdah* was discouraged. Women joined in the chorus in singing hymns. For *langar* men brought provisions and fuel wood, while women cooked food. Men and women both served meals to the *pangat*. Nānak condemned *Sati* or the custom of self-immolation of widows on the pyres of their dead husbands. The Gurū said: "How can they be called inferior when they give birth to great men? Women as well as men share in the grace of God and are equally responsible for their actions to Him."[106]

Gurū Nānak called his religion Gurmat or Gurū's wisdom. This word occurs in the hymns of Gurū Nānak more than two hundred times. His disciples called themselves Sikhs from Sanskrit word *śishya,* meaning a learner or a person who takes spiritual lessons from a teacher. The public called them Nānak Panthīs, Nānak Prastān or Sikhs.[107] The Sikh congregations were called *Sangat.* The places where Sikhs gathered to listen to the Gurū's sermons and sing hymns in praise of God were known as *Gurdwāras.*[108] The community kitchen where all ate without any distinction was called *Langar* and the persons eating there formed a *Pangat.*

(c) *Difference from other reform movements*

In certain respects Nānak's religion differed from other reform movements, as of Rāmānand, Kabīr, Chaitanya and Gorakhnāth.

1. The latter laid stress on fundamentals of Hinduism, believing that their acceptance would ultimately bring about social readjustment. Sikhism from the very beginning concentrated on social reform and repetition of the Name.

2. Conception of God in Sikhism is different from that of other Bhakti leaders. The Sikh God is *Akālpurkh*. He is without body, formless and timeless. The other leaders believed in Rāma and Kṛishṇa being incarnations of God.

3. Sikh religion had no mythology, no traditions and no ambiguity. It was plain and simple. Believe in one God, have faith in the Gurū and lead a good life, then success in this world and salvation after death are yours. The other reformers mainly concerned themselves with salvation of the soul.

4. In Sikhism renunciation of the world was prohibited, while the other sects advocated it.

5. No other Bhakti leader dislodged Sanskrit from the position of being the sacred language of Hinduism, though they preached in the local tongue. This factor was mainly responsible for confining Sikh religion to the Punjāb as the Punjābi language was not understood outside this province.

(d) *Gurū Nānak was a reformer and not a revolutionary*

Some writers like Macauliffe, Bhāi Kāhan Singh and Teja Singh are of the opinion that Gurū Nānak was a revolutionary because he tried to destroy all the prevalent religious institutions as well as the structure of society of his time. They hold that the Gurū's bitterest attack was aimed at the annihilation of caste system, and that he tried to build a new society in place of the old one. Payne and G. C. Narang are of the view that Nānak belonged to the great family of Bhakti leaders. Marking the difference between a reformer and a revolutionary it may be pointed out that a reformer does not adopt an independent path and does not preach destruction. He only removes the corruption and abuses which have crept into the old institutions in such a way that it does not injure the feelings of others. A revolutionary does not care for the sentiments of other people. He fearlessly incurs the displeasure of the supporters of old institutions and invites vehement opposition to his plans. Nothing of the kind happened in case of Nānak.

(1) Nānak's denunciation of caste was not revolutionary in character. His opposition to caste system was so mild that no Brāhman or any other high caste Hindu organised any opposition to him. On the contrary he was loved by one and all. The reason was that nobody objected to his reform scheme and removal of what was harmful to society. Kabīr had already denounced it in equally strong terms. The German traveller, Baron Hugel, says that the Sikhs worship one God, abhor images and reject caste, at least in theory.[109]

(2) In the same way, Nānak's denouncement of fasts, penances and pilgrimages implied attacks on perversions and not on the basic beliefs of Hindu religion. He laid stress on the limited utility of the existing institutions and practices. He did not call upon his disciples to give up pilgrimages and fasts altogether. He only wanted to clarify that such practices and formations had not much to do with divine love, and did not serve as a means of salvation.

(3) Nānak did not deprecate the holy scriptures such as the Vedas and the Qur'ān. He never questioned the wisdom and philosophy contained in them. He criticised the blind and mechanical reading of these texts without realising God through them. "What availeth thee to read the Vedas and Purāṇas? It is like loading a donkey with sandal whose perfume he availeth not."[110] Bhāi Gurdas declared that the superstitions prevailing at Gurū Nānak's time were due to the ignorance of the Vedas by people.[111]

(4) Even the sacred thread was not wholly condemned. He denounced the ignorance of the implications of its use, and wearing of it only for the sake of form. Muhsin Fānī writes that a devoted and true disciple of Gurū Hargobind, named Sadh, perhaps abbreviation of Sādhu Rām, accompanied him from Kabul to Punjāb. He had the sacred thread on. He tore it off and gave it to the author of the *Dabīstān* to tie up his broken coat belt.[112] According to Malcolm, "the family of Govind, proud of their descent, had not laid aside the Zunnar, or holy cord, to which they were, as belonging to Cshatriya race, entitled."[113] On one occasion Gurū Gobind Singh wanted some thread to fasten his sword belt. Daya Singh, the first member of the newly created Khalsa, a Khatri of Lahore, broke his sacred thread and gave it to the Gurū.[114]

(5) Similarly while challenging the predominant position of Hindu deities, Nānak did not hold them in any disrespect. He simply wanted to show that they were not superior to God. Muhsin Fānī says: "Nānak praised Musalmans as well as the avtars and gods and goddesses of the Hindus; but he held that all these had been created and were not creators, and he denied their incarnation. It is said that he held in his hand the rosary of Muslims and wore the sacred thread around his neck."[115] While it does not appear probable that Nānak wore it because he freely mixed with Muslims in India as well as abroad, his disciples of high caste did not completely discard it.

(6) Malcolm further says that Nānak suggested no change in the civil institutions of Hinduism.[116] Nānak did not dictate or even preach civil or criminal laws, and no modification was proposed by him in the old system then prevalent.[117] Cunningham observes: "He

left the progress of his people to the operation of time: for his congregation was too limited, and the state of society too artificial, to render it either requisite or possible for him to become a municipal law-giver, to subvert the legislation of Manu, or to change the immemorial usages of tribes or races."[118]

It shows that Gurū Nānak did not wish to destroy the existing institutions of his time. His chief aim was to condemn the form which had been substituted for the worship of the True Lord. In place of mere ritualism and conventionalism he desired sincere love and devotion. He introduced reforms in social customs, in religious practices, in the toleration of all the religions and in the unity of mankind. We may, therefore, conclude that Nānak was a true reformer rather than a revolutionary.

During the last fifteen years or so of his life, Nānak led a settled life at Kartārpur, the present Derā Bābā Nānak on the western bank of the Ravi. Here the *Sangat* and *Pangat,* the two important institutions of Sikhism, were organised on a firm basis and functioned regularly and punctually. His disciples, though small in number, formed a well-knit community. Cunningham says: "He left them erect and free, unbiased in mind and unfettered by rules, to become an increasing body of truthful worshippers."[119] He was loved and respected both by Hindus and Muslims alike. That is why he was called:

Gurū Nānak Shāh faqir,
Hindu kā Gurū aur
Musalmān kā pir.

Nānak passed away at Kartārpur on 22 September, 1539, at the age of seventy.

(e) *Expansion of Sikhism, 1539-1606*

Gurū Nānak gave the people of the Punjāb an idea which was ultimately to mould his followers into a powerful community. It naturally required time for constant schooling, under regular guidance. Before his death, he nominated his most devoted and sincerest disciple, Bhāi Lahna, a Trehan Kshatṛiya, his successor. Nānak called Lahna *Ang-e-Khud,* a limb of his own body, and declared at his death that his soul would migrate into the body of Lahna. He came to be called Angad.[120] This was a step of far-reaching significance. Nānak had rejected the claims of his son Śrīchānd because he believed in the nothingness of the world. Nānak himself was a householder, and so was Bhāi Lahna. Nānak thereby excluded renunciation of the world from Sikhism and confirmed it as a religion of householders. Further, Gurūship in Sikh religion acquired a unique status, and provided a living ideal for its followers. The life of the Sikhs centred around the personality of the Gurū which they assimilated and emulated by close personal contact with him.

Gurū Aṅgad (1539-1552) shifted from Kartārpur to Khadur in Amritsar District situated on the Beas river, in order to avoid the impending conflict with Gurū Nānak's sons. He turned his attention first to the collection of Gurū Nānak's hymns which were written in Lande Mahajani. Gurū Aṅgad being the son of a village shopkeeper knew Lande Mahajani script. It is rather rough and crude and cannot easily and properly be deciphered. In it vowel sounds are omitted. There was a danger that Gurū Nānak's hymns written in Lande Mahajani might be misinterpreted. Gurū Aṅgad beautified the Lande alphabets by giving them better shape, like the alphabets of *Dev Nāgari* script, which was used for Sanskrit. He also modified the order of Lande alphabets. The new script came to be called Gurmukhi,[121] meaning that it came from the mouth of the Gurū. It was in this script that Gurū Aṅgad wrote the hymns of Gurū Nānak.

Following the example of Gurū Nānak, the *langar* was continued. It was looked after by his wife, and its expenses were met out of the offerings made by his Sikhs and other visitors. Gurū Nānak's son Śrīchānd had renounced the world, and his disciples who practised celibacy and asceticism were termed Udāsīs. They professed to belong to Sikhism, but Gurū Aṅgad emphatically declared that there was no place for renunciation in Nānak's teachings as his religion concerned householders. He asserted that the followers of Śrīchānd had no connection whatsoever with Sikhism. Thus he preserved the purity and originality of Sikh religion.

Gurū Aṅgad nominated his 73-year-old devout disciple, Amar Dās, a Bhalla Kshatṛiya, his successor, who held this office from 1552 to 1574. Gurū Amar Dās established the practice of obliging all visitors to partake of food in his free kitchen before seeing him, thus regularising the system of interdining (*Pahle pangat pichhe sangat*).[122] The Sikh tradition says that Emperor Akbar visited the Gurū and was so much impressed by the spirit of service and devotion among the Sikhs that he granted a few villages revenue-free for the support of the *langar*. Amar Dās sanctified human life by declaring against torturing the body and committing *Sati*. He also denounced *purdah* system prevailing among womenfolk. He invited his followers to gather in a general body twice a year on the days of Baisakhi and Diwali in April and October-November, obviously to enable them to fraternise with one another. Gurū Amar Dās made a departure from previous practice in appointing his successor. Hitherto the Gurūship had been on a non-family basis. But the Gurū conferred the Gurūship on his son-in-law Rām Dās and his descendants, thereby making Gurūship hereditary. The claims of his two sons were turned down.

Gurū Rām Dās (1574-1581), added to the solidarity of the growing community by providing it with a sacred tank to which he gave the name of Amritsar (the tank of nectar).[123] Before his death Gurū Rām Dās nominated his youngest son Arjun Mal[124] his successor against the protests of his eldest son Prithichānd.

Gurū Arjun, (1581-1606), fifth in succession, born on 15 April, 1563, was an original thinker, illustrious poet, practical philosopher, great organiser, eminent statesman and the first martyr to faith. He called upon *sangatias* to collect offerings from the Sikhs at the rate of one-tenth of their income and upgraded them as *Masands* or *nobles.*[125] This proved a profitable source of income to meet the enormous expenditure of the Gurū's building plans and made the Sikhs accustomed to submit to regular discipline.

To inspire the minds of his disciples with the grandeur and glory of the new religion Gurū Arjun began to live in an aristocratic style. He erected "lofty buildings"[126] at Amritsar, wore rich clothes, kept fine horses procured from Central Asia and some elephants, and maintained retainers in attendance. The great Mughul Emperor Akbar visited him at Amritsar and showered praise on him.

But the most valuable achievement of Gurū Arjun was the compilation of a holy book for the Sikhs known as *Ādi Granth* and popularly called *Granth Sāhib* or *Gurū Granth.* The Gurū wished to lay down the exact hymns to be sung and correct rituals to be performed by the Sikhs. He also desired to raise the status of Sikhism from a sect to a religion. This object could be attained by providing the Sikhs with holy scriptures of their own like the Vedas, the Bible and the Qur'ān. He therefore decided to record the hymns of all the Gurūs in the form of a book.

The *Granth,* written in verse in Gurmukhi script, was completed in 1604. It contained 974 hymns of Gurū Nānak, 62 of Gurū Aṅgad, 907 of Gurū Amar Dās, 672 of Gurū Rām Dās, 2218 and 116 *Shabads* of Gurū Arjun, including his famous Sukhmani or Psalm of Peace, sayings of 16 Bhaktas both Hindu and Muslim such as Farid, Kabīr, Nāmdev, Dhanna, Surdās, Pipa and Rāmānand, and songs of minstrels including those of Mardana, Satta and Balwand. One hundred and fifteen hymns of Gurū Tegh Bahadur and one verse of Gurū Gobind Singh were added later. The discourses of Gurū Nānak as Japji, Sodar and Kirti Sola were given in the beginning.

The compilation of the *Ādi Granth* formed an important landmark in the history of the Sikhs. It became the sacred book of the new faith, and created consciousness among the Sikhs of their being a separate community. It served as a source of divine wisdom, felicity and bliss. Its fascinating hymns chanted in deep reverence and devotion inspired the minds of listeners to lofty ideas of plain living and high thinking. The *Granth* serves as the symbolic representation of the Gurūs.

The subsequent history of Sikhism, ending in its great transformation under Gurū Govind Singh (1675-1708) has been dealt with in Chapter XI.

III. ISLĀM

We have already seen how by the end of the 15th century Sūfī saints had established their centres (*Zāwiyas*) in various parts of the country and how they, especially the saints of the Chishtiya order, had succeeded in gaining large number of adherents among the Muslim masses.

Historically, Sūfīsm was a religious system which in the course of its development had imbibed several beliefs which are essentially of Hindu origin and which, in one form or another, were already familiar to the Hindus and the majority of the Indian Muslims converted from Hinduism, who came into contact with the great Sūfī teachers. It is not strange, therefore, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it came to be a common practice with the bulk of the Indian Muslims to be attached to some religious preceptor, usually a Sūfī, just as the Hindus considered the guidance of a Gurū to be essential for one's spiritual salvation, so that almost every religious-minded Muslim linked himself up with one Sūfī *Silsila* (chain) or another as a *sine qua non* of respectability and religious awareness.[127]

It must not, however, be supposed that the Sūfīs were having it all their own way throughout these two centuries. The primal strife between the *Sharī'at* (Muslim Law) and the *Ṭarīqat* Sūfīsm) which started in the lands where Sūfīsm first made its appearance, was very much in evidence in India also. The custodians of the Law, the 'Ulema, usually attached to the royal court or holding lucrative posts as Muftīs (Legal Advisers) and Qāzīs (Judges) in provincial towns, were actively hostile towards any religious movement which, in their opinion, was calculated to mar the pristine purity of Islām and to open a way towards reconciliation between *kufr* (infidelity) and *īmān* (faith). How far their hostility was actuated by a sincere religious zeal or by worldly motives, is open to doubt, but the fact remains that they often exercised a strong influence upon their royal masters and lost no opportunity of cruelly persecuting all those who were accused of the slightest deviation from the orthodox belief. There were, moreover, occasional popular movements of a fanatical type led by religious zealots styling themselves as reformers or renovators of the Muslim faith, which succeeded in doing a lot of mischief before they were suppressed and rendered innocuous. Some of these leaders took advantage of the common Muslim belief, originally Shiahite but generally accepted by the Sunnīs also, of the re-appearance of the Hidden Imām, al-Mahdī, who will lead back the erring adherents of Islām to the path of virtue and piety, and fighting the forces of disbelief and heresy, re-establish the kingdom of God on this earth. One such pretender was Syed Mohammad of Jaunpur, to whom a passing reference has been made in an earlier chapter[128] and who succeeded in winning over quite a large number of followers, some of them well-placed in life and holding responsible offices.[129] The fact that his appearance almost synchronised with the unifying movement started by some of the Indian spiritual leaders, is significant and illustrates the existence side by side among the Indian Muslims, as among those of other countries, of two cross currents of thought, one leading towards tolerance and sympathetic compromise and the other heading towards bigotry and puritanic aloofness. It was chiefly due to this that the Mahdawī movement remained confined to a small section of the Muslims only and had almost fizzled out by the time the greatest of the Mughul Emperors, Akbar, came to the throne, although some remants of the Mahdi's followers lingered on in different parts of the country, one of whom, Shaikh 'Alā'ī, was scourged by Makhdūmal Mulk,[130] and died as a result of the punishment inflicted upon him.

The religious life of the Indian Muslims was agitated not only by periodic outbursts of puritanism directed mostly against any tendency that smacked of Hinduising Islām, but also by the Shiah-Sunnī differences which became accentuated after the establishment of the Mughul rule. Bābur, the founder of the Mughul empire in India, was a devout Sunnī who had been deeply influenced by the teachings of a Transoxanian saint, 'Ubaidullāh Aḥrār,[131] but was, at the same time, remarkably tolerant towards the Shiah faith, and his cortege contained several notable Shiahites who had served him faithfully during all his hectic career. The story that his son and successor, Humāyūn, was persuaded by the Shāh of Īrān, Tahmāsp Safawī, with whom he had sought refuge after his flight from India, to accept the Shiah faith, is probably a myth;[132] yet there can be no doubt that some of his most loyal servants who accompanied him back to India and helped him in regaining his lost throne were Shiahites, the most prominent among them being Bairam Khān, a scholar and soldier of unique talents. The more or less friendly relations that continued to prevail between the Mughul Emperors coming after Humāyūn and the Īrānian Shāhs of the Safawī dynasty, encouraged further immigration of Shiahite Īrānians into India where they were cordially received by their kinsfolk and countrymen already comfortably settled in the capital and other important towns. The result of this continuous inflow from Īrān was a remarkable Persianization of the Mughul court—a phenomenon which on the whole helped in raising the cultural level of the higher strata of the Muslim society of India. But another result, which was not so wholesome, was the intensification of the differences between the Sunnī and Shiah communities and there has never been a complete reconciliation between the two Muslim sects. That their differences have not very often resulted in blood-shed and violence, has been mainly due to the fact that the Shiahites in India formed a very small minority and have, consequently, refrained usually from any show of active hostility towards the Sunnīs, who have had, more often than not, the backing of the Muslim rulers, the majority of whom were of Sunnite religion.

When, therefore, Akbar acceded to the throne of his father, he was faced with a situation which was not at all pleasant to his peaceful nature and which, moreover, was fraught with a grave danger of inter-communal strife on a large scale and the disintegration of the empire as a consequence. There were on the one hand the bigoted Sunnī 'Ulema represented by the Shaikhul Islām, Makhdūm al-Mulk, and the Sadar-us-Sudur (Supreme Judge) Abdum-Nabī, both of whom had dominated the state policy to a considerable extent during the Sūrī period and who had continued to maintain their privileged position under Humāyūn and Akbar. As custodians of the Law, their verdict was looked upon as final on all religious and social matters, and the young emperor, who had not had the advantage of liberal education himself, had perforce to seek their guidance and to abide by their decisions during the early years of his reign. Any show of open hostility towards them might have cost him the support of a large and powerful section of the orthodox

Muslim community, a risk which he could ill afford to take at that stage. On the other hand, the Sūfīs of the Chishtiya school had been gradually losing their hold on the minds of the influential Muslims ever since the death of Khwāja Nizām-ud-dīn Auliyā of Delhi who might be regarded as the last of the great mystic saints of India, and consequently their restraining and chastening influence was no longer there to counter the bigotry of the Sunnī 'Ulema. The greatest representative of that school in Akbar's time was Shaikh Salīm Chishtī for whom, as is well-known, Akbar had a great regard, but he was not a man of the same calibre as some of his illustrious predecessors had been and does not appear to have wielded any great influence in the Delhi or Āgra court circles. The emperor on his part was deeply conscious of his own duties as a ruler and realised full well that a certain amount of harmony among the various religious communities living in this vast country was essential for effective administration, and that could only be brought about by curbing fanaticism and intolerance in whatever form they might make their appearance. For a time he felt himself to be helpless, but when the high-handed actions of the 'Ulema, taking advantage of his lenience, began to exceed all limits, he had to take courage in both hands and to adopt effective measures to dislodge them from their exalted positions. He had, moreover, become thoroughly disillusioned about the personal characters of these 'Ulema and disgusted by their petty squabbles springing more out of mean, worldly motives than religious or moral considerations, a demonstration of which they used to give in the weekly gatherings in the 'Ibādat Khāna at Fathpur Sīkrī, so fondly erected by Akbar for his moral and spiritual edification, to which reference has been made above (pp. 134-5).

The second and a bolder step taken by the emperor, now in open revolt against the *'Ulema*, was to declare himself to be the spiritual as well as the secular head of the State and to be authorised in his own person to make any such changes in the Law (*Sharī'at*) as he deemed to be in conformity with the general welfare of his subjects. This act of Akbar's has a strangely remarkable resemblance to what an almost contemporary western ruler, Henry the Eighth of England, had done in order to free himself from the overbearing tutelage of the Church of Rome. Scriptural authority was, however, needed for this drastic measure, which was readily supplied by Shaikh Mubārak, who brought to the emperor's notice certain Qur'ānic verses and traditions of the Prophet sanctioning such powers for a Muslim ruler. A manifesto was consequently prepared by the Shaikh and duly signed by several jurists elevating the emperor to the rank of a "Mujtahid of his time" (*Mujtahid-*

i-ʻAṣr).[133] Those who protested were ruthlessly suppressed and in several cases executed.[134]

The comparative ease with which Akbar could adopt these drastic measures, emboldened him to advance a step further. This was the promulgation of a new religion based on a four-fold path of renunciation,[135] called the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* in which the emperor appeared as not only a prophet but an "*avatār*" of God himself to whom all homage was due and before whom every one should prostrate himself exclaiming all the while "Allāhu Akbar" a form of greeting which may mean "Allāh is Great" as well as "Akbar is Allāh".[136] Muslim historians generally have accused Shaikh Mubārak and his sons, Faizī and Abu-'l-Fazl—particularly the latter—of being Akbar's evil genius responsible for misleading him from the path of rectitude. But this charge is probably not substantiated by facts. There can be little doubt that Abu-'l-Fazl helped and abetted the emperor in his rebellion against the *ʻUlema* at whose hands he and his father had suffered grievously, but the idea of founding a new religion would seem to be Akbar's own, as by its help he sought to secure that religious unity in his dominions which was so dear to his heart. The *Dīn-i-Ilāhī,* however, remained little more than a freak and failed to exert any influence on the popular mind. Some of Akbar's closest and most devoted associates flatly refused to accept the new religion, notable among them being his foster-brother, Khān-i-Aʻzam Mīrzā ʻAzīz and Rājā Mān Singh.[137] The latter, when asked by Akbar to be converted as a disciple replied with characteristic candour and boldness: "Sire, if disciplehood means loyalty, I have already given ample proof of it. If, however, it means religion, I am a Hindu and can embrace Islam if you so desire. I know of no other path except these two which I might adopt."[138] Protests against these innovations were also made by some sincere well-wishers of the emperor who considered the steps taken by him to be nothing short of heresy and feared not only for his spiritual salvation but also for the welfare of the Muslims in India generally. But the emperor stuck to his own ideas of a cosmopolitan religion till his last days, although it would be too much to suppose, as certain modern historians have done, that he had definitely renounced Islām.[139] On the other hand there is evidence to show that he died a Muslim and devoutly recited the ʻKalima' before he breathed his last.[140]

Akbar's innovations did not, as we have said above, produce any wide repercussions in the religious life of the Indian Muslims since he made no attempt to propagate his new religion among the masses, but some of them did affect their social customs, such as the sanctioning of marriages with non-Muslims,[141] the legalizing of brothels, the banning of cow slaughter, and the permission to shave beards.[142] That these measures which must have been hateful to the pious Muslims did not produce any general rising against him was certainly due to his statesmanship and the loyal support of his nobles, both Hindus and Muslims. News of what was happening in India reached the neighbouring Muslim countries also and evoked protests from their rulers, but Abu-'l-Fazl, who was in charge of Akbar's foreign diplomatic correspondence, set their minds at rest—or at least tried to do so—by skilful and ingenious interpretations of the emperor's objectionable edicts, thus preventing any open breach of friendly relations.[143] According to Abu-'l-Fazl's explanation, the emperor claimed neither to be a prophet nor an incarnation of God, but he was only a "mujaddid", (religious reformer) and according to certain Apostolic tradition such a reformer was expected to appear towards the end of the first millennium after the Hijra.[144] In fairness to Akbar it must be admitted that similar claims had been made by other Muslim rulers before his time, such as the Fātimid caliphs of Morocco and Egypt, and even Sultān 'Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī of India used to style himself as "Khalīfatullāh" (the Representative or Deputy of God) which was one of the titles assumed by Akbar. An echo of the belief in the spiritual powers claimed by Akbar, moreover, can be traced even in the later Mughul period, for it continued to be a common practice for the courtiers to address their royal master as "pir--o-murshid", titles which have an essentially spiritual or religious significance and could properly be used only for a moral and spiritual preceptor. It is thus that even the orthodox descendant of Akbar, Aurangzīb, has addressed his father Shāh Jahān in his letters, and the same form of address was popularly used in the days of Bahādur Shāh II, the last Mughul King of Delhi.[145]

Nor was the emperor alone in taking advantage of the popular belief about the appearance of a reformer at the end of the first millennium, for about this time there came to India a saintly representative of the Naqshbandiya Sūfī sect, one of whose pupils claimed, and is largely acknowledged, to be the "Reformer of the Second Millennium" (*Mujaddid Alf Thānī*). The founder of this sect, Khwāja Bahā'uddin Naqshband, was born near Bukhārā in 1318 and died in 1389, and his teachings became very popular in Turkestan, thanks mainly to the efforts of one of his pupils Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh al-Ahrār to whom a reference has been made above. The saint who introduced the new system in India, Khwāja Bāqī Billāh, settled down in Delhi a few years before Akbar's death. He, however, did not live there long, dying in 1603, at the comparatively young age of 41. It was his pupil, Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind, popularly known as Imām Rabbānī and Mujaddid Alf Thānī,[146] who continued the teachings of his master and by the force of his great personality made them popular in India. He sent his emissaries and preachers to the royal camp and succeeded in converting some influential courtiers to his own point of view. His activities roused the suspicion of Emperor Jahāngīr specially because he was accused by some of his opponents of making extravagant spiritual claims.[147] He was summoned to the royal court and ordered to explain his conduct, and as he was unable to satisfy the emperor, the latter ordered him to be incarcerated in the Gwālior fort, where he remained for about a year. Later on the emperor pardoned him and bestowed upon him a Khil'at (robe of honour), and he remained in the royal camp for about four years, travelling with it to several places and propagating his new Sūfī doctrines.

The central idea of the Naqshbandī school of Sūfīsm which Syed Ahmad represented was to bridge the gulf, as far as possible, between orthodoxy and mysticism, in other words to purge the Sūfīstic discipline of all such beliefs and practices which Islām did not sanction or which in some cases were actually repugnant to its spirit. Thus the new system rigidly banned the holding of pantheistic beliefs, the listening to music (*samā'*) as a means of attaining spiritual ecstasy, the keeping of long vigils (*chilla* and *murāqaba*), the loud and prolonged repetition of certain religious formulas (*zikr*), the big concourses of men and women at the shrines of saints (*Urs*) and the practice of making vows and offerings in the name of these saints for the achievement of worldly ends (*nazr* and *nayāz*). We find Syed Ahmad, therefore, waging a relentless crusade against all these things, as they had in his opinion a demoralising effect and corrupted the religious beliefs of the Muslim masses, and, paradoxically enough, while making apparently fantastic claims about his own spiritual trances, rigidly enjoining conformity with the orthodox belief and practice upon his followers.

In addition to reforming Indian Sūfīsm, a second task to which Syed Ahmad devoted himself with characteristic energy was to wean the Indian Muslims of certain social customs and practices which they had borrowed from their Hindu neighbours, and to raise up their moral outlook and social status generally. It pained him to see the Muslim converts still adhering to some of their old un-Islāmic ways as much as to find that in spite of the Muslim rule in this country, the Muslims were in some spheres of life actually in an inferior position and were deprived of their legitimate rights and privileges, religious or otherwise, due to the very lenient policy of the rulers towards the non-Muslims. He was a bitter critic of the indulgence shown in this respect by Akbar, although it would be difficult to maintain, as Maulāna Āzād has done, that he was responsible for uprooting the heresy the seeds of which had been sown by that monarch.[148] He advocated a firm and strong attitude towards the Hindus in order to make them realise that they could not lord it over the Muslims inspite of their subordinate position, and may on the whole be described as an irreconcilable opponent of all attempts at Hindu-Muslim unification or rapprochement whether religious or social. He insisted on the necessity of the presence among Muslims of a supreme religious leader at all times who may keep their religion free from the dross of *shirk* and *ilhad* (polytheism and heresy), and with this end in view developed the theory of *qayyūmiyat,* i.e. the existence of a *qayyūm* (sustainer) in the world. The *qayyūm* of his conception was, however, much more than a reformer; he was, according to some descriptions given by his disciples, a sort of agent plenipotentiary of God on this earth who looked after and actually controlled all that happened here. The *qayyūm,* therefore, was possessed of the same, or practically the same powers as the functionary in Ṣūfī hierarchy usually called the *Quṭbul Aqṭāb* (Pole of the Poles). It is needless to say that his disciples naturally regarded him as the First Qayyūm, while three other great teachers of the school, namely Syed Ahmad's son, Khwāja Mohammad Ma'sūm, Khwāja Mohammad Naqshband, and Khwāja Mohammad Zubair have been accorded the same exalted position after him.

It will be clear from what has been said that Syed Aḥmad started a reactionary religious movement undoing much of the work of communal reconciliation accomplished by the Chishtiya saints. He would even appear to have influenced Emperor Jahāngīr to a certain extent, inspite of the latter's gentle temperament and tolerant disposition.[149] But whatever one may think of his uncompromising attitude towards non-Muslims, there could be no doubt that he was a sincere and zealous Muslim and strove with all the means at his disposal for their worldly welfare and spiritual salvation. Yet his influence on the popular Muslim mind apparently waned soon after his death, for already in the days of Shāh Jahān, himself a reputedly orthodox Muslim, the process of rapprochement had re-started and the emperor's eldest son, Dārā Shukoh, and his daughter Jahān Ārā, became ardent disciples of a saint of the Qādirīya school from Persia, Mullā Shāh, who was noted for his religious tolerance. Dārā Shukoh, as a matter of fact, was an ardent champion of Hindu-Muslim unity and hobnobbed with Hindu *Yogīs* and *Paṇḍits* as freely as he did with the Muslim mystics and scholars. One of his associates

(Munshis, to be more exact) was Chandra Bhān Brāhman, who has written some very fine Persian verses in a mystic strain and was the recipient of special favours from his princely master. The Naqshbandīya school, as a matter of fact, failed to attract many Muslims to its fold at any time, although several *silsilas* of this sect survive up to this day either independently or merged with *silsilas* of other schools. It is not unusual to find the titles Chishtī and Naqshbandī both together affixed to the names of pious Muslims, while some others also add to these the title "Qādirī".

The Qādirīya school,[150] which traces its origin to Shaik 'Abdul Qādir of Gilan who lived in Baghdad in the eighth century, was first introduced in India during the reign of Emperor Akbar, probably by Arab merchants visiting the ports of Surat and Khambayat, and received a great fillip due to the advocacy of its principles by another very remarkable personality of the Mughul period, namely, Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq of Delhi who was contemporary with Akbar and Jahāngīr and is looked upon as one of the greatest religious scholars born in India. He had imbibed the Qādirīya teachings at Uchch in Sind which appears to have been a great centre of this particular school of thought, and although later on he also enrolled himself among the Naqshbandīya, his religious thought and general outlook of life seem to have been determined by those teachings. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq's fame, however, rests not so much on his spiritual attainments, which must have been considerable, but on the invaluable contributions made by him to Islāmic learning, specially the science of Hadīth; and he is the author of several famous works. He died in the 16th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. The Qādirīya school continued to be popular among the better educated Muslims due to the teachings of two others of its famous exponents in India, one of whom was Mīr Mohammad, popularly known as Miān Mīr, of Lahore, and the other was Mullā Shāh of Badakshān, who settled down in Kāshmīr and used to visit Lahore frequently to pay his respects to his teacher, Miān Mīr. It was in Kāshmīr that Prince Dārā Shukoh and his sister, Jahān Ārā, met the saint in 1639, and became his disciples.

With the accession of Aurangzīb to the throne of Delhi, the Sūfī movement in India seems to have received a definite set-back. This stern monarch, himself an orthodox and pious Muslim, was intolerant of heresy in any form and was always prompt in punishing drastically any open breach of the Law (*Sharī'at*). This, coupled with a general intellectual decline, was certainly responsible for any new religious ideas being developed in the 17th century in Muslim India. Aurangzīb's reign had heralded the triumph of *Sharī'at* against *ṭarīqat.* The emphasis was now on the codification and clarification of the Muslim law as expounded by the great jurists, and any attempt at original thinking was not only discountenanced but actively opposed.[151] It was sought to confine Islām to narrow channels and to deprive it of all elasticity of belief, thus creating an atmosphere of religious bigotry and intolerance. There can be little doubt that Aurangzīb's policy was dictated by laudable moral ideals and he worked sincerely for rooting out corruption and dishonesty both in religious belief and worldly conduct, but it is equally true that he did not achieve any remarkable success in his efforts. On the other hand he succeeded in intensifying mutual distrust among the various sections of his subjects without bringing about any general moral uplift among the Muslims. The banning of wine and music had been tried before his time as a means of stamping out moral delinquency and had failed to achieve the desired object. Some of his officials were thoroughly corrupt,[152] and he was painfully conscious of this fact and bitterly realised the failure of his mission at the end of his long reign.

To sum up this brief survey of the religious life of the Indian Muslims during the Mughul period, we might say that on the whole this period marked the decline of the pantheistic form of Sūfīsm and that the moderate schools, like the Naqshbandīya and Qādirīya became more popular than the Chishtiya school which had exercised undisputed sway over the minds of the devout Muslims in the preceding period. This was partly due to the fact that no outstanding saint of the Chishtiya sect appeared in India during this period and partly to the emergence of certain bitter critics of that sect who, helped by the prevalent political and social conditions, succeeded in attracting a large number of followers. Religious divines and scholars continued to hold lucrative posts as *qāzīs* and *muftīs,* but their power over their royal masters suffered a sharp decline, due to their worldly greed and cupidity combined with senseless bigotry and parochialism. The accounts given by contemporary historians of the fabulous wealth which some of them managed to amass by all sorts of questionable means and their high-handed actions in dealing with those who had the temerity to differ from them in religious matters, clearly show the extent of their moral turpitude, so that it was they themselves who were really responsible for their downfall and not any radical change of attitude towards religion on the part of the rulers or their subjects.

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1. A. Govindāchārya, *The Aṣṭādaśa Bhedas* between the Teṅgalais and the Vaḍagalais in the *J.R.A.S.* 1910, pp. 1103 ff.; *J.B.B.R.A.S.* XXIV. pp. 126ff.; I.A. XIII. pp. 252 ff.
2. Sewell, *Lists* II C.P. No. 75, p. 9.
3. *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa,* Ch. V, pp. 491-93, (Berhampore ed.).

4. *Bhāgavata,* IV. 21.12 and Sanātana Gosvāmin's commentary on the *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa,* V. 223.
5. *Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa, Janmakhaṇḍa,* Ch. 21 as quoted in the *Śabda-Kalpa-druma,* pp. 1514-15 which also cites the authority of the *Padma-Purāṇa, Pātālkhaṇḍa,* Ch. XI showing that the Śūdras adhering to the Vedic path attain salvation by worshipping the Śālagrāma Śilā.
6. Narahari Chakravarti, *Bhakti-ratnākara* (Berhampore ed.), p. 30.
7. Sir Charles N.E. Eliot, *Hinduism in Assam* in *J.R.A.S.,* 1910, pp. 1160 ff.
8. *Rāmacharita-mānasa, Uttarakāṇḍa,* p. 483 (Nagari Pracharini Sabha ed.).
9. Śūdra Kamalākara, pp. 13-14.
10. Raghunandana, *Śuddhitattva,* pp. 624-25 (Bangabasi ed.).
11. *Agastya Saṁhitā,* XIII.46.
12. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, *Raghunandana's Indebtedness to his predecessors, J.A.S.,* XIX, 1953, pp. 174-175.
13. *Śuddhitattva* (Bangabasi ed.), pp. 166-67.
14. *Śūdra Kamalākara* quoted by P.V. Kane in the *History of Dharmaśāstras,* II, p. 381.
15. *Sarasvatī Vilāsa,* p. 478 (University of Mysore ed.).
16. *Rājadharma-Kaustubha,* XII. 63 (Gaekwad Oriental series).
17. *Śuddhitattva,* p. 163.
18. K.S. Thackarey, *Gramanyacha Sadyanta Itihasa,* pp. 154-55.
19. *Gautamīya Tantra* Ch. I; Sir John Woodroffe, *Shakti and Shākta,* pp. 505-6.
20. Atal Behari Ghosh, *The Spirit and Culture of the Tantras* in the *Cultural Heritage of India,* IV, p. 248.
21. *Dabistan* (London, 1901 ed,), p. 247.
22. *Ibid,* II. pp. 154, 164 (1833 ed.) quoted by Woodroffe, *Op. Cit.* p. 584.

22a. Chintaharan Chakravarty, *The Tantras—Studies on their religion and literature,* pp. 67-68.

23. *Tantrasāra,* p. 155.
24. D.C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas,* pp. 74-80.
25. Sanātana Gosvāmin, *Bṛihat Bhāgavatāmṛta,* II.1. 36-37.
26. Sanātana Gosvāmin, *Vaishṇava-toshaṇī* commentary on the Bhāgavata, X. 55.1.
27. *Ibid.,* X.5.1-2 and X.39.37.
28. *Hari-bhakti Vilāsa,* I. 58, 192, 236, 237, 432-35, 462, 913, 1146-50, 1208, 1344; II.9-10; III.4, 220-23; IV. 100-102.
29. *Ibid.,* I. 60-62, 71-73, 377-8; IV.39-40, 46-49, 58-60.
30. *Ibid.,* I.85.
31. *Ibid.,* I. 126, 136, 407, 410, 451.
32. *Ibid.,* II. 16-17.
33. D.C. Sircar, *The Śākta Pīṭhas,* p. 23, and Appendix V.
34. Kavikaṅkaṇa Chaṇḍī—Introductory portion, *Dig-Vandanā* (Bangabasi ed.).
35. *Ibid.,* p. 306. See for example, merits of the *Kali* age towards the end of the book.
36. Chintaharan Chakravarty, *Op. Cit.,* p. 75.
37. *Dabistan,* (1901 ed.), p. 253.
38. Purchas, *Pilgrims,* X. pp. 208-09.
39. Gait, *History of Assam* (2nd Ed. p. 59).
40. *J.R.A.S.,* 1910, p. 1163.
41. The date of his birth is given as 1449 A.D. by K. L. Barua (*Early History of Kāmarupa,* p. 308), as one of the arguments to prove that Śaṅkaradeva could not have been a follower of Chaitanya. This date was doubted by Gait who thought it was thirty or forty years too early. His view agrees with the date 1487 given by R.M. Nath (*The Background of Assamese Culture,* p. 54) and is supported by the fact, admitted by Barua, that Śaṅkaradeva was a contemporary of king Naranārāyaṇa of Cooch Behār whose rule, as mentioned above, falls between A.D. 1555 and 1587, the dates furnished respectively by the coins of himself and of his successor.

41a. Śaṅkaradeva relates the history of this family in his Assamese *Bhāgavata, Daśama Skandha,* verses 12001 and 12002.

42. *Nāmaghosha* (ed. by Haramohon Das).
43. Eliot, Charles N.E.: *Hinduism in Assam, J.R.A.S.,* 1910, p. 1169.
44. *Nāmaghosha,* verses 872 and 874.
45. *Chaitanya-Bhāgavata,* II. 22, p. 318 (ed. Atul Kṛishṇa Gosvāmī).
46. *Ibid.,* III. 4., p. 460.
47. *Ibid.,* II. 23, p. 341 and II. 24, p. 346.

48. *Bhaktiratnākara,* p. 581.
49. *Prema-vilāsa,* ch. xvi.
50. Buchanan Hamilton: *Purnea Report,* p. 273.
51. Majumdar, Bimanbehari: *Chaitanya Chariter Upādāna,* (2nd. ed.), p. 567.
52. Majumdar, R.C.: *Kamala Lectures,* p. 124.
53. Calcutta University Ms. No. 1144, and Basu, Manindra Mohan: *Post-Chaitanya Sahajiya cult of Bengal.*
54. Dimock, Edward C. (Jr.): *The Place of the Hidden Moon-Erotic Mysticism in the Vaishnava Sahajiya Cult of Bengal* (University of Chicago, 1966).
55. *Rasika-maṅgala,* Bk. I, ch. III, p. 13.
56. *Śūnya-saṁhitā,* ch. I.
57. Sivakaradasa: *Jagannātha-charitāmṛita,* ch. III.
58. Haridasa Dasa: *Gauḍīya Vaishṇava Abhidhāna,* Vol. II, p. 1241.
59. *Rasika-maṅgala,* p. 121.
60. *Chaurāśī Vaishṇavoṅ kī vārtā* (Agrawala Press), p. 372.
61. Vallabhāchārya: *Soḍaśa-Grantha* (Bombay ed.) *Siddhānta muktāvalī,* verse I.
62. Viṭṭhalanāth: *Svāmī-stotra and Svāminyāshṭaka.*
63. Mittal, Prabhudayal: *Ashṭa-chhāpa-parichaya,* p. 33.
64. S.M. Pandey and N. Zide's article on Surdas in *Krsna, Myths, Rites and Attitudes,* ed. by Milton Senger (University of Hawaii, 1966), p. 188.
65. *Ibid.,* p. 185.
66. *Sursāgar* 2305.
67. Hita Harivamsa's *Rādhā-sudhā-nidhi,* verse 76.
68. Farquhar, J.N.: *Outline of the Religious Literature of India,* p. 318.
69. *Dabistan-ul-Majhab* (Walter Dunne Publication, Washington, 1901), p. 262.
70. Growse, F.S. on Swāmī Haridās, *J.A.S.B., xlv,* pt. I (1876); pp. 312 ff.
71. *Dabistan,* p. 263.
72. *Ibid.,* p. 283.
73. *Mahābhārata* (Poona ed.), XII. 288.20, which states: *Na Mānusha-śreshṭha-taram kiñchit.*
74. Khare, G.H. in his *Śrī Viṭṭhal and Paṇḍhārpur* states that Jñāneśvara was neither a devotee of Viṭṭhala nor the founder of the Varākarī sect.
75. Natesan: *Shrī Ekanāth,* p. 30.
76. Edwards, J.F.: *The Life and Teachings of Tukaram,* p. 134.
77. Deming, W.S.: *Selections from Tukaram,* p. 190.
78. *Ibid.,* pp. 39 and 91.
79. Abbott, Justin E.: *Bahini Bai, a Translation of her Autobiography and verses with the Marathi original,* p. 1, verses 7-8.
80. *Ibid.,* pp. 97-98.
81. Cf. Chaitanya's verse in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī,* No. 337 (ed. S.K. De) with Tukārām's *abhaṅga* translated by Macnicol: *Psalms of the Maratha Saints,* XVIII.
82. Pangarkar, L.R.: *Śrī Tukārāmache Charitra* (Poona, 1920), pp. 332-334.
83. *Dāsabodh,* ch. XIV., sec. 7.
84. *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. IX, pt. I, pp. 1-3.
85. Thoothi, N.A.: *The Vaishnavas of Gujarat,* p. 234.
86. Karmarkar, A.P.: *Mystic Teachings of the Haridasas of Karnataka,* p. 10.
87. Rice, Edward P.: *A History of Canarese Literature,* p. 59.
88. The *Journal of the Music Academy,* Madras, Vol. XIII, p. 67.
89. Manucci: *Storia de Mogor,* II, p. 135.
90. Francis Buchanan: *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar,* III, p. 468.
91. *Chaitanya-charitāmṛita,* II. 18. Bijul Khān has been identified with the foster-
of India), Vol. IV, p. 390.
son of Bihār Khān Afghān, the chieftain of Kalinjar, by Pramatha Chaudhuri: *Nānā Charchā,* pp. 111-127.
92. *Dabistan,* p. 264.
93. *Ibid.,* p. 247.
94. *Ibid.,* p. 266.
95. Mitra, Rajendralal: *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,* XLI (1) 1877, p. 170. A manuscript of the *Āllāḥ Upanishad* is also noticed in Dr. Buhler's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Gujarat,* p. 44.
96. Wilson, H.H.: *Religious Sects of the Hindus* (ed. 1958), p. 196.
97. Sen, Kshitimohon: *The Medieval Mystics of North India (Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. IV., p. 390).
98. *Dabistan,* p. 267.
99. *Selections from the sacred writings of the Sikhs,* pp. 77-78.

99a. The word *Sangat* appears in the *Ādi Granth* at numerous places.
100. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, i. 302.
101. Dr. Trilochan Singh in his *Guru Nanak's Religion* on p. 1 in a footnote states that the word *Gurmat* is mentioned in the *Ādi Granth* in the hymns of Guru Nanak in Ragas Gujri, p. 505, Ramkali, p. 904, Maru, pp. 1008, 1009; Basant, p. 1190 and Sarang, p. 1233.
102. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, 40, f.n. 1.
103. Macauliffe, i, 60.
104. Rag Asa in the *Ādi Granth* quoted by Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, 39.
105. Bhai Gurdas, *Var*, i, pauri 27.
106. *Var Asa*, xix.
107. *The Dabistan*, 223.
108. The word *Gurdwara* occurs many a time in Guru Nanak's hymns such as in Asa, p. 351, Suhi, p. 730, Ramkali, pp. 930, 933 and Maru, p. 1015; vide Trilochan Singh, *Guru Nanak's Religion*, p. 2.
109. *Travels*, 283.
110. Macauliffe, vi, 247.
111. Bhai Gurdas, *Var*, i, 21.
112. *The Dabistan*, Persian, 239.
113. *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 67-68, f.n.
114. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Suraj Prakash*, Rut iii, 28.
115. *The Dabistan*, Persian, 223.
116. *Sketch*, 44, 147.
117. Ward, *The Hindoos*, iii, 463.
118. *A History of the Sikhs*, 1966 edition, 41-42.
119. *Ibid*, 41.
120. Guru Nānak was so highly pleased with Bhāi Lahna's devotion that he observed: "Thou hast performed excessive devotions. Between thee and me there is now no difference. None of my Sikhs hath such faith and confidence in me as thou and therefore I love thee most of all. Thou art verily Angad, a part of my body. I congratulate thee." Macauliffe, ii, 9.
121. Grierson remarks: "The true alphabet of the Panjab is known as the Landa or 'clipped'. It is connected with the Mahajani character of Northern India and resembles it in having a very imperfect system of vowel sounds. Vowel sounds are frequently omitted." *Linguistic Survey of India*, ix, Part i, 624. The author remembers a joke in this connection. It is said that a banker went to a village to recover his loan. The farmer had ready money and wanted to settle the account on the spot. The banker sent a messenger with a note in Lande script demanding his *bahi* or account book. The word *bahi* was misread as *bahu* and the banker's wife accompanied the messenger.
122. *Suraj Prakash*, i, 30.
123. "In 1577 he obtained a grant of the site, together with 500 bighas of land from the Emperor Akbar on payment of Rs. 700 to the Zamindars of Tung, who owned the land". *District Gazetteer of Amritsar*, 1883-84.
124. The Sikhs call him Arjun Dev. Most of the writers mention his name as Arjun. The almost contemporary author, Muhsin Fani, names him Arjun Mal. *The Dabistan*, 233.
125. They also preached, settled disputes and kept the Sikhs under a regular administrative system. The Masands were not paid any salary. They retained a portion of the offerings received by them with the approval of the Guru.
126. *The Dabistan*, 234.
127. How essential, according to the common Muslim belief, it was to have a spiritual teacher, is manifest from the phrase "be-pīr" (without a spiritual guide), which came to be a term of strong reproach and abuse, synonymous almost with another term, "bad-ma'ash" meaning a rogue or scoundrel.
128. Cf. Vol. VI, pp. 608, 637.
129. He is said to have converted several rulers also, notably Osmān Khān of Gujarāt (Jalor) and Nizāmul-Mulk of the Deccan (See Tādhkira by Nadwī). His two staunch and powerful opponents were Shaikh 'Alī Muttaqī (d. 975 H.) and Tahir b. Muhammad Fatani (of Pattan) (in Gujarāt), who was eventually killed by his followers in 986 H. while on his way to Emperor Akbar's court where he was proceeding to make complaint against their

high-handed actions. He was a learned scholar and a leader of the Bohras of Gujarāt. For details of his career, see Tadhkira 'Allāma Shaikh Muhammad bin Tāhir by Abū Zafar Nadwī.

130. Another noted scholar of the period. For him, see Tadhkira (Āzād) pp. 43-48. This happened in the days of Salīm Sūrī.

131. Bābur translated into Turkish a didactic poem (*Mathnavi*) by this saint, known as Risāla-i-Wālidīya. This translation, a manuscript of which exists in the Rampur State Library, was published in the Bengal Asiatic Society Journal (Special issue) in 1910.

132. Badāūnī (I: 445) says that Humāyūn was made to read out a prepared document containing a confession of the Shiah faith. Cf. Jauhar Aftābrahī.

133. For the text of this cleverly drafted manifesto, see Badāūnī, II: 271; Cf. Rūd-i-Kauthar, pp. 32-33.

134. Among these were Qutbuddīn, Akbar's foster-brother, Shahbāz Khān Kamboh, Mullā Mohammad Yazdī and Muiz-zul Mulk, the last two of whom were imprisoned and ultimately done away with.

135. Renunciation i.e. of property, of life, of honour and of religion.

136. Mullā Shīrī, a contemporary poet, composed the following satirical couplet on this occasion:

Bāshāh imsāl dawā-i-Nubuwat Karda-ast
Gar Khudā Khwāhad pas az salī Khudā Khwāhad Shudan

(The king has this year claimed prophethood; God willing after a year he will become God). See Badāūnī, II: 309.

137. Rājā Bhagwān Dās was another important dissenter. Mirza 'Azīz, however, later on accepted the new cult after his return from Mecca where he had been permitted to go on his refusal to accede to Akbar's request.

138. *Darbār-i-Akbarī,* p. 565.

139. e.g. Sir Wolsley Haig in the *Cambridge History of India.*

140. Thomas Roe (according to Rūd-i-Kauthar, p. 26 seq.).

141. This usually took the form of Muslim men marrying non-Muslim women, but that in certain cases, especially among the Rajputs, Muslim women were married to non-Muslims is proved by what Jahāngīr says about Kāshmīr (Tuzuk—*Memoirs*).

142. Curiously enough, a Muslim jurist, Mullā Abu Sa'īd, a nephew of Khwāja Amān of Panipat, is said to have produced a tradition of the Prophet saying that the people of paradise will be without beards in support of this sanction. See Badāūnī, II: 301 seq. for a detailed account of these un-Islāmic edicts of the emperor. Note specially the banning of Arabic studies (II: 363) and of Islāmic sciences (II: 303).

143. The Uzbek Sultan 'Abdullāh was one of those rulers who protested.

144. The same belief prompted the compilation of *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* (Alf meaning a thousand), a notable historical work of Akbar's reign, which, however, was never completed. See Badāūnī, II: 318.

145. It is interesting to note that by thus addressing the monarch, the courtier placed himself in the position of a "murīd" (disciple) which is exactly what Akbar demanded of those who entered the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī,* although a Hindi equivalent of the word, i.e. *chela,* was used for the Arabic word *murīd.*

146. Reformer of the second millennium.

147. Shathīyāt in Sūfī parlance, mainly contained in his letters (Maktūbāt). One of these known as the eleventh letter in which he had described his maqamāt (stations in a spiritual trance) specially roused a bitter controversy and alienated some of his fond admirers.

148. Tadhkira (Āzād), p. 239 seq.

149. See *Bazm-i-Tīmūrīya,* pp. 166-168.

150. Two other Sūfī schools, the Shattārīya and the Shādhilīya, also gained some adherents in India about this time, but they never became very popular. Followers of the Shādhilīya sect are found in Hyderabad, and elsewhere.

151. This was in accordance with the general orthodox belief that the door of ijtihād (exercise of personal discretion) had been closed after the days of the great jurists, the founders of the four madh-habs.

152. Thus Qāzī 'Abdul Wahhāb, the Chief Judge of Gujarāt, in whom Aurangzīb had great confidence, is said to have been addicted to wine and left behind 1 lakh gold coins and 5 lakh rupees in addition to other valuables. (See Rūd-i-Kauthar, p. 282; Cf. *Ma'āthirul Umarā*).

CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL CONDITION

The society and culture during the Mughul Age was not entirely new or radically different from the culture of the preceding or succeeding ages. The Indian culture in all ages has been fundamentally the same, and the differences we notice at different times are, generally speaking, those of detail and not of the essence. So, an attempt has been made to describe, under a few major heads, the various facets of the society and culture during the period under review.[1]

Dress

The dress of the poor people of various communities was very much alike. Workmen, tillers of the soil and other labourers contented themselves with a cotton *langota* tied round the waist and reaching down to their knees. Bābur refers to it in his memoirs.[2] During winter common people, except paupers, put on small quilted coats which lasted for years. In northern India even the poor put on turbans to protect their head from heat or cold. In the cold weather quilted caps were common in some parts of northern India, especially in Kāshmīr and the Punjāb. The upper classes spent lavishly on their dress, and wealthy Muhammadans wore both *shālwārs* and breeches or tight trousers. Over their shirts they put on narrow waist-coats. The *qābā* or a long coat coming down to the knees was worn as an upper garment. The rich also carried over their shoulders shawls of very fine woollen fabric of various colours. It was the fashion to tie one's waist with a scarf of beautiful and costly multi-coloured stuffs. Men carried arms and adorned themselves with a *kātār* or a dagger. The Mughul rulers were very particular about new fashions and invented many new dresses. Akbar employed skilled tailors to improve the style of costumes in his wardrobe. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* describes eleven types of coats.[3] Father Rudolf found Akbar clad in a *dhoti* of the finest and most delicate silk. Monserrate writes about the dress of Akbar: "His Majesty wore clothes of silk beautifully embroidered in gold. His Majesty's cloak comes down to his hose and boots cover his ankles completely and (he) wears pearls and gold jewellery."[4] Turbans were the common head-wear of all communities,[4a] those of the Muslims were usually white and round-shaped, while those of the Hindus were coloured, straight, high and pointed. Stockings were not used by any section of the people. The general style of the shoes was Turkish *viz.* pointed in front and open above with low heels to be easily undone when necessary. The men of taste had their shoes made of velvet of several colours or of brocade covered with silk leather, and sometimes set rubies and diamonds on the instep of their shoes. Ladies had not many varieties of dresses. The common apparel of the womenfolk was a piece of cloth called '*sārī*' wrapped round the middle part of the body and thrown over the head and an *āngiyā* or a small jacket worn round the chest. Breeches or *shālwārs* and shirts were common among Muhammadan ladies. *Ghāgrā* too was popular among them. The rich women put on *qābās* of fine Kāshmīr wool. Some of them also used Kāshmīr shawls of the finest quality. Ladies, both Hindu and Muhammadan, covered their heads with a *dopāṭṭā* of fine cotton, or silk wrought with silver or gold threads, according to their means. Muhammadan ladies, whenever they moved out, put on white shrouds or *burqās*. There were, of course, exceptions and local variations from the general types.

Toilets

Hair dyes, recipes for the cure of baldness and the removal of hair from the body were known from ancient times and practised in medieval age. Soaps, powders and creams had their substitutes in *ghasul,* myrobalans, *opatanah*, and pounded sandal wood. Soap was known and used in India from ancient times. Precious scents of diverse kinds were in use. The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* gives a long list of scents and their prices.[5] Nūr Jahān's mother prepared a new *itar* from roses and named it *itar-i-jahāngirī.* Abu-'l-Fazl, in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, describes 16 items for a woman's toilet which include bathing, anointing, braiding the hair, decking the crown of her head with jewels, sectarian marks of caste after decking with pearls, jewels and gold, tinting with lamp-black like collyrium, staining the hands, chewing betel leaf and decorating herself with various ornaments, as nose-rings, necklaces, and wearing a belt hung with small bells, garlands of flowers, etc. Hindu ladies usually tied their hair behind their heads. Sometimes they twisted up their hair upon the top of the head like a pyramid, sticking gold bodkin in the centre. The use of the false hair has also been referred to.[6] Hindu ladies considered it auspicious to put a vermillion mark and to anoint the parting of their hair. Collyrium was used for the eyes. It was usual for high class ladies to use *missia* for blackening between the teeth and antimony for darkening their eye lashes.[7] Indian women frequently used *mehidi* (henna leaves) to give red colour to their hands and feet. It served as a nail polish to redden their finger nails. They reddened their lips by chewing betel-leaf which served them as a lip-stick.

Ornaments[7a]

Women were anxious to adorn, one might say even load, themselves with a variety of bulky ornaments. Ladies bedecked every limb of their bodies from head to foot with different types of ornaments. Abu-'l-Fazl enumerates 37 in his list in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. *Chauk, Mang, Kotbiladar* (perhaps the modern *Chandraman*), *Sekra,* and *Binduli* adorned the head and the forehead. *Karnphul, Pipal Patti, Mor Bhanwar* and *Bali* were the different types of ear-rings. Nose-ornaments seemed to have been introduced by Muhammadans. *Nath* and *Besar* were their different types. *Laung* or a flower-bud —a small stud of single diamond or ruby fixed at the corner of the left nostril—enhanced the beauty of the face. Around the neck were worn necklaces of gold, pearls, and other precious stones which contained five to seven strings of gold beads. The upper part of the arms was ornamented with *bazubands,* and *tad.* *Gajrah* or *Kangan,* a bracelet, adorned their wrists. They decorated their wrists up to the elbow with bracelets called *Churis.* *Chhudr Ghaṇṭikā* and *Kaṭi Mekhalā* were the two varieties of gold belts. Rings were worn on toes and fingers. *Jehar* served as an ankle ornament. *Ghunghru* were worn between the *Payal* (ornaments of legs) and *Jehar* (ankle ornament). *Bhank* and *Bichwah* were the ornaments used for the instep while *Anwat* decorated big toe.

As for men, Muslims were usually against ornaments; some of them, however, put on amulets. Hindus, on the other hand, adorned themselves with ear and finger rings. Rajputs put on bracelets as well. All the Mughul Emperors except Aurangzīb adorned themselves with rich jewellery on important occasions.

Diet[8]

Khichari[9] was the most popular dish of the common people who could ill afford to spend on dainty dishes. Rice formed the chief food of the people of the East and South. The Gujarātis preferred rice and curd. Jahāngīr refers to the food of the Kāshmīris which usually consisted of boiled rice and boiled salted vegetables,[10] chiefly a leafy plant called *karam.* The people of the North, however, generally took *chappatis* of wheat, *jowar* or *bajra.* The middle classes managed to have three meals a day. The poor, too, managed to have light refreshments in the form of some parched pulse or other grains between the three regular meals. The upper classes invariably used wheat flour, boiled rice and cooked vegetables of various sorts. Hindus in general being vegetarians, confined themselves to pulses, curd, butter, oil and milk and its several preparations. They prepared rice, aromatic birinjes and puddings of rice mixed with almonds and raisins. On his abstinence days, Jahāngīr would take *lazizah,* i.e., *Khichari,* prepared in the Gujarāti style.[11] Abu-'l-Fazl gives a detailed list of various vegetables and meat and sweet dishes in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī.*[12]

Muhammadans prepared rice and aromatic birinjes as *qabuli, duzdbiryan, qimah palao,* and pudding of rice mixed with almonds and raisins and strewn with butter and pepper. Sweet dishes consisted of *halwa,* sweetmeats, and comfits prepared from refined sugar and *faluda.*[13] An idea of the variety of dishes served at a noble's dinner can be had from the description of Asaf Khān's banquet to Sir Thomas Roe[14] and that of the Governor of Ahmadābād to Mandelslo.[15] Mukundarāma's gorgeous description of feasts and vegetable dishes leaves us in little doubt as to their popularity among the upper class Hindus.[16]

Kitchens and Utensils

The utensils used in Hindu kitchens were all made of brass or bronze, while those of the Muhammadans were earthen ware or made of copper. The Mughul kings used gold or silver utensils and were fond of precious China and glassware. Aurangzīb, however, used earthen or copper vessels. Hindus paid great attention to cleanliness and a special place called *chauka* invariably rubbed over with cow-dung was reserved for cooking meals, which none was allowed to enter with shoes on. Bathing was a pre-requisite before meals. Hindus would at the outset put apart a small portion of their food as an humble homage to the gods. Akbar used to put apart the share of the dervishes before he commenced his meal.[17]

The ordinary people used the leaves of the trees, stitched together with rushes, as plates. In the case of the Rājās and other rich men, food was brought from the kitchen in bowls or vessels of silver or gold. Table manners required not to use one's left hand or lick the fingers. Wives did not make it a custom to join their husbands at tables, but took meals separately. The kitchen and table manners of the Muhammadans were quite simple, though not always as clean as those of the Hindus. They were free to cook wherever and whenever they liked and eat everything except the flesh of swine. A *dastarkhwan* was spread on the floor and dishes arranged thereon. The whole family sat together and partook of the dishes jointly. No napkins were used and the procedure of washing was not always adhered to.

The manner of cooking in the royal kitchen and the process of sending in of plates and the measures adopted to check poisoning have been elaborately described in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*.[18]

Intoxicants

Wine, opium, *bhang* and tobacco, were the most common intoxicants indulged in Mughul times. Betel, tea and coffee were also sometimes included in this class. The masses were generally opposed to intemperance which was looked upon as a vice and even a sin. The strict prohibition enforced by almost all the Mughul kings was no less a factor in discouraging the use of wine among the people. Severe punishments were inflicted for excessive drinking and disorderly conduct. The nobles, however, indulged in heavy drinking and many of them fell victims to alcohol. All the Mughul emperors excepting Aurangzīb took wine several times a day. Bābur and Jahāngīr were renowned drunkards. Humāyūn was more fond of opium. Aurangzīb totally abstained from wine while Akbar and Shāh Jahān would not pass the limits of decency.

Nira, Mahua, Kherra, Bhadwar, Jagre, and toddy were some of the well-known varieties of country wine. Some superior kinds of wines were also imported from foreign countries like Portugal and Persia. Opium was in use among a large number of people especially Muhammadans and Rajputs. The latter would double the dose on the eve of a battle. Its stimulating effect animated them with extraordinary courage and bravery to fight more valiantly and heroically. Some of the Mughul emperors particularly Humāyūn and Jahāngīr were very fond of this intoxicant. Tobacco gained rapid popularity among common people soon after its introduction in India in 1605 by the Portuguese. Smoking became so habitual with one and all in the short interval of a decade or so that Jahāngīr had to order its prohibition by special enactment in 1617 on account of its harmful effects.[19] The decree, however, remained a dead letter and several travellers refer to its wide popularity. Manucci mentions Rs. 5,000 as tobacco duty for a day in Delhi alone.[20]

Betel was in most common use among all classes of people throughout India. It was necessarily chewed after meals but most of the people went on taking it throughout the day. Its choicest varieties were *Bilhari, Kakar, Jaiswar, Kapuri, Kapur Kant,* and *Bangalah. Makhi* leaves of Bihār and *Keroah* of Orissa were also much sought after.

Tea and coffee were not taken as beverages in those days but as intoxicants. These drinks were taken by quite a large number of people especially those of Coromandel Coast. There seems to have been coffee shops, if not coffee houses, in some of our cities like Delhi and Ahmadābād.[21]

Houses and Furniture[22]

Mughul palaces, or more appropriately palace-fortresses, were usually situated on the bank of a river or a stream. Some of these were built on rocky eminences "just turning into or overhanging lakes or artificial pieces of water." These palaces consisted of two parts—inner and outer. The inner part contained the quarters of the queens, the princesses, the private council hall, the retiring rooms, the luxurious *hammams*, etc. while the other part comprised *Dīwān-i-Ām, Dīwān-i-Khās,* the arsenal, the store house, etc. in their proper places. There were also pavilions for witnessing animal fights and for musical entertainments. Stables for horses, elephants, cows, etc. were also provided. Akbar's palaces at Āgra, Allahābād and Lahore may serve as good examples of Mughul conception of royal palaces.[23] Most of the Hindu palaces built during the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly in the capitals of the States in Rājputana, viz., Bikāner, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Orchha, Datia, Udaipur and the city of Amber (Jaipur), are unsystematic in their compositions and are built more for convenience and comfort than for architectural considerations. In their planning and construction, as is natural, Mughul style predominates. As for example, the Jahāngīr Mandir at Orchha was so designed that every part fulfilled its function and expressed purpose; its rooms were devised for seclusion, its terraces for the cool air, its corridors for convenience; each compartment, court hall and passage, had its specific use and was introduced into the scheme in accord with the requirements of its inmates. The houses of the nobles were luxuriously built, preferably in the middle of a garden, and had spacious lawns, tanks, choultries, etc. The house had to be so constructed as to provide for the two wings known as the *mardana* and the *zenana.* A drawing room where the nobles received visitors, and held court, a *khwabagah,* or the bedroom, kitchen, lavatories, besides a courtyard were the necessary requisites. Climatic conditions also necessitated a terrace where the family could sleep during summer nights. The roofs of the buildings were kept flat for the purpose. A *'barsati'* or a room at the terrace was also provided. The European travellers praise the houses of the rich which, to quote Pelsaert,[24] "were noble and elegant, spacious and pleasant." The houses of the merchants at Surat were built of brick and lime and had several storeys; the houses in Kāshmīr were built of wood due to frequent earthquakes. Bernier saw at Āgra the mansions of nobles "interspersed with luxuriant and green foliage in the midst of which the lofty stone houses of the *banias* or Hindu merchants have their appearance of old castles buried in forests." There were lofty and spacious houses of the upper classes at Delhi, Lahore and Masulipatam. In Malabar these houses were built of teakwood and did not possess more than two storeys. The houses of the traders, merchants and the petty *umras* were modest in their appearance as compared to those of the nobles. They lacked elaborate carvings, embellishments, and beautiful gardens. Some of them were built of brick, burnt tiles and lime; others of clay and straw. In the villages the well-to-do *zamindārs* had several huts grouped together. These houses[24a] were airy and commodious. Some of them were two-storeyed and had beautiful terrace roofs. The main features of these buildings in the cities were the provision of eave or *chajja* above the cornice of each storey with its great width, its cast and shadow, which helped to keep the entire building cool during summer.

The houses of the poor were thatched huts without any cellars or windows. The addition of a second hut and a granary was considered as making a house a comfortable abode. These huts had only a single opening for air, light and entrance. The floors of the houses were of pounded earth spread over with cow-dung. In their huts they had only a mat to sleep upon and a pit or hole in the ground to keep their rice in. They had only a pot or two for cooking purposes.

The houses of the rich, especially the nobles, were, however, luxuriously furnished. Their *dīwān khānās* or drawing rooms were decorated with costly carpets from Kāshmīr, Lahore or even imported from Persia and Turkey. *Jajams* and *shatrinjis* and *baluchis* were sometimes spread over the mattresses. Big cylindrical cushions were a part of the furniture and no drawing room could be considered complete without them. Gujarāti and Banarasi curtains were particularly liked. The latter were embroidered with silk. Sind had a reputation for leather hangings. Bernier gives a very interesting account about the *dīwān khānās* of a noble.[25]

The Indian mode of sitting did not necessitate chairs which were rightly regarded as superfluous and uncomfortable. Fryer and Pelsaert's observations regarding the complete absence of chairs are, however, exaggerated. 'Abdur Razzāq, the Persian Ambassador to Vijayanagara in 1443 A.D., and Sir Thomas Roe refer to their use. The seats, sometimes cushioned, were always wider than those of today. The legs of the chairs were sometimes carved out and the feet were connected by means of wooden planks.[26] Stools were used in those days. Usually covered with leather or cloth, they could be interwoven with cane also. *Mundas* of reed and *pidis* or seats made of suitable wood are also referred to in contemporary literature. Tables were not in much use except by the merchants of the West Coast. *Khatta* or bedstead, the most common article of furniture in those days, was used by the rich and the poor alike. It was used by the poor as a couch to sit, and recline upon during day time and served the purpose of a cot at night. These bedsteads woven with cords or braids of cotton or silk according to the owner's means had their legs often painted or lacquered. The aristocracy were very particular about their bedsteads which were lavishly ornamented with gold, silver or even with jewels and diamonds.[27]

Fairs and Festivals[28]

Both the communities, Hindus and Muslims, had a large number of festivals which they celebrated with great enthusiasm during medieval times. There was general uniformity in their observance for the most part, throughout the country. But they enjoyed degrees of popularity and were celebrated with certain local variations. Decorations, illuminations, fire-works, splendid processions, abundant display of gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, and jewels, observed by Muslims in India in the celebrations of their festivals, were the natural consequence of their contact with the Hindu culture. The enlightened rulers like Akbar and Jahāngīr adopted some of the Hindu festivals and gave them a place in their court calendar. Humāyūn adopted *tulā dān* or the weighing ceremony of the Hindus. Akbar went further and associated *Holi, Dasehra,* and *Vasant Panchami,* with court celebrations. Jahāngīr and, to a certain extent, Shāh Jahān continued the tradition. Aurangzīb followed a reverse course. He banned most of the Hindu and Persian festivals in the court, making it Islāmic as far as he could in Hindu surroundings.

Holi, one of the ancient festivals of the Hindus, was the most popular day of rejoicing, music and feast, as it is today. Colour throwing was a lively part of the celebrations.[29]

Akbar observed the festival of *Rakshā Bandhan,* and had a *rākhī* tied on his wrist. It became the custom for the courtiers and others to adorn the emperor's wrist with beautiful strings of silk, bejewelled with rubies and pearls and gems of great value. Jahāngīr, who called it *'Nighadasht'*, ordered: "Hindu *amins* and the head of the caste should fasten *rakhis* on my arm".

On the occasion of the Dasehra festival royal elephants and horses were washed, groomed, and caparisoned to be arrayed for inspection by the Emperor. *Diwālī* or *Dīpāwalī* was observed in much the same manner, as it is today; fire-works were discharged and sweets and other presents were exchanged. Gambling was considered auspicious on this day and people kept awake the whole night trying one another's luck at dice. Akbar was interested in the festive aspect of the celebrations, while Jahāngīr preferred gambling. Sometimes the latter ordered his attendants to play the games in his presence for two or three nights. In the time of the later Mughuls, it appears, the permission of the Governor was necessary to hold the *Diwālī* fair for which a poll-tax was sometimes imposed.[30] Akbar also took part in the celebrations of *Govardhan Pūjā* and several cows, properly washed and ornamented, were brought before him for his review.[31] Both solar and lunar eclipses were observed with all sanctity by the Hindus who kept a fast for 24 hours before the actual eclipse and passed the day in prayers. A bath in the Ganges on this occasion was regarded as of special merit and large numbers resorted to Hardwar, Kashi and Prayag.

Śivarātri[32] or the festival of Lord Śiva was observed with all solemnity during Mughul times. Akbar participated in the meeting of the principal *jogis* of the Empire held that night and ate and drank with them. Jahāngīr also refers to this festival. *Rāmnavamī* and *Janmāshṭamī* were the two other important Hindu festivals referred to by Abu-'l-Fazl in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*.[33]

Muharram, Id-i-Milad, Shab-i-Barat, Id-ul-Fitr, and *Id-ul-Zuha*, are some of the important Muslim festivals which were observed with all solemnity during Mughul times. The Mughul Emperors, though Sunnī in belief, put no restrictions on the observance of Muharram. Aurangzīb however, stopped the practice of Muharram processions throughout his dominions. But though the tazia processions were never given up and Muharram assemblies, mourning and distribution of charity continued to be practised all over the country, sometimes Muharram celebrations were marred by riots between the Sunnīs and Shiahs in which numerous lives were lost.[34] On the occasion of the festival of *Id-i-Milad* or the feast of Prophet's nativity, a meeting of the Sayyids, scholars and saints was arranged in the Palace at Āgra. Shāh Jahān took special interest in this festival and used to give away large sums in charity. Equally popular was the festival of *Shab-i-Barat* or the night of the Prophet's ascent to Heaven. The Muslims, during Mughul days, illuminated their houses and shops and displayed fire-works. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān were very particular about this festival and observed it regularly with great pomp and show. The palaces, government buildings, public gardens, reservoirs etc. were all illuminated on this occasion and the King would distribute money among the poor. The two Ids, *Id-ul-Fitr,* and the *Id-ul-Zuha,* were the two most important festivals of the Muslims. The *Id-ul-Fitr* which comes after the long drawn-out part of *Ramzan* was proclaimed by firing of guns and blowing of trumpets. Friends and relatives exchanged dainty dishes and visits and wished each other good luck. It was customary to call on elders and superiors to offer greetings. In the afternoon Muslims assembled in the *Idgah* to offer prayers. *Id-ul-Zuha* was observed with ceremonious display during Mughul times. Preparations were made both in the capital and in the provinces well in advance. The Emperor rode in procession and sometimes even took up his quarters at the *Idgah.* The sacrifice of a camel would be performed in his presence with due ceremonies. The people who could afford it performed the same ceremony at their homes by solemnly killing a ram or a goat in memory of the ram offered for Ismā'īl. They also cooked stew, sweetmeats and griddle cakes and offered *fatiha* in the name of their deceased relatives.

Some of the other Muslim festivals referred to in the contemporary literature are *Bara Wafat, Akhiri Chahar Shamba,* etc.

There were a few festivals like the *Nauroz* (birthday celebrations of the ruling monarch), *Meena* or Fancy Bazar and the *Ab-i-Pashan* which assumed more or less national character. *Nauroz*[35] was easily the greatest national festival during Mughul times and its celebrations lasted for full 19 days. It was borrowed from the Persians and was observed on the first *Farwardis,* the first month of the Persian Year (20th or 21st of March). In India, it marked the advent of spring. Grand preparations for the festival were made months ahead at the imperial cities, bazars, and porticoes; the public and private audience halls were profusely decorated with costly stuffs such as satin, velvet, clothes of gold, etc. The common people whitewashed their entrances and decorated the doors of their houses with green branches. The people from neighbouring towns would flock to the capital and indulge in all sorts of merry-making. Restrictions on gambling were also relaxed and people were allowed free access to the presence of the King once a week. The King and the court celebrated this festival in a right royal manner. Special kinds of coins called '*nisars*' were struck by the Mughul Emperors from Jahāngīr onwards for distribution among the people or for offering tribute to the King on the occasion of certain festivities such as New Year's day, or the anniversary of their coronations. During these 19 days "wine flowed in rivulets, verse and ode flew in hundreds, gaiety and merriment ruled everything." Singers and musicians flocked to the court from all quarters particularly from Persia. *Nautch* girls with their wonderful and attractive performances thrilled the hearts of all those present. Several European travellers have given a picturesque description of the lavish display of wealth and magnificence on this occasion. Manrique, perhaps copying from somewhere or depending on hearsay, gives a detailed account of the decorations of the Imperial Palace at Āgra.[36] The nobles, too, adorned their palaces with jewels, pearls, diamonds, and their richest treasures and greatest rarities, so that, to quote Nizām-ud-dīn, the author of the *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*, "the spectators on seeing them were filled with wonder and admiration." The main function usually took place in the *Dīwān-i-Ām* which was richly decorated with velvets, gold cloth, and European curtains and screens, and the royal tent was fixed there in the middle beautified with diamonds, pearls, rubies and fruits of gold. It was surrounded all round by the tents of the nobles. The nobles presented the King with rare and precious gifts on this occasion and the King bestowed on them *jāgīrs*, robes of honour, stipends and titles and promotion in rank.

Birthday of the ruling monarch provided another opportunity for rejoicings. Akbar introduced the custom of observing both his lunar and solar birthdays. The royal palaces and the courts were decorated on this occasion as on the occasion of *Nauroz*, and the elephants and horses, bedecked in rich trappings and glittering robes, were brought before the Emperor for review. The King paid a visit to his mother to receive her blessings. Presents were offered, feasts were given and bonfires lighted. Humāyūn was the first Mughul ruler to adopt the custom of weighing the emperor against certain precious metals and commodities on this occasion.[37] Akbar observed it twice a year both on his solar and lunar birthday anniversaries. The practice was continued by Jahāngīr and with slight alterations by Shāh Jahān. Aurangzīb, however, reverted to the old custom of having himself weighed only once a year and even this was dispensed with in his 51st year (March, 1670). But he allowed it in the case of his sons on their recovery from illness on the specific condition that the money and articles should be distributed among the poor.[38] The princes and their sons were also weighed on their solar anniversaries. The weighing commenced at the age of 2 years against one commodity, and one was added each year, till the number reached generally 7 or 8 but in no case was it to exceed 12. These commodities were later on distributed among the Brāhmans, *fakirs* and other deserving persons. After the ceremony, the King ascended the throne and received presents which, according to Thevenot, were valued at millions of rupees.[39] The king would announce increase in the *manṣabs* of some and bestowed gifts and *jāgīrs*.

Humāyūn was the first Mughul Emperor to introduce what later came to be known as *Meena Bazar*. The first of this kind was held on boats near the King's palace after the customary mystic feast.[40] Akbar who continued the festival in a modified form exalted such days as *Khushroz* or joyful days. Shāh Jahān arranged such a *bazar* on the occasion of every festival. It invariably followed the *Nauroz* celebrations. The stalls in the specially constructed *bazar* were distributed among nobles to be arranged by their wives or daughters who acted as traders. If we are to believe Badāūnī, stalls in the *Meena Bazar* were sometimes conducted by nobles themselves.[41] The King with princesses and ladies of the royal household would pay visits to the *bazar* to make his bargain, frequently disputing the value of a *dām*. After the women's *bazar*, a *bazar* for men was held; there the merchants brought their merchandise from all parts of the world.

A festival similar to *Holi*, called *Ab-i-Pashan* by Jahāngīr and *Id-i-Gulabi* (rose water festival) by Lahori, the author of *Pādshā-nāma*, was celebrated at the Mughul court at the commencement of the rainy season. The princes and the prominent nobles took part in the festival and sprinkled rose water on each other.

Sports, Games and Pastimes[42]

Leaving aside twentieth century amusements like cinema-going, and outdoor games like hockey, cricket, football, tennis, etc. that have come to us through contact with the West, the pastimes in vogue during Mughul times were similar to those commonly found today. The difference, if any, lies in details only. Chess, *chaupar,* and playing cards were the most popular indoor games and were enjoyed by the rich and the poor alike. The various types of tiger play, games of *guṭis* and the games of sheep and goats were favourites with the rural population. Abu-'l-Fazl has given some details about these games in *Āīn-i-Akbarī*.[43] The Mughul pack of cards consisted of 12 suits of 12 cards each making a total of 144 with different kinds of kings and followers. The names of all the suits were in Sanskrit till the time of Akbar who renamed the last seven suits and reconstituted Dhanpati, the fifth. As distinguished from our present day cards, they were all in pictures; the highest represented the King, the second highest, a *vazīr* and the rest were followers from one to ten. The game was quite popular with the Mughul Emperors many of whom were expert players.

The game of chess[44] was equally popular with the kings, nobles and the commoners alike. Akbar is said to have played the game of living chess with slave girls as pieces moving on the chequered pavement of the *Pachisi* court at Fathpur Sīkrī. Sometimes international matches were held and bets offered. Khān-i-Khānān was deputed by Jahāngīr to combat Shāh Shafi of Persia.

The game of *chaupar* was quite popular among the people, but no ready-made tables for the game were available in those days. The Mughuls, it appears, were not familiar with the game as it existed in India till the time of Akbar who framed special rules and regulations.[45] It was a favourite game of Zīb-un-Nisā, the eldest daughter of Aurangzīb, who spent most of her spare time in playing *chaupar* with her girl friends. *Āīn* refers to another game called *Chandal Mahal* which was, in fact, a modified *chaupar,* designed to increase the number of players to 16 with 64 pieces divided equally among them. *Nard* or *backgammon* was introduced into India by the Muslims while *Pachisi* was an ancient Hindu game enjoyed frequently by Akbar. The boards of this game were marked out on a marble square in a quadrangle in the Āgra Fort and Fathpur Sīkrī. The games of *Guṭis—do guṭi, tre guṭi, nao guṭi,* and *bāra guṭi*—were popular with the rural as well as the urban population. *Mughul pathan, lam turki, bhag chal, bhag chakar, chhabis guṭi, bhag chal* and *bheri bakri* were its popular variations.[46]

Of the outdoor diversions, hunting, animal fights and *Chaugan* were the privilege of the few, while *Ishq-bazi,* wrestling, etc. were enjoyed by one and all. It is regrettable that no reference to *kabaddi* is traceable in contemporary records. But the game must have been played in the villages, as it is even today. Of all the Mughul Emperors Akbar liked *Chaugan* (Polo) most and even invented illuminated balls which made the playing of game on dark nights possible. The most famous of the *chaugan* playing fields were at Fathpur Sīkrī and Āgra. The game of hockey, too, is referred to in contemporary records.[47] Wrestling and boxing were a favourite pastime during the Mughul Age. In Vijayanagara even women took part in wrestling contests.[48] Akbar was very much fond of boxing and kept a large number of Persian and Turani boxers at the court. Horse-racing was a source of entertainment prevalent among the high class Mughul nobles. Martial sports like archery and swordsmanship had a special fascination for the people; matches and contests were held and rewards offered.

Hunting was one of the best means of amusement and recreation during the Mughul times and was indulged in by the king, nobles and the commoners. The costly and dangerous expeditions were the privilege of the few and the quarry consisted of elephants, lions, tigers, buffaloes and wild goats. Lion hunting was exclusively reserved for the king. Elephant hunting, too, could not be indulged in without the special permission of the king. Akbar invented a special kind of hunting called '*qamargha hunt*'[49] which became very popular with the Mughul kings, who took lively interest in the game. Shooting of birds was a common hobby and a source of entertainment for the rich and the poor.

Fishing was in vogue during the Mughul times both as a recreation and as a profession. The use of nets for catching fish was not totally unknown but professional fishermen did not have recourse to it. A special type of net called *safra* (or *bhanwar jal* in Hindi) was used.

Animal fight was one of the popular amusements and recreations of the age. The people had to content themselves with the less expensive fighting of goats, rams, cocks, stags, antelopes, dogs and bulls to entertain their friends. Young boys favoured fight among *bulbuls* and sometimes quails. The kings and the nobles amused themselves with costly and dangerous combats between elephants, tigers, deer, cheetas, boars, leopards, bulls and other wild beasts. Cock-fighting was very common among the higher middle class. *Ishq-bazi* or pigeon flying was primarily a sport of common folk. Nobles, too, enjoyed it and brought excellent pigeons from foreign countries like Turan and Īrān to be trained for the game.

Among other pastimes reference may be made to *mushairas*, magic shows, acrobatics and dramatic performances. *Ramlīlā* or theatrical representation of scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* were common during the Hindu festival of *Dasehra* and even Muslims witnessed this show.[50] "The visits to periodical fairs and seats of pilgrimage", to quote Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "were the sole joy of the Indian village population and men and women were passionately eager to undertake them."[51] Mathura, Allahābād, Banaras, Nasik and Madura were the main religious centres of the Hindus while Ajmer, Gulbarga, Nizām-ud-dīn Auliya and Burhanpur were the seats of Muslim pilgrimage.

Customs and Ceremonies

From the few and scattered references in the contemporary literature, it is evident that both the communities, Hindus and Muslims, observed their rites and ceremonies [52] in much the same manner as they do today. Of the 16 principal ceremonies prescribed by Hindu law-givers, only 6 important ones, *viz. Jāta karma* (birth ceremony), *Nāma-karaṇa* (name-giving ceremony), *Chūḍākaraṇa* (hair-cutting ceremony), *Upanayana* (initiation), and *Vivāha* (marriage) and certain funeral rites were observed by majority of the Hindus. Abu-'l-Fazl[53] describes the birth ceremony, when honey stirred in *ghee* is put into the mouth of the infant by means of a gold ring. Tulsīdās and Sūrdās refer to the performance of *Nāndimukh Śrāddha*[54] just after the birth when offerings of gold, cows, plates and jewels were made to the Brāhmans. A cord made of *durbā* grass interwoven with mango leaves was usually hung over the main door as a mark of festivity. The *Nāmakaraṇa* ceremony was usually performed after the period of confinement lasting forty days was over.[55] The ceremony of *Annaprāśana*, it appears, was performed when the child was 6 months old. *Khīr*, honey and *ghee*, according to the poet Sūrḍās, would be placed before the child whose father helped him to take it after due ceremonies.[56] The *Muṇḍan* or the hair-cutting ceremony was celebrated with due rites not earlier than the age of three leaving one lock on the top of the head. The ears of the child were also bored usually on that day. The *Upanayana* or the sacred thread ceremony was performed before the age of eight when a special function was held and a large number of Brāhmans were invited.[57] Being thus invested with the sacred thread, the boy began his studies in right earnest. The ceremony of *Samāvartana* was performed when the student returned home after the completion of his studies.[58]

The craving for a male child was quite intense among Muhammadans. Manucci relates in detail the rejoicings which followed the birth of a son in a rich family.[59] It was customary to pour honey into the infant's mouth immediately after birth and to press his mother's breast so that "a drop of milk comes out". *Azan*, or the Muslim call to prayer was sounded in the ears of the infant. The naming ceremony was performed on the very day of his birth when the grandfather would give the name. Manucci refers to great celebrations on the *Chhathi* day. It was customary, after bathing the child, to cover him with a shirt made of any article of dress worn by some ancient worthy. The *Aqiqah* rites were usually performed on the seventh day which consisted of a sacrifice of two goats for a boy and one for a girl. The first shaving of the child was also done on this day. Abu-'l-Fazl specially alludes to a Turkish custom adopted by the Mughuls. When a child began to walk, it was usual for the father or the grandfather to strike it with his turban so that it might fall down. The *Bismillah* or more properly the *Maktab* ceremony was performed when a boy was four years, four months and four days old. Circumcision or *Sunnat* ceremony was performed with great pomp and show. Akbar prohibited this rite before the age of 12 and even then left it to the boy's option.

Early marriages were in vogue in both the communities. It is, however, almost certain that the actual consummation did not take place before the age of puberty. Inter-caste marriages were out of fashion among Hindus. No such restrictions existed among the Muslims who had complete freedom of choice barring a few closer relations. Akbar, however, did not like marriages between near and dear ones. The marriage rites and ceremonies of Hindus and Muslims were observed in much the same manner as today. Dowry system seems to have been quite harsh and many a poor father had not the means to procure wedding outfits for their daughters. Tukārām could get his daughter married only through the contribution of the villagers.[60] Huge dowries have been referred to by Muhammad Jayasi, Tulsīdās and Sūrdās. Mughul kings, too, used to accept huge dowries. Akbar was, no doubt, against this custom but he made no effort to check this evil practice.

Greater stress was laid upon the funeral ceremonies by the Hindus to whom the value of next world is higher than that of the present one. The most important ones were cremation, *Udakarma, Aśaucha, Asthi Sañchayana, Śāntikarma,* and *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa.* Abu-'l-Fazl enumerates certain classes to whom the privilege of burning was denied. Inhumation (burial, preferably water burial) was, however, resorted to, as prescribed by the scriptures, in the case of small children and ascetics. Abu-'l-Fazl has referred to a curious custom which was sometimes followed in Bengal. A person in a dying condition would be carried to a nearby river where the lower half of his body would be immersed in water at the moment of his death.[61] Gurū Nānak refers to the Indian custom of tearing the top of a letter when announcing the death of a relative. The generality of the Hindus, it appears, followed the prescribed rules which forbid certain things during the period of defilement such as the cutting of the hair and beard, study of the Vedas, offering to the deities, etc. The positive rules which enjoin, for a period of three days, continence, sleeping on the ground, living on begged or purchased food, eating only in the day time, were also observed.[62] Gaudy dresses were avoided and the women covered their heads with white *dopāṭṭās* as a sign of mourning. *Sañchayana*, or the ceremony of collection of bones and ashes took place after an interval varying according to different castes. The bones after being washed with milk were thrown into a river, preferably the Ganges. The period of mourning ended on the 13th day when some offerings were made to the heir of the deceased by the relatives. *Śrāddha*, which Abu-'l-Fazl describes as the charity given in the name of the deceased, was observed usually on the anniversary of the deceased's death. Its significance and mode of performance has been described at length in the *Āīn*.[63]

Like those of the Hindus, the Muslim funeral customs have not changed much since the days of the Mughuls. The *Yasin* chapter of the *Qur'ān* was read by the sick bed of the dying person and his face was usually turned towards Mecca. *Sharbat* or holy water from Zamzam well at Mecca, if available, might be poured down his throat to "facilitate exit of the vital spark." Death was announced by using certain euphemism, specially in the case of great men; for example, "Emperor Bābur departed from the fleeting world for the everlasting abode in paradise". In case of the death of a prince or a dear one to the Emperor, the *vakil* of the deceased would appear before the king with a blue handkerchief tied around his arm.[64] The body, covered with flowers and heavily perfumed, was carried in a befitting manner and decorum, according to the deceased's position in life, to the burial ground. If he was a noble, his insignia of rank, flags, elephants, cavalry, etc. accompanied it. The period of mourning lasted for 40 days, according to Manucci. The Hindu custom of getting oneself shaved after the death of a dear one seems to have been followed by Muhammadans also. Dainty dishes and gaudy dresses were avoided during this period. The mourning ended on the 40th day when the relatives visited the grave and distributed food, clothes and money to the poor and the needy in the name of the deceased.

Social Etiquettes and Manners[65]

Hindus and Muhammadans differed in their mode of greeting friends, relatives and superiors. Manucci describes five kinds of salutations prevalent among the Hindus in Mughul days. 'Rām Rām' was the most popular form of greeting among equals. A person of higher status, a governor, minister, or a general was greeted by raising the folded hands above the head.[66] The younger would greet an elder by bowing down, touching his or her feet and raising the hand to his head. He would even prostrate himself before his teacher. The Rājā or King was also received in the same manner by all classes except the Brāhmans who would only raise their folded hands. Gurū Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, is said to have advised his followers to return the salutation with the words "*Sat Kartār*"[67] (the true Creator).

'Salām' was the usual salutation among all classes of Muhammadans, among whom it was obligatory to greet each other with the words *'al-Salām alekum'*, the other responding *'wa-lekum al Salām'*. Friends would greet each other by raising the right hand to the forehead and would even embrace or grasp each other's hands in token of love.[68] High personages were greeted by raising the right hand to the forehead and bending the body forward. *Kurnish* and *taslim* have been mentioned by Abu-'l-Fazl as the recognised modes of salutation to the King. *Kurnish* consisted in placing the palm of the right hand on the forehead and bending down the head.[69] While offering *taslim,* the person placed the back of his right hand on the ground, raised it slowly till he stood erect, when he put the palm of his hand on the top of his head. After raising the hand from the ground, it was usual to place it on the breast before taking it to the forehead. Akbar issued orders that the *taslim* should be repeated thrice. He also introduced another salutation called *'Sijdah'* or prostration before the King. But as it was objected to by the orthodox as man-worship, he forbade it in the *Darbār-i-Ām* but allowed it in private assemblies.[70] This custom was, however, discontinued during the reign of Shāh Jahān who introduced instead *Zaminbos* or the practice of kissing the ground. This, also, was given up and the customary *taslim* was restored with the addition that it had to be observed not less than four times. Aurangzīb completely did away with these so-called pretensions to idolatry and ordered that the usual mode of salutation *'Salām alekum'* be observed.[71]

Mode of Travelling and Conveyance[72]

Modern technical devices being unknown, means of transport in those days were confined to human carriers, beasts of burden, and wheeled traffic on land and boats on rivers and small sailing ships in the coastal seas. The ox was the conveyance of the poor in villages and even in towns. Instead of a saddle, they put on a soft cushion. Horses, ponies, mules, and even donkeys were used for riding purposes. In sandy places, like Rājasthān and Sind, camels were employed to cover long distances. The swiftest camels came from Ajmer. The traditional *bail gāri* or the bullock-drawn cart was much more in use then. Drawn by 2 or 3 oxen, it could cover 20 miles a day. The rich used highly decorated chariots[73] which were covered like the rooms of a house, their windows adorned with gilded leather or silk hangings, their mattresses made of silk quilts. Sometimes a beautiful canopy was used as a protection against the sun. The nobles preferred to use white oxen to drive their carriages. Akbar preferred to drive in a two-horse chariot "wherein he would sit cross-legged upon a couch covered with scarlet rugs".[74] An English couch presented to Jahāngīr by the East India Company was also used as a model by local craftsmen. Elephants with beautiful *howdahs* were quite often used as conveyance by kings and nobles. Princesses, too, moved about on elephants. Bernier refers to the trip of Roshanārā Begam seated in a golden *howdah* on a Pegu elephant. During Akbar's time there were 101 elephants in the royal stables for King's use. They were known as *Khas* elephants. Abu-'l-Fazl gives a detailed list of the trappings of the elephants and other animals in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*.[75]

Mules were particularly liked for travelling on uneven ground. For the poor a saddle and a rope or a chain sufficed as the equipment for riding a mule. The rich used a larger number of accessories including a *palan* (pack saddle), a *shaltang* (shawl strap) *palastang* (blanket strap), a *sardoz* (common head stall), a curry comb, a hair glove etc. Horses were preferred to other beasts for their swiftness, impressive look and comfortable ride. Horses were imported from Iraq-i-Arab, Iraq-i-Ajam, Turkey, Badakhshān, Tibet etc. The nobles and wealthy, however, preferred to travel in palanquins which were covered all over with cloth. In case of rain, wax cloth was placed all over the palanquin.

Doli and *dolā* were ordinary types of palanquins. The former was specially hired for women to cover short distances. It is still customary to carry home the bride in a *doli* which is covered with a red cloth.[76] In Bengal the rich used *Sukhāsan* or *Sukhpal*, a crescent-shaped litter covered with camlet or scarlet cloth. *Chandol* was perhaps the most luxurious litter, closed or covered like the room of a house. The roof of the palanquin was covered with a piece of thick silk. It was tastefully decorated with plates of carved silver while others had been painted with flowers or other curiosities.[77] The nobles also used elephant and camel litters. In summer *khas tatties* (screens made of the fragrant *khas* grass) were fixed on all its four sides.

Ships and boats were the principal means of water transport. Some of these ships could accommodate 200 persons. Each ship had a number of cabins which were hired out to passengers. There was a fleet of 300 to 400 sea-going ships plying on the eastern coast of Bengal and Orissa.[78] Boats and crafts were used as a means of conveyance on rivers. There were different kinds of boats for purposes of war, carriage, and swift sailing. Larger boats could even carry an elephant. The boats made for the royalty were highly artistic. Abu-'l-Fazl refers to the "wonderfully fashioned boats with delightful quarters and decks and gardens." In the coastal regions various kinds of brigantines or fustas were used for crossing rivers. Some people used coracles or round basket boats covered with hide for the same purpose. In the Coromandel Coast there was in use a type of boat called *masala*.[79]

Postal System

Indian postal system during Mughul times did not cater to the needs of the common man. There was no regular provision for the carrying of public mail. There were, however, excellent arrangements for carrying king's mail. There were two kinds of couriers, horse and foot, posted at regular intervals. Bābur had a tower built at every 9th *kuroh*. At every 18th *kuroh* (13th or 14th mile) were kept ready 6 post-horses for carrying the mail.[80] Sher Shāh's *sarais* also served as stations of *dāk chaukis*. Two government horses were kept ready in each *sarai* for carrying persons and despatches.[81] Akbar improved upon Sher Shāh's system and established throughout his dominions 2 horses and several Mewars every 5th *kuroh*. Whenever a royal *farmān* or a letter from a nobleman reached a *chauki*, it was immediately conveyed to the next *chauki* by a rider. According to Firishta, 50 *kurohs* were thus covered in 24 hours. Akbar had in his employment, for an emergency, 4,000 runners some of whom would cover a distance of 700 miles in 10 days. Runners had been posted in the villages 4 or 5 *kurohs* apart and they took their turn of duty day and night. Aurangzīb issued strict orders that postal runners were to cover one *jaribi kuroh*[82] in one *gāri*. It took 12 days for a runner to reach Delhi from Ahmadābād. The Mughuls did not practise the ancient custom of sending letters through pigeons on any large scale. The *Āīn*, however, refers to a special variety of pigeons known as *rath* pigeons which were trained to carry letters to a great distance. There were no regular arrangements for private post. It was either entrusted to these agencies or in some cases despatched through special messengers. Sometimes a touring acquaintance would take the letter for a friend or relative of the sender. Special measures were adopted for the security of the royal letters sent abroad to the Emperors or principal ministers. Letters were enclosed in a large hollow cylinder of bamboo with an opening at one end and about 2 inches long. After putting in the letter, this opening was sealed. Thus the letter was carried neat and clean unaffected by rain or dust.[83]

Position of Women

There had been definite deterioration in the position of women in the centuries that followed the Vedic Age. But in all these periods there was no seclusion of women. With the advent of Islām new social forces affected Hindu society. Strict veiling of women was the common practice among the Muhammadans in their native lands. Naturally in a foreign country like India, greater stress was laid upon it. Even a liberal king like Akbar had to issue strict orders that "if a young woman was found running about the streets and bazars of the town and while so doing did not veil herself or allowed herself to be unveiled....she was to go to the quarters of the prostitutes and take up the profession."[84] Hindus adopted *purdah* as a protective measure to save the honour of their womenfolk and to maintain the purity of their social order. The tendency to imitate the ruling class was another factor which operated in favour of introducing *purdah* among Hindu families. Seclusion thus became a sign of respect and was strictly observed among the high class families of both the communities. Eunuchs were freely employed as a means of communication between the male and female members of a royal or noble's family. Even male doctors were not allowed to face the ailing ladies of the noble and princely families. The ladies would stir out of their houses very rarely and that, too, in covered palanquins, surrounded on all sides by servants and eunuchs. If, for any reason, a Muslim lady of rank discarded *purdah* even for a temporary period, the consequences for her were disastrous. Amir Khān, the Governor of Kabul, felt no scruple in renouncing his wife when her *purdah* was broken in an attempt to save her life by leaping from the back of the elephant who had run amuck.[85]

Purdah was, however, less rigorously observed in Rājput families. There the women, trained in all the arts of warfare, would frequently take part in hunting parties, and other expeditions. Barring notable Muslim families there, South India did not adopt *purdah*. No such coercive *purdah* system was observed among the Hindu middle class, and certainly not among the Hindu masses. Hindu ladies could move out of doors with little or no restriction.[86] Unlike Muslim women they did not cover themselves from head to foot. It was enough to have a sheet or *dopāṭṭā* to cover their heads. Women of the lower stratum of our society such as peasant and working classes were entirely free from the bondage of *purdah*. They were expected to help their husbands in all "external pursuits and internal economy."

The birth of a daughter was considered inauspicious. A Rājput was often heard to say: "accursed to the day when a woman child is born to me." A wife who unfortunately happened to give birth to girls in succession was despised and even sometimes divorced.[87]

Even in the royal family the difference was clear and well marked. Only women rejoiced and feasted on the birth of a daughter while the whole court took part in the celebrations, if a prince was born.[88] The deplorable custom of infanticide was luckily confined to a very minor section of the less cultured Rājput families. The custom in those days did not allow, for whatever reasons, girls to remain in the parents' home for more than 6 to 8 years after their birth. "A father", according to Mukundarāma, "who could get his daughter married in her ninth year was considered lucky and worthy of the favours of God."[89] The rigidity of the custom, together with the celebration of marriage at a very tender age, left no room, whatsoever, for either the bride or bridegroom to have time to think of a mate of their own choice. The custom left it solely to the discretion of their parents or nearest relations and friends to arrange the match. Dowry was demanded and sometimes parents disregarded the suitability of the match and cared primarily for a rich dowry. In some castes and localities the bridegroom had to pay money to the bride's guardians.[90] Sometimes for the sake of wealth, a young man would marry a woman older than himself. The evil grew so much that Akbar issued orders that if a woman "happened to be older by 12 years than her husband, the marriage should be considered as illegal and annulled."[91] Akbar tried in vain to bring home to the people that the consent of the bride and bridegroom as well as the permission of the parents was essential before the confirmation of the engagement.[92] There seems to have been greater liberty at least to girls belonging to high class Rājput families to choose a husband. Sometimes a romantic lady would fix the price of her hand. Tārābāi, the daughter of Rāo Surthan, promised to marry the youth who would recover her father's domain Todah, from the Pāthāns. Jaimal, the brother of Prithvi Raj, won her, Karam Devī, the beautiful daughter of the Mohil chieftain, renounced her betrothal with the heir of the Rāo of Mandor and chose to be the bride of Sādhu, heir of Pugal, whose admiration she had won.[93]

Monogamy seems to have been the rule among the lower stratum of society in both the communities during the Mughul period. In spite of the decision of the *'Ulema* in the *Ibādat Khānā,* that a man might marry any number of wives by *mutah* but only four by *nikah,* Akbar had issued definite orders that a man of ordinary means should not possess more than one wife unless the first proved to be barren.[94] He considered it highly injurious to a man's health to keep more than one wife. Polygamy was the privilege of the rich Muhammadans most of whom kept 3 or 4 wives at a time. Hindus, with the exception of a small number of princes and very wealthy persons, strictly restricted themselves to monogamy as enjoined by their social custom. In the extreme case if a wife proved to be barren, they had the liberty to marry another with the consent of the Brāhmans.[94a]

The girl was brought up under parental supervision and was married without her consent. When married, she was under the control of her mother-in-law whose commands must be carried out. If she failed to come up to her standard, she might be divorced in a Muhammadan family, and her life would become miserable in a Hindu home. But when grown up and away from the domineering influence of her mother-in-law, she had a large share in the management of her household. She was to prove herself a devoted wife who would not take meals until her husband had dined.[94b] The position of woman with regard to her husband was that of a dependent, in honourable subordination, at least as long as mutual relations remained cordial. Jahāngīr writes in the *Tuzuk:* "It is a maxim of the Hindus that no good deed can be performed by men in the social state without the partnership or presence of the wife whom they have styled the half of men." Both would give way to accommodate each other, though the last word was that of the husband. But with all this, the ladies belonging to high and respectable old families, especially Rājputānīs, were reluctant to compromise when their self-respect was at stake. Tod relates how Rājā Jai Singh of Amber once cut jokes with his wife, the princess of Haroti, about the simplicity of her dress and contrasted it with the robes of the belles of his own capital. Greatly annoyed, the princess spoke in words which clearly bring out the true sex relations prevalent among high Rājput families. "Mutual respect is the guardian not only of happiness but of virtue, and if again she was insulted he would find that 'the daughter of Kotah' could use a sword more effectively than the prince of Amber the scissors."[95] It appears most of the Hindus led a happy domestic life. The woman adored her husband with passionate reverence and in return her husband rendered her all tenderness and protection.

Divorce and remarriages, common among Muslims, were prohibited to Hindu women. Widow remarriage, except for the lower caste people, had completely disappeared in Hindu society during the medieval age. *Sati* was the prevalent practice in spite of the efforts of the Mughuls to check it. Even the betrothed girls had to commit *sati* on the funeral pyre of their would-be-husbands. Those widows who would not burn themselves with their husbands were harshly treated by the society; they were not allowed to wear their hair long or to put on ornaments. These unfortunate widows had to put up with their parents who treated them no better than ordinary maids, hated and despised by even their family as being afraid of death.[96] Whatever might have been the position of a woman as a girl, bride and widow, she certainly occupied a most respectable position in society as a mother. There are numerous instances, in the contemporary records, of Mughul kings who would travel some stages to receive their mothers. They would perform *kurnish, sijdah* and *taslim* when entering their presence.[97] On his birthday, the Mughul Emperor, accompanied by princes and nobles, would necessarily pay a visit to his mother to receive her felicitations. It is interesting to recall that the first lady of the realm was not the Empress (except in cases of Nūr Jahān and Mumtāz Mahall) but the royal mother or royal sister.[98] Perhaps no people showed greater regard for their mothers than the Rājputs. This is best illustrated by the ever recurring phrase "make thy mother's milk resplendent". Rānā Saṅgrām Singh II of Mewar had made it a principle to pay his respects to his mother every morning before taking his meals.[98a] At the command of his mother, 16 years old Patta put the saffron robe and died fighting during the famous assault of Chitor by Akbar.[99]

A Muslim woman inherited a definite share of her husband's or father's property with absolute right to dispose of it. Unlike her Hindu sister, she retained the right after marriage. *Mahr* or antenuptial settlement was her another safeguard whereas a Hindu lady had no right to the property of her husband's parents. A Hindu lady was entitled to maintenance besides movable property like ornaments, jewellery, costly apparel, etc. Thus from legal point of view, women were reduced to a position of dependency in every sphere of life. Caste and seclusion brought about her social, political and intellectual stultification. They confined themselves to household work excepting the women belonging to agricultural and labouring classes who helped their men-folk in their home industries, agriculture, breeding of animals, spinning, weaving, tailoring, etc. Some of them even kept shops. Many others, especially Muhammadans and Bengalis, took up dancing and singing as a profession. Some acted as midwives, while the more educated adopted teaching as a profession.[100]

In spite of their strict seclusion, however, some Mughul ladies were writers of distinction and administrators of rare merit. Gulbadan Begam, the author of the *Humāyūn-nāma,* and Jahān Ārā, the biographer of *Shibyah* and *Munisal Arwah* hold an enviable position among the literary figures of that age. Mīrā Bāi, Salimā Sultānā, Nūr Jahān, Sitn-un-Nisā, the tutoress of Jahān Ārā, and

Zīb-un-Nisā, the eldest daughter of Aurangzīb, were poetesses of distinction. Rāmabhadrāmbā, the author of *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Madhurāvanī, translator in verse of *Andhra-Rāmāyaṇa*, Tirumalambā, author of *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam*, and Mohanāṅgī, author of the love poem *Marīchipariṇayam* are well-known Sanskrit poetesses of the period. In Mahārāshṭra Aka Bāi and Kena Bāi, disciples of Rāmdās Svāmī, were considered important literary figures. In the administrative sphere, we might mention the names of the Chandel princess of Gondwana, Rānī Durgāvatī, Chānd Bibi of Ahmadnagar and Makhduma-u-Jahān, who ruled Deccan as a regent on behalf of Nizām Shāh of the Bahmanī family. Sāhibjī, the daughter of 'Alī Mardān, was the actual ruler of Kabul during her husband's viceroyalty and, after his death, ruled over the turbulent Afghāns without any serious opposition.[101] Nūr Jahān was the real power behind Jahāngīr's throne. Tārābāi Mohite was the supreme guiding force in Mahārāshṭra after the death of her husband Rāja Rām. She displayed such marvellous capacity and administrative ability in encountering the Mughul onslaught that threatened to engulf the Marāṭhā State that all the efforts of the Emperor Aurangzīb failed miserably. Sir Jadunath Sarkar rightly observes: "Her administrative genius and strength of character saved the nation in that awful crisis."

Education

The system of education in medieval times was still at a rudimentary stage. Primary schools in the modern sense of the word, probably did not exist. *Tols* or schools attached to temples, Hindu or Buddhist, and maintained by grants or endowments made for that specific purpose, were to be found throughout the country. The teachers there would not only solicit contributions to raise the building but also to feed their pupils. No fee was paid as to give instruction free is enjoined by the sacred scriptures of the Brāhmans. John Marshall, who visited India in the later 17th century writes: "Hindus never teach their children for money; those they teach, they give them victuals, too, besides their learning which is estimated as a gift."[102] *Maktabs* or the Muslim primary institutions, usually attached to a mosque, were common sight during the Mughul period. The traveller, Della Valle, probably refers to them when he writes that in Jahāngīr's time there were private schools in every town and village.[103]

There was no printed primer, but the children were made to write the letters of the alphabet and figures on wooden boards or on the dust of the ground with their fingers. Usually the students had their lessons under the shade of a tree. Combined letters were practised and difficult words selected from a standard book like the *Qur'ān* were dictated. Great importance was attached to calligraphy and students were instructed to imitate and practise the style of the best calligraphists of the day.

As soon as the boys could read and write, grammar, followed by the text of the *Qur'ān,* was invariably introduced in every *Maktab.*[104] Every child had to learn it by rote. There is definite evidence of the fact that most of the boys could read even if they did not understand the text. There is little evidence about the course of instructions in vogue in Hindu institutions. Growse, however, thinks that *Rāmāyaṇa* formed the chief text in the primary schools.[105] But as the *Rāmāyaṇa* was put in Hindī by Tulsī Dās at the end of Akbar's reign, that could not obviously have been a text book till the end of the 16th century. According to Bernier, however, the Puraṇas were taken up after learning the alphabet. The teaching of elementary mathematics went side by side with literacy. After finishing *Qur'ān,* Muslim students took lessons in Gulistān, Bostān and poems of Firdausi, while the Sanskrit scholars studied the Purāṇas, Upanishads and Śāstras and sometimes the Vedas.[106] At Banaras there were in existence various colleges for specialisation in different subjects such as the Vedas, grammar, poetry, Vedānta, logic, law and astronomy.

The teachers were held in high respect. The pupils would touch their feet and speak only with permission. A teacher who could lecture without the help of books was very much respected and remembered for his knowledge. Badāūnī specially mentions one Shaikh 'Abdullah of Badaon, who never felt the "necessity of referring to a book for the purpose of solving those questions and obscure subtleties, for whatever he had once seen, he had on the tip of his tongue."[107]

The chief centres of learning or universities, if we may call them so, were at places where the renowned scholars had made their abode. Hindus preferred shrines and sacred places where pilgrim traffic supplied a subsidiary source of income to the teachers residing there, and thus, free from the worries of livelihood, they pursued their studies undisturbed. Banaras, Nadia, Mithilā, Mathurā, Tirhut, Paithan, Karhad, Thatta, Multan and Sirhind were the famous seats of Hindu learning. Dharmādhikārī, Sera Bhaṭṭa and Mounī were the learned families which figured prominently at Banaras for more than three centuries (1500-1800). Rājā Jai Singh also founded a college there for the education of the princes.

There were other seminaries where famous Paṇḍits interpreted and expounded the fundamentals of Hindu religion and philosophy. Nadia, in Bengal, was, after Banaras, the greatest centre of Hindu learning in the country during the Mughul days. In Navadvīpa alone there were 4,000 pupils and 600 teachers in 1680. Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma (1450-1525), the great scholar of the 16th century, was the founder of the famous Nadia school of *Nyāya* which even outrivalled Mithilā. Raghunātha Śiromaṇi was also the founder of a school of logic at Banaras. Raghunandana created a school of Smriti in the 16th century along with that of logic at Nadia. Mithilā retained its importance as a centre of learning during the Mughul times. In fact a student of this university performed *digvijaya* at the instance of Akbar, who was so pleased that he gave him the whole town of Mithilā as a gift. Maḍurā was famous as a centre of studies in Indian philosophy. There were over 10,000 students in its several colleges which specialised in the different branches of Indian philosophy. Thatta had about 400 colleges according to Hamilton. The students there specialised in theology, philology and politics.[108] Multan was famous as a centre of specialisation in astronomy, astrology, mathematics and medicine.[109] Sirhind had a famous school of medicine, most probably Āyurvedic. It supplied doctors to the whole Empire.[110]

Āgra, Delhi, Lahore, Jaunpur, Gujarāt, Sialkot and Ahmadābād were some of the main centres of Muslim learning. Akbar, Shāh Jahān and Jahān Ārā built *madrasahs* at Āgra. Akbar even invited a scholar, Chalpi Beg, from Shirāz to teach there.[111] Some of the renowned scholars like Sayyid Shāh Mīr of Samānā took their abode there and attracted students from far and wide.[112] The traveller Peter Mundy refers to a College of Jesuits at Āgra. At Delhi there were a number of *madrasahs,* important among them being Humāyūn's *madrasah* built in honour of Zain-ud-Dīn Khafi[113] and Māham Anaga's *madrasah* known as Khair-ul-Manzil, opposite the western gate of Purānā Qilāh, called Madrasah-i-Begam by Badāūnī.[114] It was a residential *madrasah;* students resided there in the rooms of both the storeys and classes were held in the hall. Shāh Jahān built a magnificent *madrasah* called *Darul Baqa* on the southern side of the Jāmi' Masjid.[115] Madrasah-i-Rahimiyya known after the name of 'Abdur Rahim, father of Waliullah, was built during Aurangzīb's time.

Jaunpur and Gujarāt were the two other centres where learned scholars had taken up their residence. Jaunpur, rightly called the 'Shiraz of India', kept up its importance throughout the Mughul period and attracted students from far and wide. Mukundarāma, the author of the poem *Chaṇḍī-maṅgala,* refers to the existence of several *maktabs* in Gujarāt.[116] The Madrasah Faiz Safa in Naharwara Pattan (Gujarāt) and Langar-i-Duwazda Imam in Ahmadābād (now called *Bara Imam ka Kotla*) were famous centres of learning. Aurangzīb instructed the *dīwāns* of Gujarāt to appoint every year teachers at the cost of the State and to pay stipends to students, according to the recommendations of the *Sadr* of the province and attestation of the teacher.[117]

Lahore's importance as a centre of learning dates from the time of Aurangzīb when the reputation of its scholars "attracted many a pupil from far and wide."[118] Kāshmīr, with its pleasant and refreshing climate, was a place of retreat for scholars, some of whom such as Abu Talib Kamil, Mulla Shāh Badakshi completed their works there. Among other centres of learning, Gwālior, Sialkot, Ambala and Thaneswar may be mentioned.

Duration of courses, texts and certificates

The courses of study usually varied from 10-16 years for graduation. Some more years were required for doctorate after studying under a renowned scholar. No regular examinations were held in those days. A good mastery of certain specified courses, of which the teacher was the sole judge, was sufficient for promotion to the next standard. It was not surprising to see a pupil being promoted to the next standard within 6 months. No regular degrees were awarded. To have studied in a reputed institution or under a renowned teacher was the greatest qualification one could have. There are, however, instances of diplomas being awarded by great scholars of theology to the pupils conferring upon them the authority to give instructions therein.

Some sort of diploma or degree was awarded in some of the Hindu institutions, as for example, in the University of Mithilā. Raghunātha, a student of the Nadia University was deputed to "exact from Mithila, a charter to confer degrees". An unusual type of examination called *Salākā-parīkshā* marked the termination of the graduation course in Mithilā. A candidate was expected to explain correctly that page of the manuscript which was pierced last by a needle run through it.[119] *Chhurikā-bandhanam* resembled our present day convocation which was marked by the tying of a dagger to the dress of the pupil as a token of his graduation.[120] Some renowned scholars earned the titles of *Sārvabhauma, Akbariya Kālidās, Pratyagra Patañjali,* etc. The post-collegiate studies were invariably completed under a specialist. It was not easy to get oneself admitted as the scholars were reluctant to have more than a limited number of students. It was with great difficulty that Mullah Shāh Badakhshi agreed to take Jahān Ārā as his pupil. Badāūnī was proud to have had the privilege to study under Mīr Sayyid Jalāl, the saint. For still higher studies eager scholars visited the chief places of Muslim learning in Western and Central Asia such as Mecca, Medina, Basra, Kofa, Yemen, Cairo, Nishapur (Īrān), Baghdād, Hijāz, Khurāsān, etc.

Courses of Study

Very little information about the curriculum then in vogue is available. The courses of study in Muslim institutions usually comprised grammar, rhetoric, logic, theology, metaphysics, literature and jurisprudence. Astronomy, mathematics and medicine were included under Hindu influence. The Arabic curriculum included besides grammar, syntax, rhetoric, philosophy, logic, scholasticism, tafsir, fich, Hadis, etc. The Persian texts included *Ruqqat-i-Abu-'l-Fazl,* Letters of Chandra Bhān Brāhman, and Mulla Munir, Insha-i-Yusūfi, Insha-i-Madho Rām, Lilāvatī translated by Faizi, Shaikh Nasr-i-Zahuri's work, Zafar-nāma-i-Kangra by Raja Husain, Akbar-nāma of Abu-'l-Fazl, Iqbal-nāma-i-Jahāngirī, Zafar-nāma of Sharafuddīn 'Alī Yazdi, Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī, Razm-nāma, Firdausi's Shāh-nāma, Poems of Amīr Khusrav, Mulla Jami's works, Nizāmi's works, Dīwāns of Hafiz, Khaqani, Anwari, Shams-i-Tabriz, Qasaid of Badr-i-Chach, Urfi and Faizi, Bahar-i-Danish of Inayatullah, Anwar-i-Suhaili of Husain Waiz, etc.[121]

The subjects of study in Hindu institutions included grammar, logic, philosophy, history, poetry, mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine, and veterinary science. Physics and Chemistry were studied but were regarded as a part of the science of Mathematics. Hindus, especially Brāhmans, were interested in philosophy and mathematics which were in vogue in India from ancient times.

Very little attention was however paid to geography in schools and colleges. Aurangzīb heaped abuses on his tutor for wasting time on the subtleties of Arabic metaphysics to the neglect of practical subjects such as geography and politics. People were ignorant of the geographical position of the neighbouring countries. A map of the globe was so rare a thing that Sir Thomas Roe included it among the presents he offered to the Governor of Surat.

Women's Education

Women's education was not completely ignored, though no regular separate school seems to have existed for imparting education to girls who had their lessons usually from their parents. Girls in their childhood attended schools along with boys and learnt the *Qur'ān* (if they were Muhammadans) and one or two other lessons by rote. The rich appointed tutors to teach their daughters at home. The daughters of Rājput chiefs and some Bengali *zamindārs* were usually able to read and write. Special care was taken for the education of Mughul princesses, almost all of whom daily read the *Qur'ān* and occasionally corresponded with their relatives. Some of them even composed verses. The average Mughul princess received but a limited education.[122] Her regular studies came to an end with her marriage which usually took place at an early age. Gulbadan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma,* too, abounds with spelling mistakes and clumsy sentences. Even the poems of Zīb-un-Nisā and Zinat-un-Nisā do not rise so high in poetic excellence as those of contemporary male authors.

There is, however, little doubt about the literacy of the average middle class woman who had sufficient knowledge of either Hindī, Persian or the native provincial language to enable her to study the religious scriptures.[122a] The knowledge of Sanskrit was widespread in the South. A Malayalam work *Chandrotsavan* gives us an idea about the general reading of educated women in the South and this includes, *Śakuntalam, Mālavikāgnimitram* and other Sanskrit dramas. A well-known work of the period entitled *Mahilāmṛiduvani* gives us a list of no less than 35 women all of importance, "not minor poets but poetesses who have left their mark on the literary sphere". Special stress was laid on the education of widows, some of whom, as for example Haṭī Vidyālaṅkāra became teachers. We may well concur with Mukundarāma's view that "there is evidence to show that women belonging to the lower ranks of society, such as house-maids, were illiterate, but there is nothing to discountenance female education."[123]

Libraries

Quite a large number of libraries existed during the Mughul times. Every *madrasah* usually possessed a library, big or small, attached to it. We might refer here to the libraries attached to the *madrasah* called Shams-i-Burhani at Ahmadābād, Madrasah Faiz Safa, Shaikh Ibrahim's *madrasah* at Kutiana in Kathiawar (1689) and Sultan Ahmad Khatwi's *madrasah* at Sarkahaiz (Ahmadābād). The biggest was, however, the Imperial Library which contained the King's collection of books. All the Mughul Emperors[124] from Bābur to Aurangzīb were men of literary taste; they were eager to collect and preserve rare books and valued presents of scholarly books from learned authors. As in every other sphere, Akbar introduced reforms in the management, classification and storage of books which had by that time increased enormously.[125] The Mughul princesses Salimā Sultānā, and Zīb-un-Nisā, possessed libraries of their own.[126]

The example of the royalty was followed by nobles and courtiers who had their own libraries. 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān Khānān kept a staff of 95 persons to look after his huge collection of books.[127] Shaikh Faizī had about 4,600 books in his library. Mahmūd Gawān, Vazīr of Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī, left a huge library containing 35,000 volumes.

Mahārājā Chhika Deva, Rājā of Mysore (1672-1704), collected in his library very rare Sanskrit and historical works which were unfortunately subsequently destroyed by Tipu Sultān.[128] *Mahārājā* Sawāi Jai Singh possessed an unrivalled library containing all the astronomical treatises available in India. He procured books even from Europe.[129] There were big libraries at the famous seats of Hindu learning such as Banaras, Tirhut, Mithilā, Nadia, etc. These libraries stocked huge collection of rare, authentic and ancient works on philosophy, medicine, religion, history and many other sciences. Bernier saw a large hall at Banaras entirely filled with these manuscripts.[130] The Brahmans of Kāshmīr had a sufficient stock of books which they regularly studied.[131] Many of these libraries were later on destroyed by the Muhammadans.

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1. This chapter is mainly based on the author's *Society and Culture during the Mughal Age,* Second Edition, Agra, 1963, and *Social Life Under the Mughals,* Agra, 1963. (The picture is only a broad and general outline, as it is not possible to give details of local variations in a vast country like India—Editor).
2. *Bāburnāma* (trans. Beveridge), p. 519. For details refer to Chopra, *Society and Culture during the Mughal Age,* op.cit., pp. 1-3.
3. *Ain,* I, trans. Blochmann (1873), pp. 88-90.
4. Monserrate, S.J., The Commentary of, Trans. from Latin by J. S. Hoyland, annotated by S.N. Banerji, 1922, p. 198.

4a. Turbans were not used by the Hindus in Eastern and Southern India, though some put them on in imitation of the Muslims—Editor.

5. *Ain,* I, (1873), *op. cit.,* pp. 75-77.
6. Saletore, B.A., *Social and Political Life in Vijayanagar Empire,* Vol. II, p. 302.
7. *Padumavati* of Malik Muhammad Jayasi, translation by Grierson, p. 569.

7a. For ornaments refer to Ovington, J., *A Voyage in the Year 1689,* London, 1696, p. 320; Manucci, *op. cit.,* III; p. 40; *Ain,* III (ed. J.N. Sarkar), p. 343; *Ain,* II, pp. 314-16; Mandelslo, *op cit.,* p. 50; Thevenot, Monsieur de, Travels of, Into the Levant, Trans. English, 1686, pt. III, chapter XX, quoted in Chopra, *Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, op. cit.,* pp. 25-31.

8. For details refer to Chopra, *op. cit., Society and Culture during the Mughal Age,* pp. 32-54.
9. Mandelslo Albert, Book III, by Adam Olearious, Second Edition, London, 1669, p. 64. Della Valle, Pietro, *The Travels of a Noble Roman into East Indies and Arbian Deserta,* London, 1664, p. 409; Tavernier, John Baptista, *The Six Voyages of, through Turkey Into Persia and the East Indies,* London, 1678, p. 124.
10. *Iqbalnāma-i-Jahangīrī,* trans. Urdu by Maulavi Abalswala Muhammad Zakriya, Osmania, 1928, p. 105.

11. *Tuzūk-i-Babari,* trans. Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 419.
12. *Ain* I, (1873), *op. cit.,* p. 59.
13. A.N. (trans.), *op. cit.,* I, p. 208. Faluda is "a jelly strained from boiled wheat, and eaten with the expressed juice of fruits and ice to which cream is also sometimes added."
14. Purchas, 'Hakluyt Posthumus' or *Purchas and His Pilgrims,* Vol. IV, p. 41.
15. Mandelslo, *op. cit.,* p. 69.
16. Dasgupta, J.N., *Bengal in the 16th Century,* p. 181. Many other Bengali texts refer to Bengali food in great detail. Cf. *History of Medieval Bengal* (in Bengali) by R. C. Majumdar, pp. 318-23.
17. *Ain,* I, trans. Blochmann (1873), p. 58.
18. *Ibid.,* pp. 58-59.
19. *Tuzūk-i-Jahangīrī,* trans. Rogers & Beveridge, I, p. 374.
20. Manucci, I, p. 175.
21. Storey, C.A., *Persian Literature—A Biographical Survey,* London, 1927-39, II, Fasc. III, p. 460.
22. For a detailed treatment of the subject refer to P.N. Chopra, *Social Life Under the Mughals,* pp. 86-122.
23. Havell, E.B., *Indian Architecture,* London, 1913, pp. 153, 171; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture—The Islamic Period,* Bombay, pp. 100, 127-130, 132; Fergusson, James, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* II, p. 170, etc.
24. Pelsaert, Francisco, The Remonstrantie of, translated from the Dutch by W H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 66-67.

24a. For a contemporary account of the houses of the various classes of people refer to Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire,* English trans. by A. Constable, revised by V.S. Smith, Oxford, 1934, pp. 247, 285; Mandelslo, *op. cit.,* p. 54; Pelsaert, *op. cit.,* pp. 66-67; Sen, S. N., *Indian Travels of Thevenot & Careri,* published by National Archives of India, 1949, pp. 22, 163; Khulasat, *India of Aurangzib* by J.N. Sarkar, p. 34; Tavernier, J. Baptista, *The Six Voyages of, through Turkey Into Persia and the East Indies,* London, 1678, pt. I; *Ain* (Sarkar) III, p. 352; Manucci, III, p. 41.

25. Bernier, *op. cit.,* p. 247. Also see Chopra, *Social Life under the Mughals,* pp. 117-19; and Mahalingam, *Administration and Social Life Under Vijayanagar,* p. 268; Roe, Sir Thomas, *The Embassy to the Court of the Great Mogul* (1615-19) edited by William Foster, London, 1899, p. 65.
26. Abdul Aziz, *Thrones, Chairs and Seats used by the Indian Mughals,* p. 182.
27. Dasgupta, *op. cit.,* p. 298; Mahalingam, *op. cit.,* pp. 289-90.
28. For a detailed account of these festivals refer to Chopra, *Society and Culture during the Mughal Age,* pp. 83-107.
29. *Ain,* III (Sarkar), p. 319; *Tuzūk-i-Jahangīrī* (R & B), I, p. 246.
30. Macauliffe, M. A., *The Sikh Religion,* Introduction, pp. lxxi-lxxvi.
31. *Ain,* I, (1873), p. 216.
32. *Ibid.,* p. 210; *Tuzuk* (R & B), I, p. 367.
33. *Ain,* III, (Sarkar), pp. 350-52.
34. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* II, p. 214; Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* III, p. 91.
35. For details about *Nauroz* refer to Roe's Embassy, pp. 142-44: Mandelslo, *op. cit.,* p. 41; Bernier, *op. cit.,* pp. 272-73; Monserrate, S.J., *The Commentary of,* Trans. by J.S. Hoyland, Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 175-76.
36. Manrique, F.S., Travels of, ed. by Luard & Hosten, Vol. II, pp. 195-200.
37. *Qanun-i-Humayuni* by Khwandamir trans. into English by Beni Prasad, 1940, p. 76.
38. Sarkar, J.N., *History of Aurangzib,* III, pp. 85-86.
39. Thevenot, Monsieur de, Travels of, into the Levant, in three parts, translated into English, 1686, pt. III, chapter XXVI, p. 47.
40. *Humayūnnāma* by Gulbadan Begum, trans. into English by A.S. Beveridge, London, 1902, p. 126.
41. Badauni, *op. cit.,* II, p. 322, Tr. II, p. 331.
42. For detailed treatment of the subject and sources refer to P.N. Chopra, *Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, op. cit.,* pp. 55-82.
43. *Āīn-i-Akbarī* I. (edition 1939), pp. 318-19. Also see *Baburnāma* trans. into English by A.S. Beveridge, 1921, p. 584.
44. Mandelslo, *op. cit.,* p. 66; Manucci, II, *op. cit.,* p. 460; Badauni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,* trans. Vol. II by W.H. Lowe, pp. 18, 324, etc.
45. A.N. II, p. 368, Tr. II, p. 534.
46. For details see Chopra, *op. cit.,* pp. 62-65.

47. Majumdar, A.K., *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat,* p. 359; Mazumdar, B.P., *Socio-Economic History of Northern India,* p. 254.
48. Saletore, *op. cit.,* II, p. 420.
49. *Qamargha* is a Turkish word denoting a great battle in which a large number of wild animals are driven into enclosure and killed. Being a Turkish game, it must have been in vogue during the regimes of Bâbur and Humayūn but no documentary evidence is traceable.
50. Quoted from *Chaitanya Bhagavata* in "Indian Culture", Vol. X, 1943, p. 121.
51. Sarkar, J.N., *Aurangzib,* Vol. V, pp. 471-73.
52. For a detailed treatment of this subject refer to P.N. Chopra, *Social Life During the Mughal Age, op. cit.,* pp. 1-51.
53. Abu-'l-Fazl. *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. III, trans. by H.S. Jarrett, revised by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, 1948, p. 317.
54. *Nandimukh Sraddha* is a commemorative offering to the Manes preliminary to any joyous occasion such as initiation, marriage, etc. in which nine balls of meat are offered to the deceased father, grandfather, great grandfather, to the maternal grandfather and to the mother, paternal grandmother and paternal great grandmother. Pandey, R.B., *Hindu Samskaras,* Banaras, 1949, p. 123. Also see Atkins, A.G., *The Ramayana of Tulsidas,* English translation, Vol. I, p. 246.
55. Macauliffe, M.A., *The Sikh Religion,* Oxford, 1909, Vol. I, p. 242.
56. Dass, Shyam Sunder, *Hindi Shabd Sagar,* Vol. I, Prayag, 1916, p. 291.
57. *Tuzūk-i-Jahangīrī,* trans. Rogers & H. Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 357.
58. Majumdar, R.C., *History of Bengal,* Vol. I, p. 600.
59. Manucci, N.V., *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mughal India,* trans. William Irvine, Vol. III, p. 150.
60. J.R.A.S. (Bombay), III, p. 15. Also see Macauliffe, *op. cit.,* I, p. 145, Jayasi's *Padumavati* (Urdu), pp. 148-49; Growse, *Ramayana of Tulsidas,* p. 159, etc.
61. *Ain,* III (Sarkar), op. cit., p. 354.
62. *Ibid.,* p. 356.
63. *Ibid.,* p. 307.
64. *Maasir ul Umra,* I, trans. Beveridge, p. 123.
65. Refer to P. N. Chopra, *Social Life Under the Mughals,* pp. 52-69 for details.
66. Manucci, *op. cit.,* III, p. 38.
67. Macauliffe, op. cit., I, p. 49.
68. Mandelslo, *op. cit.*
69. *Ain,* I, trans. Blochmann, revised by D.C. Philliott, 1939, p. 166.
70. *Ibid.,* p. 167 and f.n. 1.
71. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri,* p. 98.
72. For details refer to Chopra, *Social Life Under the Mughals, op. cit.,* pp. 123-40.
73. Sen, S.N., *Travels of Thevenot & Careri,* p. 73.
74. Hoyland, J.S., The Commentary of Father Monserrate, translated by S.N. Banerji, Oxford University Press, 1922, p. 199.
75. *Ain, op. cit.,* I. pp. 161-62.
76. Sen, *op. cit.,* p. 72; Das, H.H. Norris Embassy to Aurangzib, Calcutta, 1902, p. 162.
77. For details refer to Chopra, *Social Life Under the Mughals,* pp. 132-33.
78. Balakrishna, *Commercial Relations between England and India* (1600-1757), pp. 279-81.
79. Mahalingam, T.V., *Economic Life in Vijayanagar, op. cit.,* p. 148.
80. B.N. (Beveridge), p. 626.
81. Qanungo, K.R., *Sher Shah,* p. 392.
82. One *Jaribi* equalled 25 *dhara* and one *dhara* amounted to 42 fingers.
83. Ovington, *op. cit.,* p. 250.
84. Badauni, II, pp. 391-92, Tr. II, pp. 404-6.
85. Sarkar, J.N., *Studies in Mughal India,* p. 118.
86. Della Valle, Pietro—*The Travels of a Noble Roman into East Indies and Arabian Deserta,* London, 1664, p. 434; Mandelslo, *op. cit.,* p. 51.
87. *Akbarnāma* III, p. 58 & 260; Tr. III, pp. 83 & 378.
88. Manucci, *op. cit.,* p. 343.
89. Author of the poem *Chandi* composed in the 16th century. Translated into English by J.N. Dasgupta under the title "Bengal in the 16th century", Calcutta, 1914, p. 178.

90. Manucci, *op. cit.,* III, p. 55.
91. Badauni, II, p. 39, Tr. II, p. 405.
92. *Ain,* I, (1873), p. 227.
93. Tod, Col. James, *Annals & Antiquities of Rajasthan,* edited by W. Crookes, Vol. II, pp. 731-32.
94. Badauni, *op. cit.,* II, p. 356; Tr. II, p. 367. Also *Ain,* I, (1873), p. 277.
94a. But in Bengal, a section of Brahmans, called Kulins, had normally many wives, whose number sometimes exceeded even fifty (Editor).
94b. Manucci, *op. cit.*, III, p. 155.
95. Tod, *op. cit.,* II, pp. 728-30.
96. Manucci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 60; Thevenot, *op. cit.*, chapter XLIX, p. 84.
97. A.N., I, p. 90, Tr. I, p. 231, *Tuzuk* (trans. R & B), I, p. 78.
98. Sarkar, J.N., *Aurangzib,* op. cit., III, p. 57.
98a. Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 479.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
100. Badauni, II, pp. 301-2, Tr. II, p. 311; Manucci, II, pp. 330-31.
101. Sarkar, J.N., *Studies in Mughal India,* pp. 114-17.
102. John Marshall in India, notes and observations in Bengal (1668-72), edited by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Oxford, 1927, p. 386.
103. Della Valle (ed. Edward Grey), II, pp. 227-28.
104. Badauni, III, p. 28, Tr. III, p. 48.
105. Growse, F.S., *Prologue to the Ramayana of Tulsi Das,* ASB (1876), pp. 22-23.
106. Bernier (1891), pp. 335-36.
107. Badauni, III, p. 56, Tr. III, p. 73.
108. Hamilton, Alexander, *A New Account of East Indies (1688-1723),* Vol. I, p. 127.
109. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri, E & D.* Vol. VII, p. 184.
110. Monserrate, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
111. Nadvi, Abul Hasan, *Hindostan ki Qadimi Islami Darsgahan,* p. 29.
112. Badauni, III, p. 119; Tr. III, pp. 174-75.
113. *Ibid.*, I, p. 471, Tr. I, p. 471.
114. *Ibid.*, II, p. 60, Tr. II, p. 62.
115. Nadvi, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
116. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
117 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Calcutta Review, October 1940, p. 311.
118. Manucci, *op. cit.,* II, p. 424.
119. Mookerji, R.K., *Ancient Indian Education,* p. 598.
120. Altekar, A.S., *Education in Ancient India,* pp. 292-93.
121. Refer to Appendix A, in Chopra, *Society and Culture During the Mughal Age,* pp. 172-73 for details. This list has been compiled from Chahar Chaman, Shibli Numani, Shir ul Ajam, III, (1922), pp. 149-50, Latif, Dr. Sayyid Abdulla, *Adliat-i-Farsi Main Hinduon ka Hissa,* Anjaman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu Delhi, 1924, pp. 239-42, Nadvi, A.H., *Hindostan ki Qadimi Islami Darsgahan,* pp. 120-24.
122. *Tuzuk* (R & B), II, p. 277; E.D. VII, p. 162.
122a. This seems to be very doubtful (Editor).
123. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 180. So far as Bengal is concerned we have positive evidence that female education was at its lowest ebb in the eighteenth and the first half of the 19th century and there was a superstitious belief that a woman who reads or writes becomes a widow (Editor).
124. For sources refer to Chopra, *Society & Culture in Mughal Age,* p. 168, f.n. 1 & 2.
125. *Ain,* op. cit. I, p. 110.
126. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri,* trans. Urdu by Talab, pp. 387, 394. Also see Magan Lall, Dewan of Zeb un Nisa, BORS, Jan. 1927.
127. *Maasir-i-Rahimi,* III, pp. 1680, 1696.
128. Margaret, Macricol, edited, Poems by Indian Women, Heritage of India Series, p. 26.
129. Kaye, G., Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh.
130. Bernier, Travels, op. cit., p. 335.
131. *Iqbalnāma-i-Jahangīrī* translated in Urdu by Maulavi Abalswala Muhammad Zakriya, Osmania, 1928, p. 107.

CHAPTER XXII

ECONOMIC CONDITION

India's economy during the Mughul Period (1526-1803), as in the ages before, was predominantly agricultural. More than seventy-five per cent of the population lived in the villages and were directly or indirectly connected with land. Arable land was enough and to spare, and very often the government had to resort to persuasion to make the peasantry extend the area under cultivation. The country, "full of men and full of products,"[1] was divided into villages which were surrounded by cultivable fields, and had also land for pasture and forests, for fuel and other purposes. The village known as *gāon* was called *mauza* in official records. There was a wide range of variation in the area of the villages, and these were divided into fields or plots which were marked by raised borders. The peasants gave each plot or field a name. There were two types of villages, viz., *aslī* (one having its habitation intact) and *dākhilī* (the deserted village) the area of which was incorporated in the neighbouring villages but its name continued to be on the government record. Another classification was into the *raiyatī* villages and *talluqa* villages. The *raiyatī* village belonged to the Khalsa land, but the *talluqa* village was under a *zamindār*, who paid land revenue to the government. The cultivators were called *asāmī* or *raaya* or *mazara*. These terms were used for unprivileged peasantry, who were not *zamindārs*.[2] The cultivators followed the traditional methods of cultivation and irrigation. Bābur says that there were no canals, that fields were irrigated with river, tank or well water, and describes how irrigation was done by means of buckets or wheels. "At the well-edge," he writes, "they set up a fork of wood, having a roller adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over the roller, and tie its other end to the bullock. One person must drive the bullock, another empty the bucket. Every time the bullock turns after having drawn the bucket out of the well, that rope lies on the bullock-track in pollution of urine and dung, before it descends again into the well. To some crops needing water, men and women carry it by repeated efforts in pitchers."[3] This method was followed in Āgra, Chandwār, Bayana and the neighbouring districts. The thirty *kos* long canal from Khizrabad to Safidun built by Firūz Tughlaq which had fallen into disrepair was, in the time of Akbar, re-excavated by Shahā-ud-dīn

Ahmad Khan to irrigate his *jāgīr* land. It was repaired and a new channel from Safidun to Delhi, 30 *kos* long, was excavated during the reign of Shāh Jahān.[3a] In the Punjāb and some other parts irrigation was done by means of what is called the Persian wheel. This too has been described in the *Bābur-nāma*.[4] The fields were manured with animal dung, and intensive ploughing was done. The people were familiar with the principle of rotation of crops, and in many fields they raised two crops—*Kharif* and *Rabi*—in a year. Not only were the ordinary crops raised, but in some parts special crops, such as cotton, sugarcane and indigo were grown.

Agricultural Products

The agricultural raw-materials grown may be considered under five heads, i.e., (i) grains, (ii) fibres, (iii) indigo, (iv) sugarcane, and (v) poppy. The foodgrains produced were wheat, barley, gram, rice, millets, linseeds and pulses. Wheat was commonly grown in the provinces of Āgra, Allahābād, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Mālwa and Ajmer.[5] It was grown in the district of Qandahar also. The Qandahar wheat, a spring crop, was extremely white. The wheat crop depended on rainfall, and irrigation wherever possible. Barley was produced in almost all parts of the country, but not much in Bengal and Orissa.[6] Gram too was produced practically everywhere. Rice, a tropical commodity, required plenty of water and high temperature, and water-logging areas were suitable for its growth. Bengal, Orissa, Bihār, Āgra, Allahābād, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Khāndesh, Berār and Kāshmīr produced good quality rice. Bengal produced plenty of rice of various kinds and raised sometimes three crops a year, and supplied it to deficient areas, such as Cochin.[7] It was of several kinds, and *Kar, Sukhdās* and *Shali*, were superior qualities. Next to Bengal, Bihār produced quality rice in large quantities. Awadh produced large quantities of *sukhdās*, *Madhkar* and *Jhanwār* rice "which for whiteness, delicacy, fragrance and wholesomeness are scarcely to be matched."[8] Abu-'l-Fazl remarks that the Bihār rice "for its quality and quantity is rarely to be equalled."[9] Fine quality rice was produced in Khāndesh and Kāshmīr. *Sukhdās* rice was prized for its flavour and high quality. Millets consisted of cheaper grains, like jowar, bajra, kodon, sāwān, mandua, etc; and formed the Kharif crops. These were grown on poorer soils of deficient rain-fall. Jowar and bajra were cultivated in Mālwa, Gujarāt, Ajmer, Khāndesh, Delhi, Lahore, Āgra, Allahābād, Awadh and Multan.[10]

Pulses were mostly grown in Bihār, Allahābād, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan and Mālwa. The chief pulses were moong, moth, mash, arhar, lubia, peas, etc., and these were grown in the autumn harvest.[11] These formed a great source of providing vitaminous substances in the construction of the human body and were a very important item in the diet of vegetarian population. Linseed, like mustard and *alsī*, were grown mostly in the *sūbas* of Āgra, Allahābād, Awadh, Delhi, Lahore, Mālwa, Ajmer and Multan.[12]

Fibres: Cotton

The chief fibre products consisted of cotton, wool, silk, hemp and jute. The last two furnished raw materials for some of the local industries. Cotton, wool, and silk were essential raw materials for the textile industry. Cotton required volcanic and black soil, such as that of Mālwa and Peninsular India, for its growth. Khāndesh and Berār were the chief centres of fibre and cotton. But these were also produced in large quantities in the provinces of Āgra, Allahābād, Delhi, Awadh, Multan and Ajmer.[13] Cotton goods were much in demand in Aḥmadābād and Surat for embarkation to Persian Gulf and Arabia and also for some parts of Europe. Important centres of cotton and fine cotton cloths in the 16th century were Ujjain, Sironj, Tanda, Sonargaon (Dacca), etc., in Bengal, Ahmadābād, Navasari and Pattan in Gujarāt, many places in Orissa, modern U.P. and the Deccan.[14] Fine cotton cloths manufactured at Pattan in Gujarāt were "taken to distant parts as gifts of value."[15]

During the Mughul age cotton was "more widely grown than is now the case, though the aggregate of production was probably less, and it is reasonable to infer that most parts of the country were nearly self-sufficient in the matter of cotton as well as of food and other requisites."[16] In almost every village there were looms for manufacturing cloth. The production of cotton cloth not only sufficed for the needs of the people, but it was exported to Burma, Malacca, Arabia and the east coast of Africa. In the time of Jahāngīr (1605-1627) the prices of the finer quality of yarn varied from rupees 6 to 7 (12 to 14 shillings) per pound.[17] During the reign of Shāh Jahān (1628-1658) raw cotton was in demand for candle wicks and fustians (cloths which have flaxen warps with cotton wefts). So much cotton yarn was produced that a good part of it had to be exported, and it was difficult for other countries to compete with India in *charkha* spinning.[18] The chief spinning and manufacturing centres were Navapura (104 miles from Surat), Lahore, Sialkot, Sonargaon (Dacca), Satgaon and many other places in Bengal, Gujarāt, Awadh, Allahābād, Āgra and Khāndesh. Other important centres of cotton manufacture were Cambay, Broach, Sironj, Calicut and Ahmadābād. Lahore was famous for manufacturing fine cloths, Sialkot for tray-covers, Gujarāt for *Chīrā* and coloured turbans and Dacca for very fine muslin.[19] Āgra and Fathpur Sīkrī were notable centres for the manufacture of carpets and fine stuffs.[20] Banaras was celebrated for fine cotton and silk cloths of many kinds. In the 17th century manufactured cotton goods were, in substantial quantities, exported to Persia, Tartary, Turkey, Syria, Barbary, Arabia, Ethiopia and some other countries.[21]

Wool

Wool, though not produced in all parts of India, was nevertheless a fairly important industry in Akbar's time. Kāshmīr and the western parts of Rājasthān were wool-producing areas. It was obtained from different animals, such as sheep, camels, goats and angoras. It was from the fleece of domestic sheep that commercial supply of wool was obtained. Abu-'l-Fazl speaks of the keen interest that Akbar showed in promoting the wool industry, particularly the manufacture of shawls, and carpets of different varieties and colours. He says that the *'Tus'* animal supplied fine wool of red, black and white colours. Shawls made of it were famous for their lightness, warmth and softness.[22] In the early days of Akbar's reign shawls and some other costly woollens came mostly from Kāshmīr, but on account of Akbar's patronage these began to be manufactured in the Punjāb and some other parts, and in the city of Lahore alone were established more than a thousand workshops.[23] A Lahore speciality was *māyān*, a light shawl of mixed silk and wool, and was used for turbans (*chīrās*) and loin bands (*fotas*).[24] Most of the woollens, such as shawls, blankets, loin bands, turbans, etc. manufactured in the country came from Lahore, Gujarāt and Kāshmīr.[25] Exquisite carpets, *takya-masnads* or woollen coverlets, formerly imported from Persia began to be manufactured in Āgra, Fathpur Sīkrī, Lahore, Jaunpur and Zafarwal.[26] According to Bernier the shawls made of *Tus* cost Rs. 50/- to Rs. 150/ each, in the time of Shāh Jahān. In the 17th century shawls continued to be manufactured not only in Kāshmīr but also in Lahore, Āgra, Patna and some other places.[27] The industry continued in a flourishing state till the end of the 17th century. Rough woollens were manufactured at Āgra and Fathpur Sīkrī and in Bengal. These were used for clothing by the upper class and also to a limited extent by the middle class people. Woollen blankets, too, were manufactured at many places, and an ordinary blanket cost 10 *dāms* or one-fourth of a rupee in the time of Akbar. It seems that wool produced in the country was neither enough nor of a superior quality, and therefore, fine quality wool was imported from Tibet and some other parts in the Himalayan regions. On account of a limited supply woollen goods were rather costly. We do not know much about the wool industry of Jaisalmer, Mārwār and Bikāner. It is, however, certain that a good quantity of wool was produced in several parts of Rājasthān. For fine wool, the country seems to have depended upon its supply from foreign countries.[28]

Silk

Sericulture has been known in India from remote ages. In the 16th century, though a minor industry, considering the size of the country, it was so flourishing that a good deal of silk was exported to foreign countries. During Akbar's reign Ahmadābād, Kāshmīr and some parts of Bengal and Bihār, including the city of Patna, were important centres of this industry.[29] Akbar encouraged silk industry and, contrary to the usual orthodox Muslim practice in other countries, large quantities of silk cloth were required for the royal workshops and wardrobe, and by the nobles and other upper class people throughout the country. Moreland is of the opinion that "a substantial proportion of raw silk was utilised for manufacturing mixed-goods, which are still a feature of the hand-weaving industry."[30] Silk industry progressed greatly in the time of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. Many thousand bales of silk yarn were sent out every year from Cossimbazar in Bengal.[31] We are told by Tavernier that "the Hollanders usually carry away six or seven thousand bales, and would carry away more, if the merchants of Tartary and the Mughal Empire did not oppose them; for they buy up as much as Hollanders, the rest the natives keep to make their stuffs."[32] Silk was very much in demand in Surat and Ahmadābād for the manufacture of carpets and satins, mixed with silk and gold threads. "Patoles, a sort of silk stuff, very thin and painted with all sorts of flowers were also manufactured, each piece costing Rs. 8 to Rs. 40."[33] Veetapur, some eighteen leagues from Āgra, was a flourishing centre of silk industry. The manufactured pieces from this place were exported by the Dutch to Philippines, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and other neighbouring islands.[34] The silk produced in Cossimbazar in Bengal was yellowish in colour like the silk of Persia and Sicily. The manufacturers whitened it with a dye made of the ashes of a tree called "Adam's Fig Tree."[35] This silk was like that of Palestine. The Dutch transported silk goods from Bengal through Hooghly.[36] Barbosa tells us that the Gujarāt silk was sent to East Africa and to Pegu.[37]

The chief centres of the production of raw silk in the 17th century were Allahābād, Delhi, Sialkot, Banaras and many places in Gujarāt, Bengal and Kāshmīr.[38] Silk thread and manufactured articles were found in abundance in Kāshmīr and Punjāb. Throughout the Mughul age Banaras was an important centre for the manufacture of beautiful, costly silk cloths.[39] Quite a good portion of silk was produced by domestic worms fed on cultivated mulberry.

Indigo

Indigo used for dying cloth, washing it crystal white and for paints was grown in large quantities in several parts of central Hindustān in the *sūbas* of Awadh, Allahābād, Āgra, Lahore, Multan, Mālwa, Delhi and Ajmer.[40] The best indigo, however, was grown at Bayana, an important town in the present Bharatpur district and second best at Sarkhej in Gujarāt. The price of the best Bayana indigo in Akbar's time was rupees ten to twelve per maund, and it was exported to Turkey and other European countries.[41] William Finch, a European traveller, who visited India during 1608-1611, gives a good description of how the indigo plants were grown and how indigo was collected and manufactured into the dye.[42] It was a costly article in the time of Akbar, but in the 17th century it became an important article of commerce. According to Sir Thomas Roe indigo in the time of Jahāngīr was "the prime commodity," and was grown in Sind, Gujarāt, and the Deccan besides Hindaun, Bayana, and other places already mentioned. The Bengal indigo began to come into prominence in the 17th century. The Dutch and the English exported large quantities of Bayana indigo, which was considered the best, to Europe.[43] As for the reign of Shāh Jahān, commerce in indigo became much more extensive and profitable. It began to be cultivated on a large scale in the district round Ahmadābād and Sarkhej.[44] Aligarh, Khurja, and Itimadpur near Āgra also became important centres of indigo cultivation. The area of indigo cultivation in Bayana now extended to comprise several villages and constituted five more centres.[45] The Dutch transported Bengal indigo from Masulipatam. Indigo was largely exported from Bengal during the reign of Aurangzīb. But the best quality even in that age continued to come from Bayana and the second best from Sarkhej and Golconda. The historian J. N. Sarkar writes: "Biana indigo sold at prices 50 per cent higher than varieties grown in other parts of India....In addition to what was exported, there was a large internal consumption of indigo because it formed the basic material for washing and bleaching ordinary cotton cloths to a pure white colour. The cotton cloths were sent from their places of origin to central spots for washing, such as, Āgra, Ahmadābād, Masulipatam, and certain places in Bengal, probably Dacca and Cossimbazar...."[46] Trade in indigo declined after the reign of Aurangzīb on account of accidents of season and uncertain political conditions.[47] There were two more shrubs—*āl* and safflower—which produced dyes and were cultivated more or less on a large scale and taxed by the government, probably throughout the Mughul age. Safflower was cultivated during the reign of Akbar in the provinces of Āgra, Allahābād, Awadh, Delhi, Mālwa, Lahore and Multan.[48]

Sugarcane

During the reign of Akbar, Bengal occupied the first place in sugar production from sugarcane and also probably from palm trees. Abu-'l-Fazl mentions three kinds of sugarcane, viz. *paunda,* black and ordinary. These were grown in the provinces of Āgra, Allahābād, Awadh, Lahore, Multan, Mālwa and Ajmer.[49] It was a superior and costly crop and sold at double the price of wheat. Abu-'l-Fazl gives the prices of ordinary sugarcane and *paunda* in the provinces mentioned above. He says that the cost of sugarcane of the *paunda* quality was the highest in Ajmer. The reason seems to be that on account of dry climate a very good quality of *paunda* was grown in Ajmer. He speaks highly of the sugar of extreme whiteness manufactured at Bayana and sugarcandy of Kalpi.[50] In Kota the price of sugarcane was at the rate of 100 per rupee. In the 17th century sugarcane cultivation extended to other places, such as Aurangabad and several places in Bihār. Speaking of the years 1656-1668, Bernier says that "Bengal sugar in large quantity is supplied to Golkunda and Karnatik where very little is grown, to Arabia and Mesopotamia through the towns of Mecca and Basara, and even to Persia by Bandar Abbas. Bengal is famous for sweetmeats, specially in places inhabited by the Portuguese, who are skilful in the art of preparing them and these are articles of considerable trade."[51] De Laet writes that "the whole of the country between Agra and Lahore is well cultivated....too much sugar is produced." He refers to Bengal as a sugar producing area.[52] Chhatarman adds that in the Aurangabad province juicy black canes were grown, each yielding five seers of juice.[53]

Poppy

The cultivation of poppy, from which opium was extracted, was another important superior crop, and was taxed highly in the time of Akbar. It was used as an intoxicant[54] and was produced in the provinces of Āgra, Awadh, Allahābād, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, Mālwa and Ajmer.[55] It was also most probably grown in the table-land of the Deccan and in Ahmadnagar, Bijāpur and Golconda. It was in demand in Bengal and other parts of eastern India, and was despatched there in large quantities, by water.[56] It was exported to Pegu also.[57] Mālwa opium was considered very good and in some parts of that province children belonging to all classes were given it upto the age of three.[58]

Vegetable and Fruit

The *Āīn-i-Akbarī* mentions the cultivation of numerous kinds of vegetables, such as, spinach, turnip, cabbage, *kachnar, chaulai, bethuwa, ginger, boi,* peas, garlic, onion, carrot, radish, lettuce, sweet potato, lemon, and numerous other varieties, too many to be mentioned.[59] These were grown in all parts of the country, especially in Āgra, Allahābād, Delhi, Lahore, Mālwa, Bengal, Bihār, Multan, Khāndesh, etc. We also get an account of the cultivation of *Pān*[60] (betel leaves) in most parts of the country, especially in Bengal, Bihār, Āgra, Awadh, Allahābād, Mālwa, Khāndesh and Berār. Fruits of numerous varieties were cultivated. Musk-melon, water-melon, apple, grape, orange, guava, pomegranate, mango, date, fig, apricot, banana, pine-apple, pear, and various kinds of berries and *singharas* were grown in many parts of the country particularly in Kāshmīr and in the *sūbas* of Lahore, Delhi, Āgra, Allahābād, Awadh, Bengal, Bihār, Mālwa, Multan and Ajmer.[61] Diverse animals and fowl for meat were available very cheap in all parts of the country. All kinds of deer, antelopes, hares and "varieties of fish and fowl", geese, ducks, pigeons, partridges, quails, etc. were found in abundance. Edward Terry writes that all these could be bought "at such easy rates as that I have seen a good mutton (i.e. a sheep) sold for the value of one shilling, four couple of hens at the same price, one hare for the value of a penny, three partridges for as little, and so in proportion all the rest."[62] The country liquor, called *Tāḍī,* or juice of palm-date, *mahuā* and some other trees was found everywhere.[63] Fish formed an important element of people's food in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa[64] and some parts of Sind[65] and southern India. Abu-'l-Fazl tells us that fish-oil extracted in some parts of Sind, was used in boat-building and was in demand, as also fish-manure, at least in Gujarāt as Thevenot[66] noticed it in 1666.

Forest Produce

There were extensive forests covering most parts of the country. Bābur tells us that in many places the country was "covered by a thorny bush-wood to such a degree that the people of the *pargana* relying on these forests took shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation often continued in a state of revolt refusing to pay their taxes."[67] There were extensive forests in the North-West Frontier province, Punjāb, Uttar Pradesh, Bihār, Bengal, Orissa, modern Madhya Pradesh, Rājasthān, Gujarāt, and southern India, full of trees and ferocious animals like tigers and in some parts even lions. Ralph Fitch (1583-1591) in his travels through Bengal noticed large forests infested by wild animals, including very many tigers.[68] Abu-'l-Fazl says that one had to traverse a thick forest during a journey along the southern bank of the Ghagra. William Finch (1608-11) found the road from Jaunpur to Allahābād through a continuous forest. He says that there were lions and tigers on the road to Jalaur.[69] Akbar shot a tiger near the village of Midhakur, 7 or 8 miles from Āgra.[70] In the 16th century some parts of East Bengal were swamps and wilderness. A large portion of the districts of Jessore, Faridpur, Noakhali and Bakarganj were full of forest inhabited by wild buffaloes, rhinoceros and tigers. Many other parts of Bengal too had large forests. Sujan Rai[71] writes that wild elephants roamed in the forests of Bengal in the 17th century.

During the Mughul age there was no such problem as afforestation except that of planting trees on both sides of the roads. In fact, the problem was one of deforestation. Forests provided hiding places not only to ferocious animals but also to unsocial elements,—rebels, criminals and dacoits. Akbar therefore followed the policy of reclamation of forest land for the purpose of cultivation. Neither he nor his successors realised the importance of the role that forests played in the general economic prosperity of the country, and their conservation and scientific exploitation. Nevertheless the forests in the Mughul age did provide employment to a large number of woodcutters, sawyers, carters, carriers, raftsmen, and other working people who cut wood, cleared the forest and provided numerous variety of timber for building conveyances, residential houses, furniture, boats,[72] etc. Akbar abolished duties on the leaves of *Dhak* trees and on barks of *babul* trees, brought from jungles for sale. The duties on grass and fuel-wood too were also abolished.[73] The produce from the forest, such as timber, fuel, bamboos, leaves, fibres, grass, gum, sandal and other fragrant wood and drugs formed cheap raw material from this source. Wood was essential for the manufacture of bedsteads, chess-boards, stools, inkstands, ornamental boxes, and other things of ordinary use, besides being used on a large scale in buildings, such as doors, windows, carved ceilings, etc. For these, teak, sesame, *babul* and mango trees were the chief material. From sandalwood costly articles were manufactured. People in the Mughul age did not make use of modern furniture, like chairs, tables, sofas, etc.; nevertheless a good deal of timber was needed as material for the manufacture of carts and boats, and for ship-building. In those days travelling by boats, particularly in Bengal, Bihār, Uttar Pradesh, Punjāb, Sind and Gujarāt, was common. Abu-'l-Fazl says that in Bengal "travelling is by boats, especially in the rains, and they make them (boats) of different kinds for purposes of war, carriage or swift-sailing. For attacking a fort, they are so constructed that when run ashore, their prow overtops the fort and facilitates its capture."[74] About the boats of Gujarāt he says: "Vessels sail from and trade to Ghogah. The cargoes are put into small ships called *Tawari* which transport them to Kambhayat."[75] Speaking about the district of Thatta in Sind, Abu-'l-Fazl writes: "The means of locomotion is by boats of which there are many kinds, large and small, to the number of 40,000."[76] Akbar built many boats some of which were large enough to carry a few elephants.[77] The Portuguese, who monopolised commerce on the west coast of India, had their ships built in India. As Moreland admits: "the great bulk of the commerce in the Indian seas was carried in ships built in India, and that most of these, and certainly all the large ones, were constructed on the west coast, not at any one centre, but at various ports or inlets within easy reach of the forests. It is practically certain that India also built all the small boats required for the coasting trade from Bengal as far as Sind, and the aggregate volume of shipping was, therefore, very great when measured by contemporary standards."[78] Boat and ship-building from timber produced in Indian forests continued to be in progress in the country in the 17th century. We are told by Sujan Rai, author of *Khulasāt-ul-Tawārīkh,* that ships and boats were constructed in the province of Thatta.[79] Another 17th century writer says that 4,200 big boats and 4,400 small boats were used for navigation in Bengal.[80] Towards the end of the 16th century, the English traveller, Ralph Fitch, travelled from Āgra to Bengal with a fleet of 180 boats.[81] There were similar fleets of boats for traffic in the Indus, the Gangā and other rivers. Moreland, therefore, rightly emphasises the sufficiency and utility of the forest wealth of the country.

Paper

Paper, which was required for official work on a large scale, and also by private individuals, was manufactured from wood-pulp obtained from trees in the forests. In Akbar's time a good deal of paper was manufactured from wood-pulp in Lahore, and in other places, particularly Rājgir, in Bihār.[82] There was a considerable progress in the production of paper in the 17th century.[83] During the reign of Aurangzīb paper was manufactured in Awadh also.[84]

Gum Lac

Gum Lac is a kind of wax found on the barks of certain standing trees. It was an indispensable material for manufacturing bangles and toys. "The lac was extracted from the trees, and, besides being used for manufacturing women's bangles it was also utilised in varnishing furniture, doors, windows and toys."[85] "The Dutch exported it to Persia for red colour. The lac bangle and toy industry flourished most in Gujarāt (specially at Surat), but it must have been diffused in other parts of India more or less."[86] A good deal of lac was found in Mālwa, particularly in the jungles of Dhār. During the reign of Shāh Jahān lac sold at 7½ Mahmudi (*dām*) per maund. The price of gum lac in sticks of wax varied from 40 to 60 Mahmudis per maund. We are told by Bernier that high-priced gum lac came from Bengal and Pegu. The people prepared from it lively scarlet colour and painted their cloth with it. The Dutch purchased large quantities of gum lac, and exported it to Persia for use in painting cloth. The English and the Dutch "carried away every year 150 chests at 10 pence per pound."[87]

Miscellaneous Products

At least as early as 14th century leaves, barks and exudations of some of the Indian trees in the forest were exported to foreign countries. Some of the other forest products such as, cloves, spikenard, aloe-wood, sandal, amber, camphor and other fragrant woods and drugs were considered important articles for internal consumption and for exporting to foreign countries. Red bakham-wood was used for cosmetics and some were used as medicine and hair dyes during the Mughul age. Wood products of the forest were also made to yield perfumes. The Western Ghat forests and the Mysore forests yielded black wood and sandal wood. Malabar produced coconut and areca trees. Sandal wood of white and yellow colour was found in some forest areas. White sandal came into prominence for fragrance during the reign of Jahāngīr. It was supplied by the Portuguese to the gentry in Āgra and other places. The Portuguese brought sandal wood from the Dutch East Indies and transported it to Malacca, Goa and Cambay. *Babul* bark used for tanning leather came from the provinces of Lahore, Āgra and Rājasthān.[88]

Minerals

There was no scientific exploration of the mineral wealth of the country during the Mughul age, and therefore, in spite of high potentiality indigenous mineral products were far from satisfactory. Bengal, Bihār and the Kolar mines of gold did not yield a good quantity of that precious metal. We have no record to show what the mineral productions in the country were during the time of Bābur and Humāyūn. Abu-'l-Fazl was one of the earliest writers to throw some light upon the development of mineral industry in Akbar's time. He says that gold was found in abundance in the northern mountains of the country. In the hills of Kumaun there "are mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, orpiment and borax."[89] In some parts of the Punjāb and Kāshmīr (Pakli and Gilgit) people washed the soil "whence gold, silver, copper, *rui* (a mixed metal) zinc, brass and lead are obtained."[90] "Gold may also be obtained by the Saloni process from the Ganges and the Indus, and several other rivers, as most of the waters of this country are mixed with gold; however the labour and expense greatly exceed the profit."[91] For silver, too, people washed river sand in some parts of northern India. Abu-'l-Fazl's remark that "mines of diamond, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead and iron abound" seems to be an exaggeration.[92] At Jalaur in Rājasthān there was a mine of pewter (*Jast*).[93] According to Sujan Rai there was mining of gold in the provinces of Delhi, Awadh, and Bengal and on the banks of some rivers of the Punjāb especially the Beas.[94] It seems that there was some progress in reclaiming gold in the 17th century. Chhatarman confirms Sujan Rai and adds Allahābād, Āgra and Kāshmīr to the list of gold mining centres.[95] De Laet writes that there were gold mines in the neighbourhood of Patna.[96] Gold and silver were much in demand for minting coins and for the manufacture of ornaments for men, women and children of all classes of people, and for producing thread for embroidery. Ruling houses and many an upper class family had utensils and furniture of gold and silver. There were diamond mines in Golconda. Diamonds were also found in the eastern extremity of Bengal, at Harpah in Mandāran district of that province, in Berār and in Panna in modern Madhya Pradesh.[97] De Laet writes that during the reign of Jahāngīr "very rich diamond mines were discovered a few years ago quite by accident at the foot of a great mountain, not far from the river Krishna where the land is very rough and barren; they lie about 108 English miles from the fort of Masulipatam. The king of Golconda let out the mines at the annual sum of 30 lakhs Pagodas."[98]

Tavernier says that there were diamond mines in Golconda, Kolar, Soumelpur (Bengal), Wairagiri, and some other places. He adds that "two per cent on all purchases of diamonds is paid to the king who receives also a royalty from the merchants for permission to mine."[99] He tells us that there was a mill with iron machinery at Golconda and many prosperous merchants did successful business there. A labourer received three pagodas a day. One who found a diamond piece of 14 to 16 carats was given a special reward of one pagoda. The Kolar mine also employed a large number of labourers. Sometimes their number reached 60,000. A diamond weighing more than 60 carats became the property of the king. There was a considerable diamond trade in Goa, Chail, Surat and Bombay. During the early years of Jahāngīr's reign there was a diamond mine at Gokra desh in the modern Purnea district of Bihār, but it came into disuse after 1612.[100] Coal was not mined during the Mughul period. The supply of iron and steel, though found in many places in the provinces of Multan, Delhi, Allahābād, Bengal (Bazuha), Gwālior, Kalinjār, Kumaun, Indore and Nirmal (in Berār), the village of Khriu (Kāshmīr), and the Kingdom of Golconda,[101] was limited, and its production depended on the quantity of wood in the vicinity of copper and iron-ore mines. The *'Āīn'* mentions the mines of copper, naphtha and sulphur, besides those of gold, silver, diamonds and rubies in the region between Pegu and Arakan.[102] There were unprofitable mines of copper and turquoise in Toda Bhim.[103] Copper mines existed at Perath, Udaipur, Singhana, Kotputli, and Bairat (near Alwar).[104] There were silver mines at Perath and Bairat.[105] In the province of Allahābād lead was available, and there were copper mines in Ajmer, Kamaun, and Bengal, Awadh and Delhi *sūbas*. Pearls[106] were found in Kazor in the Machhukhanta *parganā* of Gujarāt. Diverse other minerals were found here and there in the country. Lonār in Berār contained essential materials for the manufacture of glass and soap. Orpiment and borax were found in Kumaun, sulphur at Sohra, 15 miles south of Gurgaon city, naphtha and sulphur near Tippera in Bengal.[107] Gilded glass was manufactured at Patna.[107a]

Salt

There were three kinds of salt industry. First, it was obtained by evaporation of sea water; second, it came mostly from the Sambhar lake in Rājasthān and the Ran of Cutch; and third, the Punjāb rock-salt supplied large quantities of salt . The Sambhar lake was 8 miles in length and 2 miles in breadth, and divided into many plots. It took fifteen to sixteen days to absorb water, and thereafter the entire tract of land became full of salt. During the Mughul period salt was exchanged for corn by the traders, and it was sold by heaps, not by weight. The Lahori salt came from near the town of Shamsabad and the shrine of Balnath Jogi (in the Gurdaspur district) at the foot of the salt-range in the Punjāb. Abu-'l-Fazl calls it Koh-i-Juda. It was 40 miles long, and salt was excavated from it. The Mughul government charged a custom duty of one rupee for every 17 maunds.[108] Sujan Rai, author of *Khulasāt-ul-Tawārīkh,* refers to the existence of salt mines at Thatta, Ayodhya and Multan.[109] But salt produced there could not have been in substantial quantities. Taking into consideration the requirements of the country as a whole there was enough salt,[110] and it was in those days cheaper than it is now. The salt from the Punjāb, which was considered of superior quality, cost a little less than 5 *dāms* per maund on an average during the reign of Akbar.[111]

Saltpetre

Large quantities of saltpetre came from Āgra and Patna. But the largest supply in the 16th century came from Lonār in Berār where it yielded "a considerable revenue."[112] The Dutch had a considerable trade in the commodity, and set up a ware-house near Patna. After refining it they transported it to Hooghly. The price of saltpetre was 7 *mahmudis* per maund. Saltpetre was prepared from three kinds of earth—black, yellow and white—by an ingenious method. It was produced at Āgra and its vicinity where five to six thousand maunds of saltpetre was obtained.[113] It was much in demand by the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English for exportation to Europe. Saltpetre was developed considerably in the 17th century. It was required for the manufacture of gun-powder, and Shergarh near Āgra, Thatta, Patna, Ahmadābād and Lonār (Berār) had developed into large centres of this commodity. The emperor had monopolised saltpetre and had a store house of many thousands of maunds in Ahmadābād.[114]

Saffron

Saffron was cultivated in Kāshmīr. The ground was carefully prepared before planting the seed in March or April and then it was irrigated with rain-water. At the close of September the plants reached their full growth. The saffron plant was about a quarter of a yard in height. The "flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yield the saffron."[115] The flowers were picked up laboriously. The plants yielded flowers for six years continuously.

Saffron was cultivated in two villages, Pampur in the district of Mararaj, to the south of Srinagar, and Paraspur near Indrakot. The fields at Pampur extended over about 24 miles[116] and those at Paraspur comprised an area of two square miles.[117] Saffron was a fragrant and costly article; it was used for colouring and flavouring good quality rice. It was also used for imparting fragrance and agreeable yellow colour to some other rich dishes[118] and dyeing cloth. Saffron was a very superior crop and was taxed heavily. Four hundred maunds of saffron were produced every year in the time of Akbar,[119] Jahāngīr[120] and Shāh Jahān. Jahāngīr was enchanted by the sight of the saffron fields. He says that one-half of the produce of saffron belonged to the government and the other half to the cultivators. A seer of saffron sold for Rs. 10/-. The labourers who picked up the flowers were paid half the weight of flowers in salt, as the latter article was not produced in Kāshmīr and was difficult to procure in those days.[121]

Spices

India, particularly its Malabar region, was famous for its spices, and it was because of these that the Portuguese had tried hard to discover a sea route to this country. The chief spices were cardamom, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, cloves and cinnamon. Cardamom was grown in Bijāpur and ginger in all parts of India. Cardamom was an excellent but costly spice. Its price varied from 52 to 80 *dāms* per seer and it was used by rich nobles and princes in India and other countries of Asia. Ginger was produced in great quantities all over India. Pepper grew in Bijāpur, Malabar, Cochin and many other places in southern India, in Champaran district in Bihār, and in the forests of Mahmudabad district in Bengal.[122] Tavernier tells us that the Dutch purchased large quantities of pepper from Malabar, in exchange for cotton, opium, vermillion and quick silver, and transported it to Europe.[123] Pepper was grown in Assam and Bantum also and was sent to Surat from where it was exported to Ormuz, Basra and the Red Sea. Cloves and nutmegs, too, were collected at Surat by the Dutch and exported to Europe. Abu-'l-Fazl gives the prices of the spices in the time of Akbar which were as follows:—[124]

Siyāhdāna (Kalaunjī)	1½	*dāms*	per seer
Cloves	60	,,	,,
Cardamoms	52	,,	,,
Round Pepper	17	,,	,,
Long Pepper	16	,,	,,
Dry Ginger	4	,,	,,
Fresh Ginger	2½	,,	,,
Cuminseed	2	,,	,,
Aniseed	2	,,	,,
Turmeric	10	,,	,,
Coriander	3	,,	,,
Cinnamon	40	,,	,,
Ajwāin	70–90	*dāms*	per maund.

Many ship-loads of pepper were exported by the Portuguese annually from the ports of Goa and Cochin,[125] and also from Masulipatam.[126] The Portuguese collected huge quantities of pepper and other spices from Sumatra and brought them to the Indian ports for export to Pegu, the Red Sea and other countries.[127] They had a great store of pepper at Quilon whence they exported it to Europe.[128] Ralph Fitch writes that at Cochin "groweth the pepper, and it springs up by a tree or a pole and is....like the wheat-ear; and at the first the bunches are green, and as they wax ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leaf is much lesser than the ivy leaf and thinner....All the pepper of Calicut and coarse Cinnamon too grows here in this country. The best Cinnamon does come from Ceylon."[129] Fitch says that pepper grew in many parts of India, specially about Cochin and that much of it grew in the fields among bushes without any labour. When ripe, it was picked up and gathered. It was green when picked up, but when laid in the sun to dry, it turned black. The ginger was found in many parts of India. The clove came from the islands of Moluccas and the nutmegs and maces from the Isle of Banda; the white sandalwood from the Isle of Timor; camphor from China and Borneo; lignum aloes from Cochin-China; benjamin from Siam and Jangomes; the long pepper from Bengal, Pegu and Java.[130]

Tobacco

Tobacco was unknown in India till the last quarter of the 16th century. It was brought to Gujarāt by the Portuguese in the closing years of that century, and introduced at Akbar's court in 1604 or 1605.[131] It soon became so popular that Jahāngīr forbade smoking in 1617.[132] But in spite of the royal orders, people in Gujarāt, in the Deccan and in Northern India took a fancy for it, and it seems that in the later years of his reign, Jahāngīr withdrew the ban. Within a few years tobacco began to be cultivated on an extensive[133] scale, and by 1623 it became an article of export from the port of Surat.[134] It soon reached the Coromandel Coast whence it was exported to Mocha, Arakan and Pegu. Not long after, Bengal came to have a demand for it.[135] We are told by Manucci that in the early years of Aurangzīb's reign a farmer at Delhi paid a duty of Rs. 5000/- a day on tobacco. It was possibly an exaggerated statement. Nevertheless, it shows the wide extension of the cultivation of, and trade in, tobacco, within the space of less than half a century.[136] Burhanpur and parts of Bengal also produced large quantities of tobacco.

Trade

The nature of India's trade, inland and foreign, has practically been the same in the ancient and medieval ages. During the Mughul period, as in the earlier days of her history, she imported costly luxury goods and novelties, such as, woollen cloth, silks, velvets, glass and mirrors, wine and spirit, precious metals, particularly gold and silver, other metals like copper, lead, tin, zinc and quicksilver, and coral, and horses. Among the exports the largest share was that of cotton cloths. Large quantities of manufactured cotton goods divided principally into three groups—calicoes, muslins and fancy goods—formed the foundation of the export trade. The second largest commodity exported was the spices, mostly pepper. Minor spices exported were ginger, cardamoms, turmeric and various drugs. Gum-lac, pearls and diamonds too were sent out. Indigo was the third important item of export. Bengal sent out rice and sugar, and from the Coromandel Coast dyed yarn went to Pegu where it was much in demand. Brocades and embroideries were also exported. India traded with China, Persia, Arabia, Central Asia, Egypt and the countries of South-East Asia, such as Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and the Indian Archipelago. She had had commercial relations with some of the countries of Europe before the land routes to that continent were blocked by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. When the Portuguese discovered the sea-route to India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, and Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1498, trade with Europe was resumed. The English, the Dutch, and the French followed the Portuguese, and the commercial relations with Europe bceame intimate. They collected not only spices but also manufactured cotton cloth, indigo and other articles and transported them to Europe. The already existing trade between India and the countries of Central Asia, including Farghana, Turkistan, Samarqand, Balkh, Bokhara, Hisar and Badakhshān received a great fillip. Bābur tells us that 7,000 horses and 11,000 camels laden with cloths, black and white, rugs, sugar, candy and medical herbs were sent every year to Kabul and from there to other countries of Central Asia. Rich Indian merchants, many of whom were Muslims, were responsible for organising and conducting commerce. Bābur says: "There are many merchants who are not willing to hire less than 300 to 400 caravans (meaning perhaps horses)". Kabul seems to have been a great exchange market. Indian goods were despatched through Kabul and the commodities from Khurasan, Iraq and China were available in Kabul. Oranges, lemons and sugarcanes came from Lammet, honey came from the mountainous tracts of Ghazni, and grapes, apricots, peaches and many other fruits were imported into India from Central Asian countries.[137]

Commerce with foreign countries developed greatly under Akbar and Jahāngīr. Indigo, cotton cloths and wool, besides the spices, were the principal articles of export. Chinese porcelain, glasses, objects of curiosity and luxury, costly woollen cloths, gold and silver, were the principal articles of import. Gold and silver were not allowed to be exported and foreign traders who purchased Indian goods had to pay in cash. "The amount of bullion," writes Dr. Radha Kamal Mookerji, "imported into India steadily increased in the Mughal period." In 1601 the English East India Company alone imported bullion valued at £22,000; by 1616 it rose to £52,000, and at the end of the 17th century it totalled annually to about £800,000.[138] An idea of the foreign curios and costly stuffs patronised by the Mughuls could be had from the fact that, besides some artistic porcelain and coloured glass utensils, Akbar left behind crockery worth rupees twenty-five lakhs.[139]

It is necessary to say a word about the Indian exports and the sea-ports from where these were sent out to foreign lands. Moreland has given a conspectus of the Indian export trade at the opening of the 17th century in a tabular form. Lahari Bandar was the chief sea-port of Sind from where cotton cloths of various types, known collectively as Calico, were exported to Persian Gulf. Cambay, Gogha, Diu and Surat, the sea-ports of the province of Gujarāt, transported cotton goods, yarn and indigo to Red Sea, Persian Gulf and Achin. In the Konkan region the ports were Chaul, Dabhol and Rajapur, whence Calicos and cotton cloth of painted and superior quality and pepper were exported to Red Sea and Persian Gulf. From these ports, the above-mentioned goods were sent coastwise to Goa by sea to be transported onward. From Goa too goods of the above variety were exported to Persian Gulf, East Africa, Lisbon, Malacca, and beyond, and also to Ceylon. The main ports in the Malabar region were Calicut and Cochin from where pepper was exported to Lisbon, Ceylon and Malacca. Quilon, Tuticorin and Negapatam on the south coast sent out calico and pepper coastwise and to Malacca and beyond. San Thome and Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast exported fancy goods, calico, muslin and fine yarn to Malacca and beyond, to Achin, Pegu, and Tenasserim, besides coastwise to Goa and Malabar. From Masulipatam, another sea-port on the Coromandel Coast, calico, muslin and fancy goods and yarn were transported to Malacca and beyond, to Achin, Pegu and Tenasserim, and to Persian Gulf, besides coastwise north and south. There were two other ports in the south, viz., Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam which sent out rice and oil seeds to various ports on the eastern and western coasts of India for export to foreign countries. In Bengal, the sea-ports were Hooghly, Pipli, Balasore and Chittagong. These exported rice, sugar and *muslin* to various ports on the east and west coasts of India, to Pegu and Tenasserim, to Malacca and Achin. All these goods were further exported to the countries of Central Asia, to Egypt and beyond, and to Europe. The countries of South-East Asia too received Indian cotton and other goods which were in demand there. Quite a good amount of Indian goods was exported to foreign countries by land routes through Kabul and Qandahar and early in the 17th century three thousand of camel-loads of Indian goods passed annually through this route to Central Asian countries. Since the advent of Europeans the importance of the land route was lessened. Throughout the Mughul period the volume of Indian export through the north-western land routes fluctuated according to amity or hostility between India and Persia on the question of the possession of Qandahar, and sometimes on the relations between the Mughul government and the Portuguese.[140] "India maintained a balance of trade in her favour" during the Mughul age.[141]

Labour supply: Industrial Specialisation

The description of agricultural and industrial activity shows that there was adequate human material and labour supply in the country. Bābur noted that "the country of Hindustan is extensive, full of land and full of produce."[142] Most of those who were engaged in agriculture and industry were Hindus. About the end of the 16th century only a nominal fraction of the Musalmans, about .08 per cent of the entire population, or one Muslim per every thousand Hindus was connected with land.[143] Most of these were *zamindārs* and the number of Muslim cultivators was insignificant. Similarly a very small number of Muslims was engaged in trade and industry. Some wealthy Muslim merchants, mostly foreign, were engaged in large-scale inland and maritime commerce on Indian soil. Bābur observed in the first quarter of the 16th century that "most of the inhabitants of Hindustan are pagans: they call a pagan, a Hindu........all artisans, wage-earners and officials are Hindus."[144] The labour supply was not only more than adequate, but it was also fairly efficient. Although we cannot say that during the period there existed all those conditions, such as, good health, nutritious food, adequate clothing and favourable conditions of work that go to make labour efficient, yet Indian labour was sufficiently good. People got enough to eat except during drought or a famine; they did not need much clothing except in winter; there was little interference with the labourers, artisans and agriculturists except during the later days of Shāh Jahān's reign and in the time of Aurangzīb on account of inefficiency and weakness of government. An important aspect of Indian life was the firm belief in fate, that is, people were born in a particular situation on account of their deeds in the past life, and they must make the best of their present situation. This saved them from a life of frustration and from running away from it. Moreover, people in general were sober, abstemious, thrifty and diligent. Though themselves poor, they made the country as a whole rich and flourishing. It is sometimes thought that there was no specialisation of labour and industry during the Mughul age. This is not wholly correct. Every industrial activity and trade was meant for a particular class of people, and for generations each caste or group followed the same industrial activity through the ages. As Bābur writes: "again every artisan follows the trade that has come down to him from forefather to forefather."[145] Each caste of artisans was a trade guild, a mutual assurance society and a religious brotherhood. As a trade union the caste insisted upon the proper training of the youth in the crafts and the regulation of wages of its members, fixing the prices of the commodities, punishing the delinquents and promoting the general welfare of the group. There was thus some kind of training and discipline for the artisans. There were such trade guilds in the towns, cities and the villages throughout the country. Sometimes an important industry registered a commendable improvement on account of better training and output brought by foreign craftsmen. "Skilful masses and craftsmen," writes Abu-'l-Fazl, "have settled in the country to teach people an improved system of manufacture."[146] In the 17th century too the system continued, and Francisco Palsaert describing the condition of labour and industry in the time of Jahāngīr says: "..... workmen's children could follow no occupation other than that of their fathers, nor can any marry with any other caste......"[147] "The embroiderer brings up his son as embroiderer," says Bernier, "a goldsmith's son becomes a goldsmith and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician."[148] Sir Jadunath Sarkar tells us how an improvement took place in the manufacture of industrial articles. He writes: "Skilled artisans trained in the imperial workshops, specially apprentices, after completing their technical education, found employment with the nobles and Rajahs, as all of them were not required by the Mughal government. In this way their skill was transplanted all over the country. The most notable instance of this diffusion of talent and elevation of the cultural level of the country by the action of the court is supplied by the schools of the Mughal painters and musicians."[149] It is an undoubted fact that the quality of manufactured articles in the royal and noble men's workshops had improved greatly during the age, and that the higher technical skill had diffused to some of the industrial centres in the country. The rank and file among the artisans, however, continued to produce stereotyped articles in their cottages.

Abundance and Prosperity

The first quarter of the 16th century was marked by abundance of wheat, barley, gram and other food grains. Prices of all articles of food and other daily necessaries of life were so low that during the reigns of Sikandar (1489-1517) and Ibrāhīm Lodī (1517-1526), one Bahloli or *dām,* a copper coin (equivalent to one-fortieth of a rupee), sufficed for the expenses of one soldier and his horse for a few days.[150] Almost all the cities both in the north and the south were stocked with the necessaries of life. The Persian ambassador 'Abdul-Razzāq was astonished at the prosperity of the city of Vijayanagara.[151] Paes says the same thing with regard to the other cities, towns and villages of south India.[152] At least seven cities, viz., Āgra, Fathpur Sikri, Delhi, Lahore, Ahmadābād, Gauḍa and Vijayanagara were extraordinarily prosperous and had a population of two lakhs or more each. Father Monserrate who stayed in India for a few years speaks of the great wealth and prosperity of Āgra and Fathpur Sikri. "All the necessities and conveniences of human life can be obtained here (Āgra), if desired. This is even true of the articles that have to be imported from distant corners of

Europe. There are great numbers of artisans, iron-workers and goldsmiths. Gems and pearls abound in large number. Gold and silver are plentiful, as also are horses from Persia and Tartary. Indeed the city is flooded with vast quantity of every type of commodity. Hence Agra is seldom visited by dearth of food supplies."[153] He says practically the same thing about Delhi which he praised for its public buildings, its remarkable Fort, its walls and a number of mosques. He says that "Delhi is inhabited by substantially wealthy Brachmane (Hindus)........rich men here constructed for themselves well-built, lofty and handsomely decorated residences."[154] It was full of parks and gardens and "filled with a rich profusion of fruits and flowers......"[155] During his journey from Fathpur Sikri to Lahore, Monserrate came across prosperous towns and villages. Writing about Lahore he says that "this city is next to none, either in Asia or in Europe with regard to size, population and wealth. It is crowded with merchants, who foregather here from all over Asia. In all these respects it excels other cities, as also in the huge quantity of every kind of merchandise, which is imported. Moreover, there is no art or craft useful to human life which is not practised there."[156] In fact this careful observer was filled with amazement at the prosperity in Northern India. The cheapness of grains in Akbar's camp in his journey to Lahore surprised him.[157] Ralph Fitch, who visited several parts of India, found in the course of his journey (1583-1591) all kinds of food grains and other eatables, cotton cloth and other necessaries of life in plenty from Diu to Āgra, from Āgra to Sātgāon and Chittagong in Bengal and to Pegu, and from there to Southern India and to Ceylon. Everywhere his eye met with plenty.[158] Another European traveller, named William Finch, who visited India during 1608-1611, also bore testimony to the prosperous condition of the country.[159]

Famines

In spite of plenty, there were sometimes scarcity and famine on account of failure of seasonal rains, excessive floods or devastations caused by war. But fortunately these areas of drought and scarcity were localised, and did not involve the whole country. Taking the country as a whole, it seems that the main difficulty was that of transport of foodstuffs to the affected areas. The first famine recorded was that of 1555-56, the year of Akbar's accession. Delhi, Āgra and the adjacent regions suffered from high mortality, caused not only by drought but also by an epidemic. The historian Badāūnī, an eye-witness, writes, that "men ate their own kind and the appearance of the famine sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look at them. The whole country was a desert and no man lived to till the ground."[160] Though Badāūnī's description is highly exaggerated, the calamity was nevertheless great. Five famines occurred between 1573 and 1595. In 1573 Gujarāt was affected and it suffered for six months. Many inhabitants, rich and poor, left the country for fear of starvation.[161] In 1583-84 prices rose high on account of a famine in North-Western Hindustān, and many people died of starvation.[162] The famine of 1595 lasted for three or four years till 1598. The Jesuit missionaries described the horror of the famine and pestilence in Lahore and Kāshmīr, and the alleviation of suffering by Akbar.[163] Bengal was visited by plague in 1575.[164] In 1584-85 there was a great inundation and the Meghna Delta was washed away.[165]

There was a severe famine in Gujarāt and the Deccan in 1630 on account of the failure of rains that year, and unfavourable crops during the previous three years. The country suffered greatly and even the bare necessities of life were scarcely available.[166] In 1683 when Aurangzīb was conducting an expedition in the Deccan, there occurred a famine in the Konkan. It was not possible to procure grain in the region.[167] In 1686, there was again a famine in the Deccan caused by the devastation of warfare and the failure of annual rains.[168] Gujarāt once again suffered from drought. Moreland has shown that between 1614 and 1660 there were as many as thirteen famines and that of 1630-31 was very severe.[169] In spite of recurring famines the Mughul government did not take adequate steps to provide relief. A comprehensive policy of the prevention of drought was unthinkable in that age. The adverse effect of most of these famines was fortunately confined to local areas, and at most to a province or two, and the growth of the population was not affected to any considerable extent.

Despite recurring famines here and there, there was, taking the entire country in view, no dearth of food grains and other necessities of life. India was, generally speaking, prosperous during the Mughul age. The ruling class rolled in wealth and luxury. The middle class people, consisting of *zamindārs* (to use the word in the modern sense), merchants and the lower rank of the official staff and other employees of the same category, were fairly well-to-do. The masses and the inferior artisans were, on the other hand, poor; but they did not starve except in times of drought and scarcity. We have a fairly accurate statement of the salaries of troops and skilled and unskilled labourers and also of the prices of food-grains and other commodities in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, written at about the end of the 16th century. The daily wages of ordinary labourers were 2 to 3 *dāms,* i.e., 3 to 4 pice or 5 to 7½ paise in terms of the present decimal currency. The payment made to a slave per day was one *dām,* i.e. 2½ paise of the current decimal currency. The *béldar* or ordinary labourer, got two *dāms* a day; a bamboo-cutter, too, was paid 2 *dāms* daily; a thatcher was paid 3 *dāms* a day; a water-carrier 3 *dāms;* a water-carrier of inferior capacity 2 *dāms;* a varnisher of reeds with lac 2 *dāms* a day; a brick-layer of first class 3½ *dāms* and of second class 3 *dāms.*[170] In Jahāngīr's time, the monthly wages of servants were 2½ to 3 rupees. The wages paid by the Dutch factory at Āgra in 1636 were 3½ rupees per month for servants, porters, and *sāis* (horsemen) and Rs. 5/- for the sweepers and the watermen.[171] In South India, at the Masulipatam factory, servants received Rs. 2/- monthly in 1602, and at Bombay the daily wages of labourers in 1674 were 3 pice (5 paise in the modern decimal currency).[172] The daily wages of skilled labourers and workers in Akbar's time ranged from 6 to 7 *dāms* (15 to 17½ paise). A mason of the first class, for example, was paid 7 *dāms* a day; of second class 6 *dāms,* and of third class 5 *dāms.* A carpenter of the first class got 7 *dāms,* of second class 6 *dāms,* of third class 4 *dāms,* of fourth class 3½ *dāms* and of fifth class 3 *dāms* daily.[173] During the reign of Jahāngīr there was hardly any increase in the wages. The average prices of principal food grains towards the end of Akbar's reign calculated on the basis of 82.3 lbs equivalent to one maund (instead of that of 55½ lbs a maund which was the weight in Akbar's time) were as follows: Wheat sold at 133.3 seers a rupee; barley 200 seers, rice 54.2 seers, gram 135.6 seers, bajra 182.8 seers and *jowar* 108.5 seers.[174] Taking the maund as equivalent to 55½ lbs (which was the ratio in Akbar's time) a maund of ghee was available for 105 *dāms,* oil for 80 *dāms,* milk for 25 *dāms,* and brown sugar for 53 *dāms.*[175] The prices of ordinary cloth of different variety were:—

1. Chhint 2 *dāms* per yard.
2. Ghazina i.e., Gazzi, ½ to 1½ *dāms* per piece.
3. Dupatta Re. 1/- per piece.
4. Silahati 2 to 4 *dāms* per yard.[176]

Taking into consideration the prices of things at the end of the 16th century, the wages paid to all kinds of workers and labourers were adequate to maintain them. Dr. Radha Kamal Mookherji rightly observes that although "adequate and accurate data for comparison of real and money wages between Akbar's time and today in Northern India are not available," yet we know from the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and from the European factors in Gujarāt, Madras, and Bengal that 1½ *dāms* (3¾ paise of 1971) were sufficient for a worker to lead a hand-to-mouth existence. But he cannot feed himself today at less than Rs. 2½. "Thus the real wages have actually declined. In the 19th century (and much more in the 20th century) agricultural wages rose, but the real wages were reduced appreciably."[177] During the Mughul age people's wants were few and the standard of living of the common people was very low. They lived in mud houses, thatched with straw; they had very few utensils, and clothes, and their furniture consisted of bedsteads. There was little medical aid in the rural areas, and the economic condition of the masses throughout the age was very unsatisfactory. For this one cannot find fault with the lack of industry and thrift of the teeming millions or blame them for inadequate production. The faults were those of faulty distribution and governmental extortion. In spite of these drawbacks it could hardly be said that the people in that age were unhappy.

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2. Noman Ahmad Siddiqi, *Land Revenue Administration under the Mughals*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1970, pp. 8-9.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī* or *Memoirs*, Sec. III, 478.

3a. Elliot & Dowson, VIII, 86.

4. The *Memoirs*, 496.
5. *Ain.*, Vol. II, vide tables of harvests of the sūbas.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 134, 353; Ralph Fitch, vide Foster, *Early Travels in India*, 43.
8. *Ain.*, II, 181.
9. Ibid., 164.
10. Ibid., II, 98-117.
11. Ibid., II, 98-117.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogal*, 17.
15. *Ain.*, II, 249.
16. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, 105.
17. *Calendars of Court Minutes of the East India Company*, Vol. II, 179.
18. Pant, *The Commercial Policy of the Mughals*, 210.
19. Abu-'l-Fazl mentions various kinds of fine cotton cloths, vide, *Ain.* I, 100, 685.
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21. Varthema, Ludovico di, *Travels*, tr. for the Hakluyt Society, 1863, Vide Moreland, op. cit., 172.
22. *Ain.*, I, 97.
23. Ibid., 98, Vol. II, 356.
24. Ibid., 98.
25. Ibid., 90-97.
26. Ibid., 57, Vol. II, 169.
27. Bernier, *Travels*, Vol. I, 402-403.
28. For Shawl industry under Aurangzīb, see Sujan Rai, *Khulasāt*, 49b-50a.
29. *Ain.*, II, 247.
30. Moreland, op. cit., 172.
31. *Travels* of *Tavernier*, 126.
32. Ibid.
33. S.S. Kulshrestha, *Development of Trade and Industry under the Mughals*, 97-98.
34. *Travels of Tavernier*, Chapter X.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.

37. Moreland, op. cit., 172.
38. Chhattarman, *Chhahar Gulshan,* 27, 39; Sujan Rai, *Khulasāt,* 22, 30, 34.
39. *Ain.,* II, 169; Manucci, Vol. II.
40. *Ain.,* II, 76-117.
41. *Ain.,* II, 192, 248; De Laet, 21, 23, 45-46.
42. Foster, *Early Travels in India,* 151-154.
43. Foster, op. cit., 148, 190-192.
44. De Laet, 26.
45. Ibid., 45-46, 62.
46. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzīb's Reign,* 275.
47. Pant, op. cit., 195.
48. *Ain.,* II, 76-93, 105-106, 114, 117, 119-120, 121-122.
49. *Ain.,* II, 78-117.
50. Ibid., 192.
51. Bernier, *Travels,* 435.
52. De Laet, 54-55, 71.
53. Chhattarman, *Chhahar Gulshan,* 53.
54. *Ain.,* I, 410, 417; Hawkins, vide *Early Travels in India,* ed. Foster, 71, 116, 142.
55. *Ain.,* II, 78-117.
56. Fitch, vide, *Early Travels in India,* ed., by Foster, 18, 24.
57. Ibid., 34.
58. *Ain.,* II, 207.
59. *Ain.,* I, 62, 66; Vol. II, pessim (vide description of the *subās*); E. Tarry, vide Foster, op. cit., 297.
60. *Ain.* I, 77-78.
61. Ibid., 68-78; Vol. II, 135, 138, 164, 169, 190, 192, 246, 249; 283.
62. Edward Terry, Vide Foster, op. cit., 296-297.
63. Ibid., 297; *Ain.,* I, 75; De Laet, 24.
64. *Ain.,* II, 134, 138, 339.
65. *Ain.,* II, 339.
66. *Ain.,* II, 339; Moreland, op. cit., 147.
67. Bābur, op. cit., 490-491.
68. Foster, op. cit., 25.
69. Ibid., 174.
70. A.N., II, 80.
71. *Ain.,* II, 135, 136; Foster, op. cit., 24-28.
72. *Ain.,* I, 137, 233, 237.
73. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration,* 94.
74. *Ain.,* II, 134.
75. Ibid., 248.
76. *Ain.,* II, 339.
77. *Akbar the Great,* Vol. I, p. 159.
78. Moreland, op. cit., 170.
79. *Khulasat,* 36.
80. Chhattarman, op. cit., 40.
81. Foster, op. cit., 18.
82. *Ain.,* II, 164.
83. Pant, op. cit., 92.
84. *Khulasat,* 26.
85. *Ain.,* I, 236, 237.
86. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzīb's Reign,* 281.
87. Bernier, *Travels,* II, 63.
88. *Ain.,* I, 83-87; Tavernier, Vol. II, op. cit., 182; Pinkerton, *Travels,* Vol. VIII (Capt. Alexander Hamilton's account), 307, 308, 310, 365; Vol. VII (Goez account), 549.
89. *Ain.,* II, 285. See also De Laet, 75-76.
90. Ibid., 317, 365. The metal called *rui* was "composed of four *seers* of copper to ½ of lead, and in India called *Changar.*"
91. *Ain.,* I, (Blochmann), 38-39.
92. *Ain.,* III, (Jarrett and Sarkar), 10.
93. *Ain.,* I, 41-42.
94. *Khulasat,* 22, 26, 30, 496.
95. *Chhahar Gulshan,* 11, 27, 37, 39.
96. De Laet, 77.
97. *Ain.,* II, 138.
98. De Laet, 75.

99. *Travels in India* by Tavernier, ed., by Ball, Vol. II, 59.
100. Tavernier, op. cit., 135-138; Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign,* 280.
101. *Ain.,* II, 136, 170, 172, 182, 235, 359; De Laet, 76; 78.
102. Ibid., 132.
103. Ibid., 192.
104. Ibid., 192-193.
105. Ibid., 192.
106. *Ain.,* II, 215, 319.
107. *Ain.,* II, 132, 239, 285.
107a. Ibid., 164.
108. *Ain.,* II, 249.
109. *Khulasat,* 26, 34, 56.
110. Edward Terry, op. cit., 297.
111. *Ain.,* I, 525, 526; Sarkar, *India of Aurangzīb,* LXXVII.
112. *Ain.,* II, 239.
113. Moreland and Geyl, *The Remonstrantie* (Jahāngīr's India) of Francisco Pelsaert, 46.
114. *Ain.,* I, 58.
115. *Ain.,* Vol. I, 89-90. Jahāngīr *Tuzuk,* Vol. II, 117) says the flower had four petals.
116. At another place Abu-'l-Fazl says 10 or 12 thousand bighas. See *Ain.,* Vol. II, 358.
117. *Ain.,* II, 364, Jahāngīr (Vide Tuzuk, Vol. I, 92, Vols. II, 77) says saffron grows only at Pampur.
118. Ibid., Vol. II, 358-359.
119. *Tuzuk,* Vol. I, 92.
120. Ibid., 177.
121. Ibid., 178.
122. *Ain.,* II, 135, 165.
123. *Travels of Tavernier,* II, 129.
124. *Ain.,* Vol. I, 67; Vol. II, 76. (for Ajwāin).
125. Ralph Fitch, vide Foster, op. cit., 14.
126. Ibid., 16.
127. Ibid., 41.
128. Ibid., 44.
129. Ibid., 45.
130. Ibid., 46.
131. V.A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul,* 407.
132. Ibid., 409.
133. Edward Terry, Vide Foster, op. cit., 299
134. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzīb,* 80.
135. Ibid., 81.
136. Ibid., 189.
137. The *Memoirs,* Vide Kulshrestha, 214-215.
138. R.K. Mookerji, op. cit., 69.
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140. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzīb,* 57-58.
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143. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great,* Vol. III, Chapter II, 30-60.
144. *The Memoirs,* 518.
145. Ibid.
146. *Ain.,* Vol. I, (Blochmann), 93-94.
147. Moreland and Geyl, *Remonstrantie,* 61.
148. *Bernier's Travels,* Vol. I, 259.
149. *Studies in Aurangzīb's Reign,* 270-71.
150. T.A.I., 335; T. Daudi, 75, 224.
151. Abdul Razzaq, vide Major, R.H., op. cit., 32.
152. Paes, Vide Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar, II.*
153. *Commentarius,* 34-36.
154. Ibid., 96-97.
155. Ibid., 98.
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157. Ibid, 79.
158. Ralph Fitch, vide Foster, *Early Travels in India,* 8-47.
159. Foster, op cit., 186-87.

160. M.T.I., 428-29; Srivastava, *Akbar the Great*, I, 21.
161. M.A.Q., 319-21; T.A. II, 301; *Akbar the Great*, I, 169-170.
162. A.N. III, 420.
163. *Akbar the Great*, I, 408-409.
164. V.A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 399.
165. Ibid.
166. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzīb*, 210-213.
167. C.H.I. IV, 283.
168. Ibid., 285.
169. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzīb*, 207-213.
170. *Ain.*, Vol. I, 235, 236.
171. R.K. Mookerji, *Economic History of India*, 1600-1800, Vide *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, 63.
172. Ibid., 63-64.
173. *Ain.*, I, 235.
174. *Ain.*, I, 65; R.K. Mookerji, op. cit., 86.
175. *Ain.*, I, 67.
176. *Ain.*, I, 101.
177. R.K. Mookerji, op. cit., 67.

CHAPTER XXIII

I. MUGHUL ARCHITECTURE

1. *Beginnings*

With the advent of the Mughuls Indo-Muslim architecture reaches a unity and completeness which make the story of the architectural style that developed under their august patronage particularly fascinating and instructive. The Mughul emperors were keen lovers of nature and art, and their personality was, to a certain extent, reflected in the art and culture of their time.

The state of uncertainty in the days of Bābur and Humāyūn was not, however, favourable, for any outstanding contribution to the development of art and culture. Bābur himself was a remarkably dynamic personality—a fearless soldier undaunted by adversity, an accomplished writer and a born aesthete with a keen sense of perception for the beauties of nature and art. He is said to have undertaken several building projects of ambitious character in India that involved the employment of numerous workmen at Āgra, Dholpur, Gwālior and other places. In his *Memoirs* he says that "680 workmen worked daily on my buildings at Āgra . . . while 1491 stone-cutters worked daily on my buildings at Āgra, Sīkrī, Biāna, Dholpur, Gwālior and Kiūl."[1] The number of workmen employed would indicate the extensiveness of his schemes. Hardly any monument definitely attributable to him has, however, survived today and it is not possible to determine the style and character of his buildings. It is said that his schemes, mostly consisting of the laying out and construction of pleasure gardens, pavilions, etc. had no sacramental or sentimental association and the consequent neglect through centuries had been responsible for their disintegration. Of one of the mosques that Bābur built within the Lodī fort at Āgra he complains that "it is not well done" and that it "is in Hindustani fashion".[2] It has to be borne in mind that Bābur had a strong dislike for the country that destiny had allotted to him. Indian architecture of the time had hardly anything to commend to his innate artistic taste. He praises, no doubt, the remarkable skill and dexterity of the Indian workmen and was particularly impressed by the palaces of Mān Singh and Vikramjit within the fort at Gwālior which, he[3] says, "were singularly beautiful, though built in patches without any regular plan". It is this lack of regularity and symmetry in the design of Indian buildings that strongly reacted on his orderly and sensitive mind and he expresses his dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. With the Mughuls, strict formality and balance represented the essential qualities of a good composition and any deviation would readily offend their inherent aesthetic taste. Though admiring the manipulative skill of the Indian builders and their excellent workmanship Bābur was not moved by what he saw of Indian architecture of the time. He strongly expressed dislike of the state of building art in India and is reported to have invited from Constantinople several pupils of the celebrated Albanian architect, Sinan, to help him in his building projects. It is unlikely, however, that such an enterprise ever materialised. Nevertheless, the report truly reflects the working of the mind of Bābur with regard to the state of architecture in India and is a clear proof of his attitude of preference for foreign ideas and inspiration to those of the country of his adoption. With such a supercilious attitude for the country and for the people and their culture it is difficult to initiate any creative and significant art movement. Hence, in spite of his high aesthetic tastes, Bābur's supreme contempt for everything Indian was not conducive to the growth of an Indian art movement under his patronage. He depended too much on imported ideas and inspiration and it is significant that whatever he might have transplanted on the Indian soil has been swept away. Objectively, it may be truly said that Bābur left no impression whatsoever on the Indian building tradition.

The adverse political circumstances also did not afford much scope and opportunity for any significant architectural activity during the reign of Bābur's unfortunate son and successor Humāyūn. Son of an aesthete father and himself aesthetically inclined, Humāyūn undertook, in the early years of his reign, the building of a new city at Delhi, to be called the *Dinpanah* ('World Refuge') as the "asylum of the wise and intelligent persons". It was to consist of "a magnificent palace of seven storeys, surrounded by delightful gardens and orchards of such elegance and beauty that its fame might draw the people from the remotest corners of the world". The *Humāyūn-nāmah* of Khondamir[4] gives a graphic account of the laying of the foundation stone of this imperial city, the first of the Mughul capitals, so to say. "The walls, bastions, rampart and the gates of the city" are also reported to have been nearly finished within a year of the laying of the foundation stone. But it is doubtful whether the city, as it was planned to be, was ever completed. Even if completed, it appears to have been hastily put up without any attention towards stability or architectural beauty. The troubled reign of Humāyūn would hardly afford scope for anything better.

No remains are extant of this first Mughul city, and it is likely that whatever of it was finished was destroyed by Sher Shāh. The two mosques that have survived of Humāyūn's reign exhibit no original or outstanding features.

With regard to the achievements of the first two Mughul emperors in the field of architecture Percy Brown aptly sums them up as follows:

> "The material records which have survived of both Bābur's and Humāyūn's contributions to the building art of the country are therefore almost negligible. On the other hand, the indirect influence of their personalities and experiences on the subsequent art of the country cannot be overlooked. Bābur's marked aesthetic sense, communicated to his successors, inspired them under more favourable conditions to the production of their finest achievements, while Humāyūn's forced contact with the culture of the Safavids is reflected in that Persian influence noticeable in many of the Mughul buildings which followed."[5]

There was an interruption in the Mughul regime by the intervention of the reigns of Sher Shāh Sūr and his successors. Sher Shāh, as Percy Brown says, was "a man of marked constructional propensities and architectural ideals". At the time of his death he is said to have regretted that he was not spared to erect buildings "with such architectural embellishments that friend and foe might render tribute of applause".[6] The few buildings that he has left are each of an exceptional character and clearly exemplify his ideals of, and attitude towards, building art. He arrived on the scene at a time when Islāmic architecture in India, particularly the Imperial style of Delhi, was already in a state of disintegration. An intelligent patronage and an aesthetic vision only could save this style from utter dissolution. Sher Shāh, gifted with the imagination and outlook of a man of culture and vision, was fully aware of the needs of the time and supplied the necessary conditions, as his building projects amply testify. These projects fall into two groups of monuments situated widely apart, one at Sasarām in Bihār, the scene of his earlier activities, and the other at Delhi, the seat of his imperial government. Both these groups are important, one as the brilliant finale of an earlier tradition and the other as anticipating notable future developments. In the history of Indo-Muslim architecture Sher Shāh's buildings are important as supplying a link between the earlier Indo-Muslim style, as practised under the aegis of the Delhi Sultāns, and the later, i.e. the Mughul style.

At Sasarām and in its neighbourhood there is a series of five monuments, the majority being erected, in all probability, during his lifetime. Each of these is a building of noble proportions and has marked architectural character. They are octagonal in plan, in continuation of the type of tomb that was initiated at Delhi in the mausoleum of Khān-i-Jahān Tilangani during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq and so greatly favoured by the Sayyid and the Lodī rulers. Of all these tombs, the mausoleum of Sher Shāh stands out pre-eminently as the *magnum opus*—a supreme conception of extraordinary architectural interest. The octagonal type of funerary monument was initiated at Delhi and was characteristic of the Imperial style of Delhi. It is not a little surprising therefore that its supreme expression should be produced in a remote corner of Bihār, far away from the capital. Sher Shāh's tomb far excels the Delhi compositions of this order in its bold and imaginative conception. The Delhi tombs belonged to a ruling authority already approaching disintegration and, in spite of their good qualities, they are expressive of the forces of dissolution. The tomb of Sher Shāh, though based on the Delhi models, was a production of much higher aesthetic plane and a fitting tribute to the power and imagination of his vigorous and dynamic personality.

Not a little of the romantic beauty of this grand mausoleum depends on its picturesque situation. It stands in the middle of a large quadrangular tank, 1400 feet in length, and rises from a lofty square terrace, over 300 feet on each side, with flights of steps descending to the edge of the water. The monument was connected with the mainland by an elegant bridge, now ruined. The square terrace forms an ample court with a substantial domed pavilion at each corner. From the centre of the court rises the octagonal tomb building in three gracefully diminishing stages ultimately crowned by a low and wide dome. The lowest stage forms an arcaded corridor round the funerary hall and has a pleasing effect with the graceful shape of the arches, three on each of its eight sides, projecting eave supported on brackets and the high crenellated parapet. The two upper stages are each relieved by means of pillared kiosks, one at each corner of the octagon, alternating with effective oriel windows. From the third stage which actually forms the drum rises the semi-spherical dome, the series of kiosks at its base "carrying the eye along its spreading curves to the massive lotus finial which crowns the whole".[7] The total height from the base to the finial is 150 feet and offers a splendid harmony with the dimensions of the base.

The tomb of Sher Shāh has been described as thoroughly expressive of Indian genius in building art. In its pyramidal elevation Havell has recognised the stamp of the earlier Hindu tradition. While there might be differences of opinion in this regard, nobody can deny the boldness of its conception, the majesty of its proportions and the magnificence of its execution. The transition from the square to the octagon and from the octagon to the sphere is smooth and harmonious; and the manner in which the mass has been broken up by the appropriate application of architectural details is admirable. Few buildings of the like order can surpass it in the chaste beauty of its lines, in the dignified harmony of its dimensions and in the effective distribution of its huge mass. It represents a great architectural conception and a supreme building achievement of sober and massive splendour of which any country might feel proud. It is now a grey and sombre pile, but originally it was covered with glowing colour, blue, red and yellow, boldly and finely worked into elegant and effective patterns. Traces of such patterns still remain.

Sher Shāh occupied the throne of Delhi at a time when, after a long period of inertia, the architectural activities at Delhi had been showing signs of revival. A few buildings erected during the first half of the sixteenth century furnish indications of a return to the ornate architectural tradition of the Khaljīs. In the Moth-kī-Masjid, built about the beginning of the sixteenth century, the 'beam and bracket' of the Tughluq style was replaced by the recessed archway, characteristic of the Khaljī buildings. The Jamālī mosque, built about 1530, indicates a further advance in the new direction. Among other innovations, the white marble lacing in ashlar masonry and the double-recessed arch with 'spear-heads' fringes in the outer one signify definite attempts to revive the modes of the older style of the Khaljīs. In these examples there may be recognised a new awakening which required a ruler with vision and imagination to direct the activities into a strong and virile movement. This the architectural predilections of Sher Shāh did, and the buildings that he erected at Delhi represent notable and purposeful creations full of import for the styles that followed.

With the assumption of imperial authority Sher Shāh initiated at the capital a forceful architectural movement that is strongly expressive of his own versatile nature. He laid out a new citadel, called the Purānā Quil'a (old fort), on the site of Indrapat (Indraprastha) and around it he planned his city. The Purānā Quil'a, as the extant remains indicate, was intended to be a composition of considerable size and magnitude; but it is now a mere shell bereft of the palace buildings, pavilions and other edifices that it once contained. Two gateways and a part of the rampart walls now remain, together with a notable mosque building—one of the many such elegant ones that once adorned the citadel. The massive rampart walls of rough and rugged masonry, along with substantial bastions, bold battlements, machicolations, etc. are expressive of robust strength to which the gateways of dressed sandstone, picked out in white marble and occasionally inset with blue glaze, offer a most significant contrast. The main entrance through the western gateway exhibits an exceptionally elegant treatment, illustrative at once of massive vigour and refined grace. It is a prelude to the style of buildings that once adorned this highly purposeful citadel. The Quil'a-i-Kuhna Masjid, the chapel royal of Sher Shāh Sur, which is the only monument that has survived, possibly on account of its sacrosanct character, offers a most significant key to the admirable qualities of the various buildings that Sher Shāh erected within his citadel.

The Quil'a-i-Kuhna Masjid represents the crystallisation of the awakened tendencies that we have already recognised in the Moth-ki-Masjid and the Jamālī mosque built in the early decades of the sixteenth century. The accumulated experience of about half a century, under the able guidance of a monarch of liberal and aesthetic bent of mind, resulted in the production of this mosque, "a gem of architectural design", as Percy Brown aptly describes it.

The Quil'a-i-Kuhna mosque does not represent a large or ambitious composition. It has no cloisters and consists simply of the sanctuary chamber, an oblong of 138 feet by 55 feet with a height of about 60 feet, and a courtyard in front with an octagonal reservoir of water in the centre for the ablution of the worshippers. The Jamālī mosque, about fifteen years earlier, was the prototype on which Sher Shāh's mosque was modelled. A comparison of the two will, however, reveal what a great advance was made in architectural form and design within a comparatively short period. The design and arrangements of the two, including the scheme of the facade, the division of the interior, the structural procedures, etc. are practically the same. But whereas in the Jamālī mosque the various elements and arrangements are in the rough, they appear in refined and finished forms in Sher Shāh's production. "Each architectural feature crudely fashioned in the Jamāli mosque has been refined, improved, or amplified in order to fit it for its place in the finished production of the Quil'a-i-Kuhna. Sher Shāh's Chapel Royal in the Purānā Quil'a represents the culmination of its type."[8]

In the Quil'a-i-Kuhna mosque all the elements and details have been carefully disposed and harmoniously balanced so as to form one of the outstanding creations of building art. Its supreme excellence lies in the treatment of its facade which consists of five arched entrances of elegant proportions, each within a larger archway enclosed by a bold rectangular frame. The central archway is larger than the two flanking it on either side, and behind it rises the single dome of the flat Lodī type crowned by a fluted finial. The sandstone fabric is enriched with white marble inlay and inset patterns in coloured glaze and is further relieved by mouldings, carvings and bracketted openings, all disposed over the frontage in good taste. The facade represents a singularly fine achievement in its pleasing scheme and finished execution. Apart from its aesthetic character, it has also several features which are of some historical interest. The narrow turrets on two sides of the central bay of the fronton with their fluted mouldings remind one of the stellate flanges of the Qutb Minār, while a similar pair at the corners of the back wall retain the characteristic taper of the Tughluq buildings. Apart from such associations with the past, a link with the future may also be recognised in the slight drop or flatness in the curves of the arches towards the top, thus anticipating the so-called 'Tudor' arch of the Mughuls.

The interior arrangement of the mosque building is also equally pleasing. It is divided into five bays corresponding to five arched openings in front. The simple broad mouldings of the interior arches, the plastic treatment of the *mihrāb* wall and the effective proportions of the bays recall the elegant treatment of the frontage; and the various expedients for the support of the roof illustrate the inventive skill and technical assurance of the builders. In the centre the dome is supported on the usual squinch arch, while the intermediate bays with vaulted ceilings have a rare variety of stalactite with ornamental arches in between. The bays at the extreme ends exhibit novel and original features in the arrangement of a kind of cross-rib and semi-vault that have been used for the support of the roof. The technique is evidently of an experimental nature. Besides being a creation of high artistic standard, the Quil'a-i-Kuhna mosque is "pregnant with ideas, some of the past, others original" and contains "many elements of tradition" and "promises of future development".[9] In this connection mention may be made of the treatment of the central *mihrāb* enclosing a half-dome behind, which anticipates the semi-domed entrance used with so admirable an effect in Mughul buildings. The Quila'a-i-Kuhna offers a clue as to the character of other buildings erected by Sher

Shāh within his citadel. Such buildings have been swept away, perhaps in the frenzy of restoration of the Mughuls. The Mughul architectural style began as a definitive movement under Humāyūn's son and successor, the great Akbar, and it has been affirmed, possibly with some amount of truth, that Akbar received the inspiration for his own architectural projects from the group of buildings produced under the intelligent and enlightened patronage of Sher Shāh, and that the style of his buildings was influenced, to a certain extent at least, by the strong and revivified architectural tradition that flourished at the imperial capital during Sher Shāh's regime.

Akbar's victory in the second battle of Panipat (1556) planted the Mughul dominion firmly on the Indian soil. It was with this victory that the Mughul empire in India really began. Within fifteen years Akbar became the undisputed master of a far-flung empire, much larger than what his father had inherited, and had done more to consolidate the various heterogeneous racial and religious elements of Hindustān.

It was with Akbar that the Mughul architectural style, as an individual and distinctive tradition, may be said to have begun. He undertook various building projects in different parts of his empire and was responsible for the initiation and direction of a vigorous programme of building activity that was assiduously continued by his successors.

The mausoleum of Humāyūn at Delhi supplies an important landmark in the history of the building art of the Mughuls as heralding the new movement. Erected by his widow, Hājī Begam, during the early years of Akbar's reign, it is one of the most striking monuments of Indo-Muslim architecture. The work was begun in 1564, eight years after the death of Humāyūn, and took eight years to be completed. The building itself is supported on a wide square platform, 22 feet in height, with gracefully arcaded sides. The arches recall the Persian design and form and the piers are ornamented with inlays of white marble emphasising their graceful lines. Each archway opens into a small room for the accommodation of visitors. The mausoleum building occupies the centre of this arcaded platform and represents a square of 356 feet side with each corner chamfered and the middle of each side deeply set back. This arrangement lends to the building a pleasing effect of contrasting planes and deep shadows, further variegated by white marble lacings to pick out each and every lineament of the noble structure. The design and elevation of all the four sides are essentially identical; the dominating feature on each face consists of an enormous fronton, set back in the middle, accommodating a recessed archway, and with similar archways in the embowed wings on either side. Above rises the white marble dome of a very graceful contour, raised upon a substantial drum, with a number of pillared kiosks, roofed by small cupolas. Slender turrets surround the dome at its base and all these arrangements effectively break the skyline.

The interior arrangements of the structure are equally pleasing. Instead of consisting of a single chamber, as has been the practice hitherto, we have here a combination of rooms on a regular plan—the largest one in the centre with a vaulted roof containing the cenotaph of the emperor, and a smaller one at each angle intended for those of his family, all connected with one another by galleries and corridors. Every element in this complex design is balanced and seems to fit in organically with the other.

The entire building is laid within an enclosed quadrangle designed as a formal garden and approached by an imposing gateway in the middle of each of the perimeter walls. The idea of placing a tomb building within a walled-in space is nothing new. But the credit of expanding the enclosure into a formal garden (*chārbāgh*) with paved walks, flowered parterres variously patterned, ornamental water-courses, avenues of trees, etc. was entirely that of the Mughuls, possibly under inspiration from Timūrid architecture, and the scheme first makes its appearance in Humāyūn's tomb at Delhi.

The white marble dome of Humāyūn's tomb shows also certain new features in its shape as well as in its structural conception. In shape it offers a significant contrast to the low-pitched and broad-based domes of the earlier styles. Its slightly constricted neck and high pitch with the finial rising directly from the apex without any intervening member have parallels in fifteenth century Timūrid architecture from which this new type of dome in India appears to have been derived, though not exactly copied. On the structural side we find here for the first time the correct and logical application of the double dome, an expedient that is known to have been in use in Western Asia for a considerable length of time. The principle was, no doubt, known in India, as may be noticed in the crude attempts in this direction in the tomb of Sikandar Lodī at Delhi. The Hindu builders also appear to have been familiar with the idea and we may refer to the double vault used in the construction of the *śikhara* of the brick temple at Bhitargāon (Kanpur district, Uttar Pradesh), referable to about the fifth century A.D. In the tomb of Humāyūn the principle appears as a fully mature and rationalised structural expedient and was evidently inspired by the technique and methods of the West Asiatic architectural tradition. A dome constructed on this principle consists of an inner and an outer shell of masonry with a hollow space in between, the inner forming the vaulted ceiling over the main chamber. It represents an effective structural expedient; not only does it reduce the load of masonry, but it also enables the ceiling to be placed in better relation to the interior dimension of the hall to be covered, without any disturbance of the proportions and aspiring elevation of the exterior.

The tomb of Humāyūn strikes a new note in the order of funerary monuments in India. Though built during the reign of Akbar, it stands apart from the architectural conceptions of that emperor, and in spite of its notable qualities and ushering in of new principles and wider possibilities, it failed to set a fashion immediately. The Persian inspiration is evident in the plan and elevation of the building. This is not surprising as Humāyūn, apart from his inherited Persian predilections, strongly imbibed Persian culture due to his forced contact with the Safavīd court of Persia. It is also recorded that the architect entrusted with the building of this monument was one Mīrāk Mīrzā Ghiyās, who was almost certainly of Persian extraction. The name Arab Sarai of a nearby locality is said to be a reminder of the settlement of the foreign workmen employed in the building.

We may quote Percy Brown for an assessment of the various elements that contributed to the making of this noble monument: "Perhaps the nearest definition of the architectural style of this monument is that it represents an Indian interpretation of a Persian conception, as while there is much in its structure that is indigenous, there is at the same time much that can only be of Persian inspiration. Until now nowhere but in Persia had there appeared a dome of this shape and construction; solely in the buildings of that country had there figured the great arched alcove which gives such a character to the facade; and nowhere else but in the royal tombs of that region had there been devised that complex of rooms and corridors forming the interior arrangements. On the other hand, only India could have created such fanciful kiosks with their elegant cupolas, and above all only the skilled masons of that country could have produced such excellent stone masonry and combined it so artistically with the finer marble. In spirit and in structure Humāyūn's tomb stands as an example of the synthesis of two of the great building traditions of Asia—the Persian and the Indian."[10]

And the full efflorescence of Mughul architecture depends on this happy synthesis.

Outside the main stream of the Mughul architectural style, which started its definitive course in the building activities of Akbar, several monuments erected in the early years of the Mughul regime may also be found to be of some interest. The octagonal tomb style of the previous epoch, that had its brilliant expression in the tomb of Sher Shāh at Sasarām, reached its finale in two Delhi tombs. The first, the tomb of 'Īsā Khān built in 1547, is a composition of no mean merit. The octagonal tomb building stands in the middle of an octagonal court, enclosed by a balustrade of the same plan and including a mosque on the western side. The verandah, with three arches on each of its eight sides, terminates in a wide eave with crenellated battlements behind, the roof being relieved by eight pillared kiosks, one in the middle of each side surmounted by a dome. The octagonal mortuary chamber inside the arcaded verandah is covered by a low-pitched dome of the Lodī type with the usual finials crowning the whole. Each angle of the verandah is strengthened by a sloping buttress with a miniature turret as cresting. Similar crestings appear also at the angles of the drum surrounding the dome at its base. All the elements of the composition are in balanced relationship with one another and though it lacks the superb grandeur of Sher Shāh's tomb at Sasarām, the tomb of 'Īsā Khān may be considered to be one of the most pleasing creations of the octagonal tomb style. Compared to this, the tomb of Adham Khān at Meharauli (Delhi) fails to be convincing because of its apparent lack of balance and in spite of the embowed recesses, some with openings in the second stage of the structure. Built about twenty years later this is the last in the series of octagonal tombs. It marks the end of an imperial tradition, as Humāyūn's tomb which is approximately contemporary, heralds the birth of another.

Nearly contemporary to the tomb of Humāyūn at Delhi is the tomb of Muhammad Ghaus at Gwālior. It is a square structure of about 100 feet side with hexagonal towers attached to the four angles. The middle of each side is projected forward to form a portico for entrance into the gallery around the mortuary chamber. This gallery is enclosed by perforated screens of finely chiselled patterns set between pillars. The square of the tomb chamber is cut off by arches at the corners and on the octagon thus formed at the upper level is supported a broad flat dome. Wide eaves surround the building and in the upper stages appear pillared kiosks covered by cupolas. But for the ill-fitting hexagonal towers at the corners the composition may be said to be well balanced and singularly pleasing and reminds one of a type of tomb characteristic of Gujarāt Muslim architecture. The use of perforated screens may also have been derived from the same source. The pyramidal cupolas over the pavilions above the porticos have affinities with similar elements in Malwa Muslim architecture. The builder responsible for this monument seems to have been inspired by the vision of a synthesis of two forceful architectural traditions.

It appears that during the early part of the Mughul regime several forces had been at work for an attempt at a revivification of the moribund building art of the previous epoch. What was necessary was an intelligent direction to guide these forces into a strong and vigorous architectural movement.

2. *Foundation*

Akbar was resolved wholly to identify himself with India and to rule as an Indian sovereign, not as a foreign conqueror. He was the first of the Mughul emperors to be born in India and he sincerely considered himself to be an Indian, not a stranger like his grandfather with the eyes and heart turned toward the west. Moreover, he had neither the fanaticism, nor the intolerance for other faiths and creeds that this desert religion engendered among its followers. His liberal and enlightened mind was discerning enough to recognise and appreciate the good qualities in other faiths and he had the courage to honour and patronise merits irrespective of race or religion. The catholicity of his mind and views is reflected in all his works, political, administrative, as well as cultural. There was a new direction in the policy of the State, and that direction was an emphasis on the Indian point of view which the emperor himself strongly advocated. This new policy was responsible for the phenomenal expansion of the Mughul empire and for its consolidation and ultimate cohesion. The Mughul empire had its real beginning in the regime of this enlightened ruler, and so also a composite type of culture, known as the Mughul culture. Akbar was inspired by the ideal of a united India and this he strove to realise throughout his life. The splendid pageant of the Grand Mughuls retained its substance and reality so long as this liberal policy was maintained. The disintegration of the grand empire began as a result of the narrow and bigoted policy of Aurangzīb who wanted to impose the Islāmic point of view. The great Akbar fostered a forceful architectural style on a correct understanding and assimilation of the various traditions and ideals, indigenous as well as foreign. This style also languished when, as a result of the pressure of Islāmic ideals, there became manifest a gradual isolation from the traditions of the soil and a greater dependence on imported, i.e. foreign, ideas.

Perhaps an unlettered person, Akbar was a man of profound culture, with a fine literary taste, a keen intellectual curiosity and a high aesthetic discernment. During his long reign he initiated many ambitious architectural projects, and his creations in this field bear the impress of his own remarkable personality and character. He was planning his structural projects simultaneously with the building of his father's tomb at Delhi. It is significant that this tomb stands alone among all other architectural creations of his reign; and this fact would indicate that his policy and ideas in respect of building art were fundamentally different from those reflected in the tomb of Humāyūn. From his buildings it is clear that he did not intend to import a ready-made style from Persia or any other country. In conformity with his policy, he wanted the style that he sought to create to have an independent and Indian character. He found the Indian artists still maintaining the living traditions of their craft and was inspired with the idea of encouraging the indigenous systems in art and culture. Only when these proved to be wanting or deficient, did he turn to the traditions of other countries in order to compensate for the shortcomings of the indigenous mode.

In spite of his strong distaste for India, Bābur, as has been noted above, was highly impressed by the excellence of Indian workmanship in building art. Akbar also recognised and appreciated the technical skill and dexterity of the Indian workmen and fully exploited them in his own architectural undertakings. It is this policy that lent to the Akbari monuments a specifically Indian character, as contrasted to the rather exotic appearance of Humāyūn's tomb at Delhi.

It is necessary to discuss briefly the palace of Mān Singh in Gwālior fort which attracted the admiration of an inborn aesthete like Bābur. This will help us, we think, in understanding the character of the secular buildings erected by Akbar.

Mān Singh, a Tomara chieftain ruling at Gwālior (1486-1516), was one of the most enlightened among the Hindu rulers of his day and a munificent patron of music and architecture. His interest in the latter sphere is still evident in two beautiful palaces, of which the one, known after his name, has been recognised to be "one of the finest pieces of architecture in Northern India". Built at a time slightly prior to the advent of the Mughuls, it illustrates a purely indigenous style in palace architecture, and as one proceeds it will be apparent that from this style Akbar derived many useful ideas when building his own palaces within his fortified citadels.

This remarkable and interesting example of an early Hindu palace is situated on the eastern scarp of the rock on which the fort stands. Externally the dimensions are 300 feet by 150 feet, with a height of more than 80 feet on the eastern side. It is set against the eastern rampart of the fortress and the flat surface is relieved on each face by tall round bastions of a singularly pleasing design crowned by pavilions with domes of gilt copper flashing in bright sun, as Bābur once saw them. Between the bastions and breaking up the skyline of the parapet there appear again elegantly designed balconied kiosks. The facades are gracefully embellished with bold patterns, plastic as well as coloured. An effective plastic design, occupying the central division of the facade, consists of a range of arcades with foliated struts. The coloured ornament in blue, yellow and green enamel takes the shape of elegant bands of patterns with figures of men, elephants, tigers, birds, *makaras*, plantain trees, etc. and lends a charming and picturesque effect to the massive composition of the facades. "Nowhere", says Fergusson, "do I remember any architectural design capable of imparting a similar lightness to a massive wall." Much of this ornament has decayed and peeled off. Yet, it represents a grand and beautiful conception, immensely effective in treatment and execution.

The Hathiya Pol or the 'Elephant Gate', attached to the southern end of the eastern facade, is itself a product of high artistic merit and is in keeping with the pleasing design of the palace. It consists of a handsome domed building with a massive bracket and rich corbels, the bracket shape being, to a certain extent, concealed behind two semi-circular bands of floral patterns. The sides are effectively diversified by projecting balconies, perforated screenworks, and particularly by two boldly projecting circular bastions, each roofed by a dome on a cluster of pillars.

The interior of the palace complex consists of two highly artistic open courts, each with a suite of rooms on its four sides. The courts are rather small in size, but in their exquisite designs and rich and graceful embellishments they are perhaps unsurpassed. The smallness of the scale and the wealth of decorative detail stand in significant contrast to the bold and massive conception of the exterior walls. It appears that these interior courts lacked the able guidance and supervision of the master architect who might have planned and executed them in conformity with the noble and dignified conception of the outside. They are more the work of an artist and decorator than that of a builder endowed with the breadth of vision required for the creation of effective and purposeful habitations. Yet, it contains many interesting features that are of distinctly innovatory and ingenious character. The main body of the palace is divided into two storeys, with additional underground floors along the eastern wall for providing cool comfort in hot weather. The open pillared balconies in the uppermost floors overlook the courts below and add relief to the harsh four-square shape of the courts. The ingenuity of the builders is shown in the different structural expedients for support of the roofs, and the vault over a room in the south-east angle with ribs at the groins lends a charming effect to the interior. The different shapes and designs of the corbelled struts and their execution, the variegated shapes and the rich mouldings of the piers and pillars, the perforated screens of various patterns, the round and foliated arches, and the variously designed projecting eaves, including one of corrugated shape, are each a marvel of stone carving. The entire surfaces are covered with minute ornamentation in low relief and coloured glaze lending a most picturesque effect to the view of the interior. In spite of the smallness of scale, which had long been a deficiency in respect of the interior planning of a secular building, Mān Singh's palace furnishes us with a singularly pleasing conception, noble and dignified and, at the same time, romantic and picturesque. It has many distinctive elements and features that can very well be emulated under intelligent patronage and guidance.

We may now turn to the architectural projects of Akbar. The regulations regarding buildings, which Abu-'l-Fazl describes in detail in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*,[12] may serve as an effective prelude in order to understand the ideas of Akbar in this respect.

"Regulations for house-building in general are necessary; they are required for the comfort of the army, and are a source of splendour for the government. People that are attached to the world will collect in towns, without which there would be no progress. Hence His Majesty plans splendid edifices, and dresses the work of his mind and art in the garment of stone and clay. Thus mighty fortresses have been raised, which protect the timid, frighten the rebellious and please the obedient. Delightful villas and imposing towers have also been built. They afford excellent protection against cold and rain, provide for the comforts of the princesses of the Harem, and are conducive to that dignity which are so necessary for worldly power."

"Everywhere also *sarāīs* have been built which are for the comfort of travellers and the asylum of poor strangers. Many tanks and wells have been dug for the benefit of men and the improvement of the soil. Schools and places of worship are being founded and the triumphal arch of knowledge is newly adorned."

The above observations clearly illustrate the practical nature of Akbar's architectural undertakings. All his projects were intended as much to serve utilitarian purposes as to display and emphasise the might and splendour of the government. He was the founder of several fortified royal residences, each of which served as his capital during the period that the emperor was in residence there. They have been designed, hence, in such a manner and scale as to accommodate the royal entourage.

The first of such royal residences to be erected was the fortress palace at Āgra which was completed in eight years (1565-1573). It was built "under the superintendence of Muhammad Qāsim Khān, the overseer of the buildings and ships".[13] In plan the fort takes the shape of an irregular semi-circle lined along the right bank of the river Jumna. The massive enclosure wall consists of a solid red sandstone rampart, nearly seventy feet high and one and a half miles in circuit, and represents the first application of sized and dressed stone on such a huge scale. Contemporary records consider the construction of this enormous mass as a remarkable feat of achievement and it is stated that "from the top to the bottom fire-red hewn stones, linked by iron rings, are joined so closely that even a hair cannot find its way into the joints."[14] This massive fabric, with its embattled parapets, machicolations, string-courses, etc. has a solemn artistic grandeur, beautiful as well as effective for its purpose.

The Delhi Gate, also known as the Hathi Pol, stands on the western side and forms the principal entrance to the citadel. One of the earliest of Akbar's buildings (it is said to have been completed in 1566), its noble conception, at once fresh and virile, indicates the inauguration of a new era in the art of building. It is a massive structure designed on the usual scheme of an arched entrance flanked by two substantial bastions projecting from the rampart. The bastions are octagonal in shape and rise up boldly, each with an octagonal domed kiosk at the top. The interior of the gateway building consists of several commodious rooms for the accommodation of the guard, while the back has a charming facade with arcaded terraces surmounted by domed pavilions and pinnacles. This imposing portal is disposed in several storeys, each bastion being divided transversely by a surrounding balcony on brackets that serves as the most effective line of interruption to the solid mass of the facade. The solids and voids are also disposed very skilfully; the lower storey has no opening, except for the arched entrance, in keeping with its character requiring strength and stability, while the upper has arched recesses, one on each side of the octagon, thus imparting to the building the necessary appearance of depth. The entire surface is richly decorated by inlay as well as by coloured glaze. The patterns in white marble inlay on the arcades and panels, both inside and outside, are the most effective against the warm red texture of sandstone fabric. The patterns in coloured glaze consist of winged dragons, elephants and birds, in defiance of the Islāmic injunction against the representation of living forms, and strikingly illustrate the liberal spirit of toleration that marked all the activities of this enlightened emperor.

There is no doubt that the creator of this impressive gateway was imbued with a fresh spirit, free and unrestrained. Its noble and dignified character is universally admitted. It has been aptly put: "The buildings of the Akbari period are remarkable for their animation which reflect the spirit of the time, but few are so vibrant in their character as this monumental gateway at Agra fort."[15]

Abu-'l-Fazl relates in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* that within the fort the emperor built "upwards of five hundred edifices of red stone in the fine styles of Bengal and Gujarat".[16] This statement is significant. We are familar with Akbar's versatility and his desire to build up a great architecture, distinctively Indian in character. For this he wanted gifted artists from all parts of Northern India to share in his own architectural undertakings, and assembled them together to work with his master builders who, under his enlightened leadership, were inspired by the same spirit of catholicity. Thus was developed a unified and national style of building art in which each distinctive tradition, imperial as well as provincial, played an important part. Even the distant regions were not overlooked if they had some contributions to make. The impress of Gujarāti tradition is clear and explicit in the predominantly prevailing system of trabeate construction and also in the exquisite stone carvings. The contribution of Bengal is not so emphatic, at least in the extant monuments. From Abu-'l-Fazl's categorical statement this province also seems to have played not an insignificant part in Akbar's architectural undertakings within the Āgra fort. Only a fragment of Akbar's numerous buildings at Āgra has survived today, and the contribution of the Bengali workmen might have been swept away along with the obliteration of many of Akbar's buildings to make room for Shāh Jahān's pretty creations in marble. The name Bengali bastion still persists, but the building is in ruins and it is difficult to ascertain its real character. It appears more than probable that the Bengali hut-shaped roof with elegantly curved eaves, which forms a prominent feature in later Mughul monuments, made its first appearance at the imperial capital during Akbar's regime and established itself throughout the western regions as a distinctive element in architectural design and decoration.

Akbar's buildings at Āgra occupied the southern angle of the fort and were lined along the parapet of the eastern wall overlooking the river. Most of these, as has already been stated, no longer exist. Among those that have escaped destruction, mention may be made of two palace buildings, known, respectively, as Akbarī Mahal and Jahāngīrī Mahal. The first was probably completed in 1571, while the second, from its character and design, appears to be a later erection, also during the emperor's long regime, for the residence of the heir-apparent, the future emperor Jahāngīr. Each of these palaces was designed on the usual scheme of ranges of double-storeyed chambers around an open courtyard. The Akbarī Mahal is now mostly in ruins; from the vestiges that remain, its treatment appears to have been a little coarser, though bolder, when compared to the finer and more ornate workmanship of the Jahāngīrī Mahal. A part of the Akbarī Mahal was later demolished in order to accommodate the Jahāngīrī Mahal. The latter is approximately 261 feet by 288 feet externally and is provided with substantial bastions, crowned by domed cupolas, at the four corners. The exterior is relieved by low relief carvings as well as by white marble inlays. The palace is entered by a gateway leading by a vestibule to an entrance hall whence galleries with sumptuous colonnades run round the courtyard. The view of this interior court with the colonnades on its four sides, richly ornamented as they are, is one of impressive grandeur. Behind the galleries are the ranges of rooms the distribution of which cannot be said to be always regular. The system of construction is trabeate, the pillar, the beam and bracket and the flat ceiling forming the principal features of construction. On the upper storey the gallery on each side is faced by an arcade; but the arches have no structural purpose being employed merely in an ornamental capacity. These arcades supply an appearance of lightness to the upper storey, in contrast to the solid effect of the lower with its heavy columns and massive brackets and corbels. There is a profusion of exquisite carving all over, the plastic quality recalling the indigenous stone-carver's art. The quaint shape and design of the brackets, the inclined struts supporting the beam of the roof, the pillars with their expanding bases and capitals are more appropriate in wooden architecture from which certainly they have been derived in the ultimate analysis. The indigenous craftsmen translated these in stone with ingenious dexterity and the stamp of their work seems undeniable in the methods as well as the decor of the palace. To sum up, one may quote Percy Brown who says: "in the general character of the fort at Āgra there is a resemblance to the fortress at Gwālior, with its palaces of Mān Singh built early in the century, which cannot be accidental. The elephant gateway, the cupolas of Amar Singh's gateway, the palaces rising out of the fort-walls, the planning of these palaces, and also some of the carved details, all indicate that the Rājput citadel, which had moved Bābur to admiration some forty years before, was used freely as a model by his more fortunately placed grandson."[17]

The forts that Akbar started at Lahore almost at the same time and at Allahābād some twenty years later appear to have been carried out on the same grand scale. The former is considerably smaller, but the plan is more regular and the buildings are more symmetrically disposed. In spite of subsequent alterations, what is left of Akbar's buildings resembles those of Āgra and agree with them in general style and character. There is, however, a greater picturesque effect added to the Lahore palaces, perhaps due to the aesthetic predilections of Akbar's son Jahāngīr. The Allahābād fort has been shorn much of its architectural interest. His buildings at this place apparently conformed to those at Āgra, Lahore and other places. But all, except one, are gone. This surviving monument represents an elegant structure and indicates a fashion for peristylar arrangement, the grouping of pillars in pairs and in fours forming a novel and effective scheme.

But the most ambitious and magnificent of the emperor's architectural undertakings is the new capital city that he built on the ridge at Sīkrī, 26 miles west of Āgra. This city was subsequently named Fathpur (city of victory) after Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt in 1572. The conception of the new imperial headquarters, it is recorded, is connected with the circumstances that attended the birth of Prince Salīm, the future emperor Jahāngīr. At Sīkrī lived a saint, Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, who foretold the birth of a son to Akbar who would survive the emperor. One of the queens having become enciente soon after, Akbar took her to Sīkrī and built for her a magnificent palace, now known as Rang Mahal, near the residence of the saint. There, in 1569, the queen gave birth to a son who was named Salīm in reverent gratitude to the holy saint. The place was thought to be auspicious and Akbar conceived the idea of building an entirely new capital city at the place on a rocky eminence by the side of an extensive artificial lake. The scheme matured into the greatest of all his architectural projects, and this splendid city with its grand mosque, its delightful palaces and pavilions, its spacious official buildings and other edifices, bears witness to Akbar's magnificent achievements as a patron of the building arts. Here we have one of the finest groups of Mughul buildings, the majority of them still intact; and they illustrate in a singularly forceful manner the emperor's artistic ideals and his genius in this respect. Conceived and built as a single unit the work was pushed on with such phenomenal speed that, as if by magic, palaces, public buildings, mosques and tombs, gardens and baths, pavilions and water-courses were called into being beneath the barren sandstone ridge of Sīkrī. In his autobiography Jahāngīr writes that "in the course of fourteen or fifteen years that hill full of wild beasts became a city containing all kinds of gardens and buildings, lofty edifices and pleasant places attractive to the heart."[18] The splendour and prosperity of this capital city also evoked high praise from Europeans like Father Monserrate and Ralph Fitch, the latter describing it as greater than London with a teeming population and full of merchandise from many countries.

Among the Mughul miniatures we have more than one painting representing the building of Fathpur Sīkrī. It is a scene of bustling activity, directed by the emperor himself whom we find in one of the pictures questioning a mason and urging him on, in another taking a hand in the work itself, and so on. It is this personal supervision of the emperor, possessed of an imperious and untiring energy, that was responsible for the lightning rapidity with which the work was pushed on, and it is his own artistic taste and ideals that endowed the city with so great an amount of charm and magnificence. Even before the city was completed, it became a busy and bustling centre where poets and musicians, historians and theologians, artists and craftsmen all flocked together under the benevolent patronage and inspiring leadership of the emperor. Unfortunately, the city was completed only to be abandoned for no apparent reason that we can guess. Many scholars ascribe the creation and desertion of the city to the passing whim of a despotic ruler. But a mere passing whim rarely calls into being such an architectural magnificence, and though the court was shifted, possibly for reasons of State policy, the city was not really abandoned. Akbar, and later on Jahāngīr, used to visit it on occasions. Akbar had a reverent love for the place and it was here that as late as 1601 he thought of erecting the triumphal archway, the Buland Darwāza, to commemorate his conquests in the Deccan.

The city of Fathpur Sīkrī occupies a rectangular area, running roughly north-east to south-west according to the configuration of the ridge on which it is situated. It is enclosed by bastioned walls round its three sides, the fourth being protected by the lake. The walls, not very substantially built, were of little military value and stand in definite contrast to the sturdy and solid appearance of the walls either at the Āgra or the Lahore fort. Nine gateways pierced the fortress walls and of these, the Āgra gate formed the principal entrance to the city. From this gate a road led straight to the Dīwān-i-'Ām (hall of public audience) and further on to the great congregational mosque, the Jāmi' Masjid, that stands apart from the official and residential buildings situated on the flattened crest of the ridge. The other buildings of more or less utilitarian character, such as the caravanserais, gardens, etc. are ranged round and principally down the slope of the ridge to the north. Apart from such a rough grouping of the buildings according to their purposes and uses, there is little indication of any regular system of town-planning being followed in the lay-out and composition of the city. The main buildings, again, are aligned diagonally to the city walls, an arrangement that was necessitated to ensure regularity and conformity with the fixed orientation of the grand mosque which, with its lofty Buland Darwāza, supplies the most impressive landmark in the city.

The monuments of Fathpur Sīkrī may be divided into two classes, one religious and the other secular. The secular monuments, such as palaces, office buildings, *sarāīs,* pavilions, etc. are by far the most numerous, and they exemplify the various designs and shapes. It is from these buildings of the secular order that one can form an idea of the general style of architecture that was developed during this august emperor's reign. The religious buildings, because of the needs of ritualistic conventions, were differently treated and conform to the general shape and design of the monuments of this order.

Undoubtedly the most impressive creation of this new capital city is the grand Jāmi' Masjid which has been aptly described by Fergusson[19] as the 'glory' of Fathpur Sīkrī and as having been 'hardly surpassed by any in India'. Being the first of the great congregational mosques, usually associated with the chief cities of the Mughuls, it is at the same time a magnificent monument and a model for the others that followed. Though now consisting of a group of monumental buildings, of no mean artistic merit by themselves, the mosque was originally conceived as a single and symmetrical unit of the typical design, but on a rather vast and impressive scale. It covers a quadrangular area, 542 feet east and west and 432 feet north and south, with a high wall surmounted by a battlemented parapet surrounding an inner court of unusually large dimensions. Originally there were three gateways of uniform shape and design, one in the middle of each of the perimeter walls on the east, north and south; but only one of these, that facing the sanctuary and known as the Bādshāhi gate, can now be seen in its original state. The open inner court with its fine ranges of arcaded cloisters surmounted by single rows of light kiosks has a fine and dignified appearance.

The sanctuary on the western side of the court measures approximately 288 feet by 66 feet and is, by itself a self-contained unit. The facade is divided into three parts consisting of a large arched alcove wthin a rectangular fronton, flanked by an arcaded wing on either side. In conformity with the design of the facade the sanctuary is crowned by three domes of the flat Lodī type, but considerably tilted at their bases with a view to increasing their height. The central dome, with a diameter of 41 feet, covers the prayer hall corresponding to the nave, while two side ones, each with a diameter of 25 feet, are placed over the two wings. The remaining portion of the roof is flat supported on pillars and brackets of indigenous shape and design. Each dome has a finial which again is of the indigenous pattern. The curved ribs on the inside of each dome recall the construction of the central dome of the Champanir mosque in Gujarāt, a province which was noted for the traditional skill and dexterity of the indigenous craftsmen. Over the cloisters on three sides, light and beautiful kiosks line the entire length of the sanctuary roof, thus effectively breaking up the skyline. The facade is relieved by an elegant use of white marble inlay emphasising each architectural feature.

The interior arrangements of the sanctuary are characterised by the same simplicity and spaciousness of conception which distinguish the exterior. The three main divisions of the facade are maintained in the interior which consists of the central hall or the nave behind the large alcoved entrance, and two pillared aisles on two sides corresponding to the two arcaded wings of the facade. The nave is entered by three archways in the alcoved fronton and is roofed by the large central dome. It communicates with the pillared aisles by arches through the solid walls at the sides. The smaller domes over the wings mark the position of the chapels within the pillared aisles. The interior of the sanctuary, with its judicious sense of space, its long receding views along the well-grouped pillared aisles, its admirable matching of two contrasting procedures —the trabeate and the arcuate—and its rich mural decorations distributed over most of the surface, especially over the *mihrāb* wall, in an almost infinite variety of patterns, presents a fine and superb effect.

The grand Jāmi' mosque at Fathpur Sīkrī had been conceived as a balanced and harmonious composition and had been executed in a masterly manner so that each part was carefully adjusted to the other and to the noble magnitude of the structure as a whole. The symmetry of the composition was, however, disturbed subsequently by the erection of other structures within the courtyard and by the rebuilding of the southern entrance to the mosque enclosure as a massive and noble composition by itself. After his successful campaign in the Deccan the emperor was resolved to commemorate his victory by the erection of a triumphal archway. The southern entrance to the Jāmi' Masjid at Fathpur Sīkrī was considered to be a suitable position, and the original entrance was replaced by the construction of a massive portal. This was known as the Buland Darwāza which, with its immense bulk towering above the buildings of the city, represents one of the most striking compositions ever known. It is a complete structure by itself, raised over a lofty stepped terrace, 42 feet in height, and consists of a large hall and a number of smaller apartments through which access is obtained to the inner quadrangle of the mosque. From the terraced platform to the finial it is 134 feet in height, the total height, including that of the supporting terrace, being 176 feet. The width of the front is 130 feet, while from front to back it measures 123 feet.

Like most other buildings at Fathpur Sīkrī the fabric of this impressive gateway is of red sandstone, relieved by carving and discreet inlaying of white marble that gives an emphasis to the bold lineaments of the composition. The front is built in the shape of a semi-octagon, projecting 33 feet beyond the encircling walls on its flanks. Apart from its chaste ornamentation, the facade is remarkable for the treatment of the entrance. An entrance portal requires massive dimensions for an effect of strength, vigour and dignity; to give a large building a door at all in proportion to its dimensions is one of the most difficult problems in the science and art of building. The problem is to fit a doorway in an immense structure, proportionate to its dimensions, and at the same time not too large as to look out of its required purpose. The problem has been exercising the ingenuity of the builders in all ages, and different countries have been trying to solve the problem in different ways. It was in Islāmic architecture that a satisfactory solution of this difficult problem was achieved whereby the dignity indispensable for the situation was attained without unnecessarily increasing the size of the entrance. The principle was to diminish gradually the monumental scale of the gateway building, part by part, till it is reduced to the size of a doorway of the normal form. It requires a long experience in working along the correct principle to arrive at a satisfactory solution of such a difficult problem, and the method adopted by the Islāmic builders proved to be efficient as well as highly aesthetic. In the Buland Darwāza we have a masterly conception in which the principle may be found to have been applied in its most effective and magnificent form. In the centre of this monumental portal is a huge rectangular fronton which consists of an immense archway accommodating in its rear a semi-domed bay or alcove in five planes in the shape of a half-decagon and in three vertical stages. The alcove or semi-dome represents the modulus of the design with its scale that of the monument itself, irrespective of the size of the openings at the back. The lowest stage of the alcove consists of three ordinary-sized archways for access to the interior, and is separated by a row of arcades from the upper which consists of bold arches surmounted by a series of cross-ribs supporting the half-dome of the bay. The chamfered sides are also similarly treated with the difference that each facade is divided into two smaller alcoves with a row of arches intervening. The rectangular frame on each face is flanked by richly decorated slender quoins projecting beyond the height of the structure. The top is surmounted by battlements beyond which small light kiosks raise up their domed cupolas lending a variety to the skyline. The back of the gateway with its three arches, battlements and kiosks is more simple in arrangement and is of much smaller height.

With its immense bulk and towering height the Buland Darwāza presents an imposing appearance from whatever angle it is viewed. It has space and scale, mass and proportion, and is full of decorative elegance which, by emphasising the noble lineaments of the structure, serves its purpose most effectively. We have here a perfect co-ordination between the structure and its ornament, so indispensable in best forms of architecture. Standing out in male fashion against the barren rocks of Sīkrī ridge, this gateway has almost an aggressive strength, more befitting in a citadel than in a place of worship. It has to be remembered, however, that it was an afterthought in the mosque design, the intention being to raise up a triumphal archway to proclaim the might of the empire after a successful military campaign. This the whole gateway fulfils most effectively and, as a whole, it is an admirable reflex of the mind of the emperor who called it into being. One may find an incongruity of the structure in relation to the mosque which is thrown out of balance by the immense pile of this portal. But, as already observed, this enormous gateway was no original part of the mosque design. Being an afterthought and conceived for a distinct purpose it has to be judged as a self-contained and individual unit, and as such it has hardly any parallel in any other country. "The Buland Darwaza", Percy Brown says, "is a work of great force, especially when viewed from the ground below, as then it presents an appearance of aspiring and overwhelming strength without being weighty and pretentious."[20]

Two other later additions were made within the mosque enclosure. Although they have increased its interest as well as its sanctity, they have disturbed the symmetrical composition of the mosque as a whole by obstructing the fine spatial effect of the interior. One of these is the tomb of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, the patron saint of Sīkrī, situated on the north side of the quadrangle. It is a small and attractive building in marble, square in plan, and stands on an inlaid marble platform with a projecting portico on the south. The cenotaph chamber, a square of 16 feet side, is roofed over by a single dome and is surrounded by a corridor enclosed by elegant marble screens, rich and varied in design and so delicate in execution as to look almost like lace-work. The tomb was erected in 1571 by Nawab Qutb-ud-dīn Khān, and with its marble fabric and wealth of fanciful ornament it has a soft and effeminate grace in definite contrast to the robust style of Akbari architecture. The marble work, however, seems to be an architectural palimpsest, undertaken either during the reign of Jahāngīr or about the beginning of that of Shāh Jahān. Marble as the main building material came into fashion during the later part of the reign of Jahāngīr and became the prevailing mode in the time of Shāh Jahān. Due to this later development the followers of the holy saint were perhaps inspired by the idea of clothing his mausoleum by the more refined and costly marble, and though certain details, such as the fanciful voluted shape of the struts, the rich traceried ornamentation, etc. were elaborations during this later transformation, the original design of the building appears to have been little affected. The pillars supporting the portico are richly carved, and particularly interesting are the convoluted struts with perforated ornament between the curves, springing from the shafts and supporting the brackets under the eaves. Such struts might have been derived from similar ones in the temples of Gujarāt, but are elaborated to such an extent as to look quite fanciful. The pierced screens of the corridor are also very finely worked, the lightness of their execution being perhaps responsible for the tomb being described as 'a gem of craftsmanship'. In its present appearance, however, it lacks the simplicity and robustness of Akbari style and is entirely out of keeping with the emperor's ideals of building art. The interior of the tomb is also as elaborate as the exterior. The walls are variegated by rich painted patterns; the floor is inlaid in coloured marbles; and the wooden canopy over the cenotaph, consisting of four pillars supporting a handsome dome, is inlaid with ebony and mother of pearl.

Close by and to the east of the tomb of the Shaikh stands the mausoleum of Islām Khān, a grandson of the saint, that was built of red sandstone in 1612. This encroachment led to the dismantling and closing of the entrance on the north side of the mosque enclosure. Though built during the reign of Jahāngīr, its red sandstone fabric retains much of the quality of the Akbari style. It consists of a large domed chamber, square on the outside and octagonal inside, and is surrounded by a corridor all around enclosed by perforated screens. Later on, several burial chambers had been made on the western side by placing lateral screens across. The kiosks on the roof, apart from breaking the skyline, impart a picturesqueness to the building which, in its fabric as well as in its design, is nearer to the building of Akbar than to those of the time of Jahāngīr.

At Fathpur Sīkrī the civil and residential structures are, by far, the more numerous. Though not imposing in size generally, they are singularly interesting as elegant types of office and domestic buildings of the period. In the former class mention should be made of at least two fine structures, one known as the Daftar Khānā or the office, and the other, the Dīwān-i-Khās, the hall of private audience. The former consists of a rectangular hall, approximately 36 feet by 19 feet internally, surrounded by a wide columned verandah, roughly 18 feet in depth. The roof is flat and the entire construction is of the indigenous trabeate order. The peristylar arrangement of the facades, with pillars arranged in pairs and quartettes, has a fine view of almost classical elegance.

The Dīwān-i-Khās, though not a large structure, was a highly distinctive production because of the unique manner in which the interior has been designed and treated. It is a square building, about 43 feet each way externally, the facades being divided into two stages by wide cornices, supported on heavy brackets, running on all sides. The interior consists of a single vaulted chamber, nearly 28 feet square. The manner of the treatment of this hall is very unusual—not to be seen in any other building in any part of the world. A continuous gallery runs around the four sides, from the corners of which narrow galleries are thrown diagonally to converge at the centre. Here the diagonal passages meet a circular platform supported on a substantial and exquisitely patterned column rising from the centre of the floor and spreading into a massive expanding capital composed of a cluster of closely set pendulous brackets. It has been suggested that this circular platform of this complicated contrivance was intended for the royal throne, the whole arrangement symbolising the emperor's dominion over the four quarters. The design of the brackets and of the galleries suggests wooden prototypes and reflects essentially the indigenous methods and systems. The arrangement of a hanging throne platform connected with hanging galleries by radiating passages represents a novel and original conception, and none but the versatile emperor could have devised it. In spite of a top-heavy appearance of the expanding ponderous brackets, the entire arrangement has a certain dignity of effect and not a little artistic significance. The roof of the building is flat and is provided with kiosk with a domed cupola at each corner. Though a novel and unique experiment, the building as a whole cannot but be regarded as a successful production.

The palaces and other residential buildings in the city are very elegant structures, in spite of the smallness of their scale. They exhibit, more or less, the same general style, the difference being marked by their plan and decorative detail. Of these, the most important conception seems to have been the one known as Jodhā Bāī's palace. It is a stately building of large size and is designed in the usual scheme of suites of rooms round a paved courtyard with a substantial double-storeyed block in the middle of each side and at each corner. The two-storeyed blocks in the centre consist, more or less, of self-contained suites of apartments in the rear preceded by porticos in front overlooking the inner court. Many of these chambers are covered by waggon-vaulted roofs. They are connected with the corner blocks by continuous galleries below, each of the corner blocks being covered by a low-pitched dome. The view of the interior quadrangle, with its continuous corridor, double-storeyed blocks with their variously designed roofs, and wide eaves casting deep shadows over every facade, is remarkably impressive and provides a definite contrast to the forbiddingly plain exterior which, with continuous bare walls, serves as a high screen, no doubt intended for ensuring privacy and seclusion. Relief is obtained by the projection of annexes—a front court preceding the entrance, a service block and an airy pavilion (*Hāwā Khānā*)—and further by balcony windows projecting from the sides of the entrance and from near the angles.

The decorative features of the palace are in extremely good taste and indicate a preference for the indigenous motifs. The construction, likewise, is predominantly trabeate. The roofs and the parapets still retain traces of glazed tile decorations, but the attractive colour scheme was intended more for emphasis and relief, than for any brilliant flashing effect. The carved decorations on pillars, balconies, perforated grilles, ornamental niches, etc. recall indigenous patterns, and these, together with the volutes, brackets, etc. appear to have been derived from similar features in the architecture of Western India, particularly Gujarāt. The use of brackets and lintels in the entrance archway also points to a strong indigenous influence in methods as well as in decorative designs and their execution. It is apparent that persons traditionally familiar with the indigenous architectural practices were responsible for the conception and construction of this beautiful palace.

The house connected with the name of Rājā Bīrbal is a two-storeyed structure, raised on a plinth, with entrance porches on the north and the south. The ground floor has a suite of four rooms, each with a flat ceiling composed of long slabs of stone, extending from wall to wall and laid on a curved cornice supported on brackets. The first floor is reached by two stair-cases in the thickness of the walls, one in the south-west corner and the other in the north-east. It has only two rooms, placed cornerwise, which open on two terraces once enclosed by stone screens. Each room is covered by a dome which, though of low-pitched form, has been built on the principle of a double dome. The entrance porches on the ground floor have angular roofs, thus lending a pleasing variety to the elevational aspect of the building. The interior as well as the exterior are covered with exuberant, but forceful, carvings. The architectural treatment of the exterior is immensely diversified with pilasters, dados, arched niches, and amazingly ornate brackets supporting the wide eaves. The crest pattern on the parapet of each storey is also in refined taste. Bīrbal's house at Fathpur Sīkrī represents a superb example of residential structure, remarkable for its balance and harmony of design and for the distinctive way in which the structural and decorative elements have been employed in beautiful conformity with each other.

Two other buildings of this class, though simple and unpretentious, are also notable productions because of the delightful elegance of their setting as well as workmanship. One of them, known as Turkish Sultānā's house, is a modest composition of little structural value. It consists of a single one-storeyed apartment contained within a pillared gallery and situated amidst a picturesque setting of paved courts and water-courses. Apart from its beautiful situation, much of its elegance and individuality rests on the rich variety and quality of its carved decorations covering every inch of its surface inside and out. Executed in a delicate method of low relief, the carvings include, besides motifs of more conventional order, a remarkable series of naturalistic panels, so refined in treatment as to avoid any feeling of pettiness or vulgarity. "It is", says Fergusson, "one of the richest, the most beautiful and the most naturalistic of Akbar's buildings. ...It is impossible to conceive anything so picturesque in outline or any building carved and ornamented to such an extent without the smallest approach to being overdone or in bad taste."[21] At one time this building appears to have been covered with elaborate paintings, significant fragments of which still remain. Scholars may try to recognise the hand of Persian artists in the conception and decoration of this fine monument. But the methods of construction are purely indigenous and the character and technique of plastic embellishments suggest wooden derivations, betraying the hand of Indian workmen familiar with that tradition.

The house of Miriam also represents a small, but perfect, residential building characterised by a chaste simplicity of design. It is situated on a low terraced platform and consists of a suite of rooms with a pillared corridor along its three sides and with an open rectangular kiosk, crowned by an angular canopy, on its flat roof. The simple design of the pillars and brackets lends an appearance almost of classical dignity to the exterior; the interior was originally embellished with large mural paintings drawn with great vigour. Traces of these still remain and they supply interesting specimens of the early and formative stage in the evolution of the celebrated Mughul school of painting. It is said that the building was once profusely gilded for which it was known as Sunherā Makān or the golden house.

The Pānch Mahal at Fathpur Sīkrī, described by some scholars as a rather "fantastic creation" is an unusual structure which displays in a singularly interesting manner the architectural preferences and ideals of the emperor. It consists of a tall pyramidal structure of five storeys, each storey designed as an open pavilion supported on clusters of pillars of graceful designs. The principal element in the composition is the hypostylar arrangement of each storey, the ground floor consisting of eighty-four pillars, the number diminishing gradually in each successive upper storey; the topmost one, which is crowned by a domed canopy, is supported on four pillars. In spite of the arrangement being so simple, the entire structure is of noble and dignified proportions. The pillars in each storey conform to a general scheme; everyone however is varied in the treatment of its cap and base, as well as in its mouldings, so that the eye finds infinite variety of interest in observing the details without any disturbance of the general effect of classic dignity and repose. The entire conception of the storeyed pavilion, including the design, the structural procedure and the shapes and patterns of the pillars and the brackets, breathes the spirit of indigenous architectural practices, and it has been rightly suggested that it is derived from the old assembly halls of India.

There are also other structures of no little artistic merit in the deserted city of Fathpur Sīkrī. Those described above, being the most notable, illustrate, in an effective manner, the general style of Akbari architecture. These other buildings, each designed for a special purpose, have much the same architectural character that we have already noticed in the monuments described above. One other important architectural conception was planned and initiated by this great emperor; and this was his own mausoleum building at Sikandra in the vicinity of Āgra. But he did not live to complete it, a task that devolved on his son and successor Jahāngīr. There are reasons to believe that Akbar's original conception was, to a certain extent, modified by Jahāngīr, and it is to these subsequent modifications that the present architectural appearance is attributed. It now stands apart from Akbar's own buildings and a discussion of the monument may properly be reserved for the next section.

The buildings erected by Akbar at Āgra, Allahābād and Lahore have been mostly swept away or much disfigured during the subsequent operations. The noble and graceful edifices of Fathpur Sīkrī remain, however, practically unaltered and in much of their pristine forms. They supply, therefore, a wonderful reflex of the emperor's versatile personality and of his liberal and catholic views. Built as a single and comprehensive unit, Fathpur Sīkrī reflects the mind of the emperor inspired by the vision of a united India—a vision that is clearly evident in its various magnificent buildings. His sympathies for Indian culture led him to draw gifted artists from all parts of India. Coupled with their contributions there were the elements of the Islāmic architectural tradition as developed in India during the earlier phases of Islāmic rule. Besides, there were ideas from West Asiatic building traditions. As a patron of the building arts Akbar stands unique in the history of Indian architecture. He has shown a marvellous aptitude and adaptability and himself guided the work of the builders and artists, each working according to his own tradition and capability. The emperor's liberal and catholic attitude and his highly sensitive artistic mind directed the movement in such a way as to blend and harmonise the best in every tradition into a unified and distinctive style. With its roots in the soil of the country, this style may be called truly national.

The buildings of Akbar are mainly trabeated in their construction. There is also a predominance of indigenous designs, motifs and practices. The genius of the emperor as a patron of the building arts lies in the fact that he found immense possibilities in the traditional skill and experience of the indigenous builders, and he utilised them in full in his own architectural projects. Under his inspiring leadership the different traditions commingled in such an effective and fruitful manner as to build up a forceful architectural style in which the structure with its noble lineaments is found to be in perfect unison with its elegant decor. We have in Akbar's buildings rich and variegated ornaments, no doubt, but the value of the structure was never missed. The ornaments, however exuberant, are always subservient and complementary to it as emphasising, and giving relief to, its bold lineaments. The emphasis on the horizontal, clearly evident in the wide projecting eaves throwing deep shadows across the elevation of the building, and the lines of parapets and string-courses are finely counterbalanced by the equally strong vertical passages of light and shade produced by the pillars and the brackets. The solid and massive aspect of the building is balanced by the soaring effect of lightness imparted by the graceful kiosks over the roof. It is on this impressive balance between the horizontal and the vertical, between the solids and the voids, between massive heaviness and airy lightness, that the beauty of the structure mainly depends, the elegant and refined ornamental treatment adding to its magnificence in no mean degree. In Akbar's buildings we have a noble and forceful architectural style, built up on the traditions of the soil, a truly national art movement with immense possibilities under able and intelligent patronage.

3. *Development and Culmination*

Jahāngīr's contributions to the building art appear to have been rather insignificant when compared to the vast and ambitious projects of his father on the one hand and those of his son on the other. Like his great-grandfather Bābur, he was a keen lover of the beauties of nature and art and was endowed with an aesthetic sensibility much greater than that of his father. But Jahāngīr's tastes and predilections lay in other directions. His inclination was more towards the art of painting than towards that of building. The Mughul school of painting had its foundation in the days of Akbar; it was Jahāngīr's keen aesthetic sense and critical power of judgment and appreciation that raised the school to the highest peak of its achievement. In *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* the autobiography of Jahāngīr, we have frequent references to his reactions to painting; and in these we have a frank picture of the aesthetic mind of the emperor and of his keen susceptibilities. Significantly enough, his reaction to a good building has seldom been recorded, and even when recorded, it is of a general and superficial nature which indicates that his appreciation of the building art was not above the level of that of an ordinary spectator. No wonder, therefore, that the brilliant and ceaseless architectural activity of the previous reign was followed by a comparatively uneventful period. Nevertheless, in the history of Mughul architecture the period of Jahāngīr was not without a certain importance, supplying, as it does, a significant link between its two grand phases—the initial phase of splendid and purposeful buildings of the time of Akbar and the culminating phase of luxuriance and exuberance of the days of Shāh Jahān.

During the early years of his reign Jahāngīr had to take a certain personal interest in building art as the production and completion of the mausoleum, which his father had planned as his last resting place, devolved upon him. His interest and patronage, as manifested here, were not such as to hope for a continuation and development of the direction which Akbar gave to the art of building. Akbar's mausoleum stands at Sikandra, five miles west of Āgra, and consists of a singular design and composition not met with in any other Mughul monument of the funerary order. It represents a unique creation; and it is apparent that it owed its conception to the versatile ideas of Akbar who intended to endow it with a novel and original character, quite different from the conventional type of tombs with which we are usually familiar. The emperor did not live to carry his remarkable project to completion, a task that had to be done by his son and successor Jahāngīr. The building was completed in 1613, eight years after the death of Akbar. As it now stands, the mausoleum lacks the homogeneity and balance which constitute the essential keynotes of Akbar's buildings. It has to be noted that the major part of the building was put up at a time when the guiding mind of a genius like Akbar was no longer there to supervise the construction of this vast project through its different stages. It is possible, therefore, that some kind of alteration and modification of the original design took place, either unconsciously on the part of the builders, or due to undue intervention of Jahāngīr, of which we have several instances recorded in his autobiography.[22] This probably explains the fact that Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, in spite of its unique character, fails as a unified composition and represents the least successful monument associated with the name of that great emperor.

The mausoleum building is situated within an extensive garden approached by an impressive gateway in the middle of the southern perimeter wall and with three other false doorways, one in the middle of each of the three other walls provided, no doubt, for the sake of symmetry. The principal entrance on the south is a noble monument in itself because of its pleasing proportions, the variety of its carved and inlaid ornamentation, and lastly the elegant white marble minarets, one at each corner of the building. The minarets represent noteworthy introductions adding to the beauty of the design, and the type, though new in appearance, is found in a fairly crystallised form, in no way inferior to the soaring minarets, one at each corner of the terraced platform of the far-famed Tāj Mahal.

The garden, as is usual, is laid out into a number of squares by broad paved walks widening out at intervals into terraces with ornamental fountains. In the centre of this garden stands the curious tomb building of a stepped pyramidal form truncated at the top. The building rises in several storeys, gradually diminishing in scale as they go up. The design is, no doubt, unusual for a funerary monument and must have owed its conception to the original ideas of Akbar. The ground storey is conceived on a superb scale and measures more than 300 feet each way and a little over 30 feet in height. Each side is pierced by a series of elegant arches with a larger arched alcove accommodated within a tall rectangular frame interposed in the middle. These arcades enclose a domed mortuary chamber, in place of the usual underground crypt. Such a conception of the mortuary chamber represents an unusual and unorthodox arrangement which might have been due to the liberal and unconventional views of Akbar. Above this lowest stage rise the other storeys, each receding in scale than the one below. Three of these storeys, built of red sandstone like the lowest, show an arrangement of superposed tiers of pillared arcades and kiosks, while the topmost, built entirely of chaste white marble, consists of an open terrace accommodating in the centre a cenotaph on a raised platform and enclosed by a beautiful colonnade on the inside, and on the outside by trellis-work of the most exquisite patterns. At each corner rises a slender marble kiosk adding to the variety of the skyline.

In spite of its unusual design and a certain lack of harmony in the different sections of the elevation, there are not a few elements in this structure which are pleasing by themselves when judged separately and independently. The ground storey is itself a noble conception, a powerful structure but not too heavy, which with the pleasing scale of its different parts represents a suitable substructure for the support of an impressive superstructure. But the upper storeys, though satisfying in themselves, are too light and out of place in the substantial composition of the lowest stage. In elevation also these upper storeys lack balance and co-ordination in relation to the substructure, and the monument, as a whole, fails as a unified and harmonious composition. One may recognise the vigorous and versatile personality of Akbar in the original conception of the monument, and it is possible that the lowest storey was completed by him before his death. In the composition of the upper storeys we fail to notice the breadth of vision and sense of harmony that characterised Akbar's buildings, and it was here that Jahāngīr might have intervened. Each of these upper storeys, particularly the topmost one with all its delicacy and perfect finish, might be considered as an elegant monument if it had stood apart and isolated. But they fail to harmonise with the noble conception of the ground storey, and herein lies the deficiency of the monument as a whole. In spite of all his aesthetic tastes, Jahāngīr had not the vision and imagination of Akbar and lacked the latter's guiding genius so as to correlate the different sections of the elevation into a pleasing and harmonious composition.

Something should also be said regarding the unusual plan and elevation of this mausoleum building. It has been suggested that this novel design was derived and imitated from the old storeyed *vihāras,* and so far as the fundamentals of the composition are concerned, apart from minor architectural details, this suggestion appears to be reasonable.

In the history of Mughul architecture Jahāngīr's reign marks the transition between its two grand phases, namely the phase of Akbar and that of his grandson Shāh Jahān. Already, in the tomb of Akbar one may recognise the approach of a new direction. The direction was towards an effect of lightness and consequent weakness in the structure and to an increased leaning towards ornamentation. The arabesques make their appearance for the first time among the inlaid decorations. This tendency towards a more ornamental effect becomes gradually emphasised, not unoften to the detriment of the structural value when the vision and imagination required to correlate the ornament to the structure fail. The general trend is towards a prettiness of the building, instead of towards a grandeur of its conception. And this trend, so opposed to Akbar's architectural ideals, becomes more and more manifest under the dilettante tastes of the aesthete Jahāngīr and the pleasure-seeking Shāh Jahān. Mughul architecture was not destined to follow in the direction of forceful and purposeful buildings initiated by Akbar. Neither Jahāngīr nor Shāh Jahān possessed Akbar's genius for constructive ideas and so far as their personal influences on the architecture of the time went, they only helped to clothe in more costly materials the creative forms of the previous period and to cover them with a wealth of ornament. Both of them, particularly the latter, tried to create effect by sumptuous decoration and lavish use of costly material, rather than by an intellectuality in structural design. The history of Mughul architecture during the period of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān is governed by this dominant idea and reaches a baroque phase of exuberance and over-refinement—a faithful picture of the changed outlook of the Mughul court after Akbar's strong personality had passed away.

The most important feature of the period of transition is noticed in the substitution of red sandstone by white marble. Hitherto the main fabric of the building was composed of granite or red sandstone with occasional insertions of white marble for the sake of relief. This practice had been long continued and may be traced from the time of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. In Akbar's buildings white marble inlay on red sandstone fabric was frequently resorted to in order to lend relief and colour to the facades and to emphasise the structural lineaments. This white marble inlaying has been gaining ground and its effect on the red texture of sandstone fabric represents one of the most charming features in the ornamentation of the surfaces of the buildings. Always accessory to the strong lineaments of the structure, such ornaments invariably wait on the monument without any detriment to the architectural design or dignity. But this sense for the value of the structure and its design was undermined when buildings came to be composed in white marble. This happened towards the end of the reign of Jahāngīr.

Marble has a certain effeminate quality. At least it has not that quality of solidity and strength imparted by red sandstone. White marble takes a shining polish and is the best possible medium for fine tracery and arabesque works, for painting as well as gilding. It furnishes a very convenient surface for costly *pietra dura.* By its very nature it invites decoration which has a tendency to get exuberant and sumptuous almost to the point of being overdone. The result is often restless. Miraculously beautiful in detail, a building in white marble tends to lack strength. Weakness is inherent in marble fabric.

Jahāngīr also loved colour and this was imparted to the buildings of his period by encaustic tiling; and the system of *pietra dura,* i.e. the inlaid mosaic work of hard and precious stones of various hues and shades, began towards the end of his reign. These, no doubt, lent to the buildings a colourful and picturesque effect; but such ornamentations can hardly compensate for the effect of weakness and effeminacy inherent in a marble fabric. It is not surprising, therefore, that the buildings of the later part of Jahāngīr's reign and the pretty creations of Shāh Jahān lack those qualities of substance and solidity that characterised Akbar's buildings. There is an emphasis on colour, on sumptuous decorations and on lavish display of costly materials; but they hardly make up for the loss of substance which constitutes the chief element of forceful architecture.

The change of outlook in the art of building was noticed also in other directions. Akbar's preference for indigenous ideals and traditions is clearly manifested in his architectural undertakings. Not a little of the character of his buildings depends on the work of the indigenous artists and craftsmen gathered together from various directions. Akbar had the genius to co-ordinate and harmonise the different ideals and traditions and to guide his builders to create unified and forceful compositions out of the many, and often differing, elements. He initiated an era of fruitful collaboration among artists of different traditions, not excluding the foreign; and under his inspiring leadership varying traditions adapted themselves leading to the creation of an art movement that may be considered to be a product of the soil itself. As a result, a distinctive style of architecture came into being, a style characterised by a nobility of conception and forcefulness of execution. It was founded on the traditions of the country and extra-Indian elements were adapted to suit the needs of the growing style. After Akbar, his enlightened direction was lacking and the style was diverted from its course.

His successors lacked his creative instinct as well as his absorbing spirit of collectivism. It is not surprising that they failed to supply that intelligent direction that might have led the style to further creative achievements. No new idea, no original conception had been evolved during the epoch succeeding that of Akbar. The prevailing ideas were clothed in more costly materials and covered with a lavish display of costly ornament and colour. In spite of pompous exuberance, very few notable and forceful buildings had been produced in the period of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.

The Mughul court of the time of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān was composed of a nobility mainly of Persian extraction. The life in this court was imbued also with Persian ideas of luxury and grace. This predilection for Persianism had also its reflection on the art and culture of the time. In architecture one may easily recognise a growing preference for Persian ideas and a gradual isolation from the indigenous ideals and traditions. Akbar's national style of architecture had its foundation chiefly on indigenous sources, and a gradual separation from the ideals and traditions of the soil and a greater dependence on foreign ideas and modes diverted the course of the style from the path that Akbar had chosen for it. Lured by foreign ideas of pomp and grace the style was practically isolated from its source and the inevitable desiccation was not long to follow. This is evident in the poverty of design and lack of structural value that characterised most of the monuments produced during this later phase of Mughul architecture.

The above observations on the general trends and tendencies of this later phase of Mughul architecture seem to be necessary for a proper understanding of those sumptuously pretty marble monuments that have often been extolled by dilettante scholars as representing the grand efflorescence of the Mughul architectural style. A correct historical perspective, however, would attribute to Akbar's buildings a far greater nobility, in conception as well as in design and execution, representing an architecture of immense potentially and on a much higher aesthetic plane. The monuments of the later phase represent merely a rich and baroque form of this architecture.

Jahāngīr, we have already observed, left no personal impress on the architecture of his time. Even his palace in the Lahore fort, where he loved to reside, has nothing distinctive about it. A keen lover of nature, he delighted in pleasure gardens and is known to have constructed several such pleasances. The Shālimar Bāgh in Kashmir is one of the most charming of his undertakings in this direction. The plan is, more or less, formal and stereotyped—an arrangement of square terraces and picturesque flower beds, paved walks and avenues of trees, crystal water-courses and splashing fountains, and airy pavilions, all laid out with the object of providing delight to the eyes and comfort and relaxation to the tired and jaded nerves. This type of ornamental pleasure gardens is inseparably linked up with the life of the grand Mughuls and the production of such pleasant and luxurious amenities suited Jahāngīr's tastes and temperament.

Jahāngīr's mausoleum at Shāhdarā, near Lahore, cannot claim to have any architectural distinction. Like his father's mausoleum at Sikandra, it is situated within an ornamental garden enclosed by a high brick wall with a gateway in the middle of each side. The garden occupies a square, over 1500 feet each side, the whole area being divided into sixteen smaller squares by means of paved walks with an ornamental fountain and a reservoir of water at each point of intersection. The squares were once filled up by flowered parterres, each of a different kind. The mausoleum building is situated in the centre of this garden and is a square of 325 feet side. It stands on a low plinth and consists of one storey, 22 feet in height, with a handsome octagonal minaret of five storeys shooting up from each corner to a height of about 100 feet. Originally, a marble pavilion occupied the middle of the terraced roof; with its disappearance the building now lacks balance and symmetry of composition. The facade on each side consists of an arcade with a central arch accommodating the entrance, flanked by a group of five others on either side. In the interior there are ranges of rooms on all the four sides enclosing the octagonal mortuary chamber with the marble cenotaph in the centre which is exquisitely embellished by inlaid patterns. The appearance of the whole building is unimpressive, the low facades between the minarets being ineffective architecturally. The lavish colour, so freely imparted to its surface by inlaid marbles, glazed tiles and painting, can improve very little the effect of the monument with such a strong deficiency.

Two other tombs, built towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign, represent more successful achievements in respect of design as well as execution. Historically they are also interesting as foreshadowing the subsequent developments of the Mughul architectural style. One is the mausoleum of I'timād-ud-Daula, father of Jahāngīr's famous consort, Nūr Jahān, who erected it in 1626. It is situated at Āgra, on the left bank of the river Jumna, within a garden enclosed by a wall, measuring 540 feet each way and pierced by red sandstone gateways, one in the middle of each side. It stands on a raised terrace and consists of a square building of 69 feet side, with an octagonal turret in two stages, surmounted by a domed cupola, thrown out at each angle, and with a square pavilion, covered by an angular canopy, placed in the middle of the terraced roof. The interior consists of a simple arrangement of a central cenotaph chamber enclosed by connected rooms. An agreeable light is introduced in the interior, both in the lower and upper storeys, by exceedingly delicate open lattice work, aptly described as a "gossamer of fretted grilles".[23] Entirely composed of white marble, the building is covered throughout by rich mosaic of *pietra dura,* the first and certainly one of the most successful applications of this class of ornamentation in Mughul monuments. In spite of dwarf heights of the corner turrets, there is an effect of balance and harmony in the design and composition of the structure, the projecting cornices supported on brackets providing further a co-ordinated sense of relation between the horizontal and vertical aspects of the building. The ornaments are also in elegant taste, being accessory to the structure and its various lineaments and in spite of their rich character, they have no overburdening appearance on the building.

The tomb of I'timād-ud-Daula is of significant interest in the history of Mughul architecture as supplying a link between its two important phases, namely those of Akbar and of Shāh Jahān. It represents the transition from the red sandstone phase of Akbar's buildings with their direct simplicity and robustness of design to that of the sumptuous marble with all the changes, as described above, inherent therein. I'timād-ud-Daula's tomb, as the first notable building in white marble with its rich ornamentation in *pietra dura,* may be regarded as heralding this new movement, that reached its culmination in the days of Shāh Jahān. In this tomb, one may still recognise the value of architectural design and the subordination of the rich ornamentation to the structural form and its lines. But the white marble texture with its emphasis on colourful decoration already suggests a certain effeminacy and weakness which some describe as a reflection of the feminism of the empress who was responsible for its creation. This apart, a marble structure tends to fail in the qualities of substance and robustness which are the essential requisites of noble and forceful architecture; and weakness, coupled with an almost feminine love for display of pomp and ornament, follow as necessary corollaries. In spite, therefore, of its structural qualities, the tomb of I'timād-ud-Daula furnishes the impression of a miniature precious object being magnified into a piece of architecture. And this impression becomes more manifest in many of the subsequent buildings in which, not unoften, the rich overlay of ornament is found to conceal the structure itself. I'timād-ud-Daula's mausoleum thus marks the epoch of a new direction which is a presage of the decline, and represents a step towards the brilliant, but baroque, form of Mughul architecture in the days of Shāh Jahān.

Another tomb, that of 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān at Delhi, was built towards the end of Jahāngīr's reign or shortly after. It marks a significant link between the tomb of Humāyūn at Delhi and that of Shāh Jahān's queen, the celebrated Tāj Mahal at Āgra. Unfortunately, the building now is little more than a mere shell, being stripped of its white marble facing early in the second half of the eighteenth century. It appears to have been a copy of Humāyūn's tomb in many respects. Like the latter, it stands on a terraced basement with arched recesses on each side, and shows the almost similar arrangement in the divisions of the facades and of the roof. There is, however, a minor deviation in the angles of the building not being chamfered as in Humāyūn's tomb. Despite this, the tomb of Khān-i-Khānān stands midway between the tomb of Humāyūn and the most brilliant culmination of the design, the Tāj Mahal, and marks effectively the transition from the earlier to the later phase of Mughul architecture.

It was during the time of Shāh Jahān that Mughul architecture reaches its supreme exuberance. The character of this exuberance has already been indicated. Like his grandfather, Shāh Jahān was a great patron of the building arts and beautified his capitals with splendid palaces and other buildings. But he had not the vision of Akbar, nor his strength of character. This is clearly reflected, apart from other things, in the striking contrast offered by their respective buildings. The manly vigour, the direct simplicity and the varied originality of Akbar's buildings stand widely apart from the extreme and almost effeminate grace, the sumptuous appearance and the dearth of structural designs that characterise the pretty creations of Shāh Jahān. The contrast is so striking that each group seems to represent a class by itself, though both were the products of the same dynasty of rulers, one being closely followed by the other. Only a change of outlook and temper can explain this sharp contrast.

During the reign of Jahāngīr the Akbari style was already losing its substance and vigour. His court, particularly under the influence of his imperious consort, patronised a culture clearly eclectic in character, in which the foreign, especially the Persian, elements predominated. In Shāh Jahān's court the Persian character was even more emphasised. We have already indicated what Persianism meant for Mughul architecture. One other point has to be noted in this regard. Some would ascribe the birth of the Mughul architectural style to inspiration from Persia. Mughul architecture had its foundation in the days of Akbar whose various architectural undertakings, as we have shown, contradict such an ascription. Persianism is a late feature in the history of Mughul architecture. It had very little part to play in the virile and creative phase of Akbar's reign. It makes its appearance and its influence came to be felt when Mughul architecture had already entered its baroque phase. Instead of being associated with the formative phase of Mughul architecture, Persianism is linked up with its decline.

The substitution of red sandstone by costly marble was apparently inspired by the desire to impart to the buildings a rich and exuberant appearance of prettiness and elegance corresponding to the luxurious atmosphere and temper of the court. Imbued with the prevailing ideas and his love for pomp and luxury and display of splendour, Shāh Jahān chose marble as the chief medium for all his architectural undertakings. The inherent weakness of marble, as indicated above, can be arrested by an intelligent and imaginative guidance and this Shāh Jahān, in spite of all his architectural predilections, failed to supply. He could not rise above his environment and his mind worked in a groove which was that of the court. So, in spite of all the magnificence of his buildings, Shāh Jahān failed to contribute any creative design or form in Mughul architecture. He imitated ideas and designs already known and clothed them in costly marble and overlaid them with a lavish display of rich and sumptuous ornament.

The new direction and what it presages have already been outlined. Its symptoms will become apparent as one proceeds to survey the monuments of this phase. The predilection for marble is graphically illustrated by Shāh Jahān's replacements of the earlier sandstone buildings of Akbar at Āgra, described as "barbaric abominations" by a court panegyrist, by marble palaces and pavilions, extolled as masterpieces of "this august reign when....lovely things reached the zenith of perfection."[24] It is unfortunate that views, similar to the above, are shared also by many modern critics and scholars. It is only the lack of a correct historical and aesthetic perspective that can explain such misleading comparison. A comparative estimate of the Mughul architectural style in two important phases of its expression has already been indicated. The contrasts in appearance and effect will become manifest and the relative merit of each clearly determined when one views the two series of Mughul palaces in Āgra fort where the two groups are situated, as well as demarcated, side by side. A keen observer cannot fail to perceive a nobility of conception and robustness of execution in the remains of Akbar's productions as opposed to the pretty sensuousness and overburdened ornamentation imparted by Shāh Jahān's luxurious creations. One may excuse categorical statements as above from a court chronicler in praise of his master's achievements, not surely from a discerning historian and critic having a true perspective and understanding of the essential elements of good architecture.

Marble of a pure white texture and delicate grain was procured from the quarries of Makrana in Jodhpur and formed the chief building material in the time of Shāh Jahān. When this was not made use of, stone or brick fabrics were plastered with fine stucco, smoothed and polished to the whiteness of an eggshell to keep harmony with the white marble fabric. The fine and delicate texture of marble fabric required a new sensibility in the ornamental treatment of the surfaces. Relief decoration of an essential plastic quality has naturally to be avoided as the emphatic contours would ill-suit the smooth and chaste texture of the marble fabric with its own intrinsic beauty. Moulded outlines of ornamental panels, lending variety to the surfaces, are fine with their contours as little obtrusive as possible so as not to disturb the general effect. Surface ornaments tend to subtler forms with an emphasis on colour. The costly fabric invites costly decoration; and gilding and mosaic of precious stones, i.e. *pietra dura,* constitute the special features of ornamentation in the marble phase. A soft and effeminate quality is immanent in marble fabric, and ornamentation remains effective so long as it is kept restrained. But the tendency to lavish display of pomp and ornamentation is inevitable when one remembers the atmosphere of the court with its exaggerated sense of luxury and magnificence.

The architectural elements also register certain significant changes in the marble phase. There is a predilection for curved lines, in place of the rectangular aspect of the buildings of the previous phase, particularly noticeable in the curved outlines of the roofs and cornices—an importation, no doubt, from the Bengali style. The preference for bulbous domes with constricted necks, pillars with tapering outlines and with voluted brackets and foliated bases, foliated shapes of arches, that represent the most distinguishing marks of the phase, all reflect the emphasis on curved lines. These impart, no doubt, fluidity of line and form to the structures of the period, and at the same time a certain sensuousness, if not voluptuousness, that becomes more and more emphasised.

Though not gifted with the same originality and nobility of imagination, as that of his grandfather, Shāh Jahān was also a great builder. His projects were many and compare favourably with those of Akbar in vastness and extensiveness. In Āgra and Lahore forts he planned to replace the sandstone buildings of the previous period by palaces and pavilions in marble, and this he carried out in a very large measure involving the construction of many new edifices. Not only that, he projected a new capital city at Delhi, that of Shāhjahānābad where he built a fortress citadel of unusual dimensions and erected within it splendid palaces, office buildings and other structures. At Delhi and Āgra he built two grand congregational mosques wonderfully effective, not only on account of their vast dimensions, but also for their special purposes. To enshrine the remains of his beloved consort he raised up at Āgra that grand mausoleum building, the far-famed Tāj Mahal, enthusiastically eulogised by many enamoured visitors as a "dream in marble". Under Shāh Jahān Mughul architecture reaped a rich harvest, but this was a harvest of plenty that augured degeneration. The tendencies, already noted, presage decay, and notwithstanding all the brilliance and splendour of Shāh Jahān's buildings, students of architecture are agreed in recognising in his monuments the symptoms of the approaching decline of the style.

Shāh Jahān's alterations and replacements in the earlier palace fortresses were carried out on a grandiose scale and apparently inspired by the desire to impart to the palaces and other appurtenances an appearance to suit the prevailing character of the court. In such operations many of the buildings of his predecessors were swept away to make room for his own sumptuous creations. They were carried on at intermittent intervals, so that neither the new conceptions at Lahore, nor those at Āgra follow a symmetrical lay-out and arrangement. Efforts were concentrated on the production of pretty structures, refined in appearance and ornament, than on any new experiments, either in structural conception or in design. The court chroniclers give detailed accounts of such operations in eulogistic language with many poetic metaphors. Such eulogies may not apply to all these structures; yet, a few, by their refined and graceful contours and restricted ornamentation imparting a subdued colour effect to the surface, are not of mean artistic beauty. The art of building still retains its sense of sobriety, but destined soon to be overcome by a wealth of ornament the effect of which becomes overburdening.

In Lahore fort Shāh Jahān's erections consist of the Dīwān-i-'Ām, a hall of forty pillars, the Musamman Burz, the Shīsh Mahal, the Khwābāgh and other buildings in the north-western sector of the fort. Some of these have undergone modifications and elaborations at subsequent dates. Originally, they appear to have belonged to the same style and character, as in Shāh Jahān's buildings at Āgra and Delhi, the emphasis being on marble fabric and picturesque decoration by *pietra dura* and other costly modes. The appearance of the Shīsh Mahal is especially sumptuous.

In Āgra fort the remodelling was undertaken on a large and extensive scale. The northern portion of the palace sector in the fort has come under such operation, for which, apparently, the earlier buildings have been swept away. The only undoubted remains of the earlier palaces are the Jahāngīrī Mahal and fragments of Akbarī Mahal. Nowhere is the contrast between Akbar's architecture and that of Shāh Jahān so strongly marked as in Āgra fort, the former, noble and robust, and the latter, elegant and, to a certain extent, feeble.

A doorway from the earlier sector leads to Shāh Jahān's buildings. It would be difficult to note each and every building erected during this period, and our observations will be naturally confined to the more notable ones. Not all the buildings, again, were put up at one and the same time according to a definite scheme. The first to be erected was the Dīwān-i-'Ām, a spacious hall standing at the rear of an extensive court. It is said to have been built in 1627, the year of the emperor's accession to the throne. It is in red sandstone, finely plastered with stucco to the smoothness of white marble all over, except on the floor and ceiling. The hall measures 201 by 67 feet and is open on the three sides and enclosed at the back. The roof is flat and supported by three ranges of arcades that impart an elegant effect to the interior as well as to the facades. Near the back wall of the hall there is placed in the middle an alcove of white marble, with inlaid patterns in *pietra dura* in a refined taste, representing the seat of the emperor. Below, in front is a marble dais, supported on four legs, meant for the grand vazīr. Because of its red sandstone fabric some scholars ascribe this building to the period of Akbar or Jahāngīr and attribute to Shāh Jahān only the fine stucco works over sandstone fabric and the throne alcove. But such salient features as the shape and design of the pillars and the foliated shape of the arches leave no doubt about the entire conception being Shāh Jahān's, possibly one of the earliest of his architectural undertakings at a time when marble was yet to become the irresistible vogue. The Dīwān-i-'Ām in the Delhi fort, it has to be noted, is also in red sandstone, and it is definitely known to have been the work of Shāh Jahān.

Behind the Dīwān-i-'Ām and separated from it by the Machchhi Bhavan stands the Dīwān-i-Khās that was erected, according to the inscription it bears, in 1636-37. It is entirely in marble and consists of an open colonnade with an enclosed hall behind. The double columns of the colonnade are of graceful execution and carry foliated arches above. The inlaid patterns in red carnelian and other stones impart an elegant effect to the wall surface.

Close by to the south is situated the sumptuous block of buildings, known as the Khās Mahal, with the spacious court of Angūrī Bāgh in front. In contemporary chronicles it is called *Ārām-gah-i-Muqaddas* or the holy abode of rest, indicating that it was a private palace intended for relaxation and retirement. The Khās Mahal stands on a marble terrace overlooking the Jumna and consists of three white marble pavilions of elegant design and form. The middle one overlooking a court, 112 feet by 96, consists of a rectangular building with an open colonnade in front showing five arched openings of foliated shape springing from piers. Three of the archways lead from the colonnaded gallery to the inner hall having three windows in the back wall overlooking the river and opposite to the arched entrances in front. The roof is flat with domed kiosks at the corners. According to the *Pādshāh-nāma* of 'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī the ceiling was once inlaid with patterns in gold and colour, traces of which are still discernible. The court in front has a big ornamental pool, about 42 feet by 29, with five fountains. A series of subterranean chambers below this court were intended for retirement in summer heat. In the north-east corner of the court, at a lower level is the Shīsh Mahal (palace of mirrors), a unit of two chambers with arrangements for baths, so named because of the walls and ceilings being spangled with tiny pieces of mirror glass set in gilt and coloured stucco. The reflection of light on this mirrored mosaic is charming and not to be easily forgotten.

On either side of the central building of the Khās Mahal there is a pavilion, each joined to the central block by means of doorways. Each is of a similar design and consists of a room at either end with a communicating gallery in between and a screened court in front. The gallery is covered by a curved roof with curved cornice, while the rooms have angular canopies. According to the *Pādshāh-nāma* these pavilions were once profusely ornamented in gold and colours, while the curved roofs are stated to have been plated with sheets of gold.

In front of the court of the Khās Mahal, at a slightly lower level, is situated the spacious court of Angūrī Bāgh (vine garden) which is a rectangle of 220 feet by 169. A red sandstone walk runs round the sides, while two marble roadways traverse the rectangle from the middle of each side and intersect in the centre which expands into an extensive terrace accommodating an ornamental pool with fountains. The four smaller rectangles, thus formed, are divided into numerous pleasingly patterned parterres by sandstone ridges. Except on the east where it faces the Khās Mahal, the court is enclosed on the other three sides by double-storeyed chambers built of red sandstone with marble facing on some of them. The sandstone fabric and the plan may lend some illusion to their being the works of Akbar; but the foliated arches leave no doubt that they were erected during the regime of Shāh Jahān.

Close by and communicating with the northern pavilion of the Khās Mahal, is the Musamman Burz (octagonal tower), known also to some as Saman Burz (jasmine tower). It is an exquisite building because of its richly inlaid patterns and marble filigree, both indicating a high degree of technical craftsmanship and sense of ornamentation. Like a fairy tower it overhangs the river and presents a wide vista along the river front. It was here that the captive emperor breathed his last in 1666, with his eyes turned on the pearly dome of the Tāj Mahal as popular mind would like to believe. Some scholars are of the opinion that it was built by Jahāngīr. But the court chronicler, ‘Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī, distinctly says in his *Pādshāh-nāma* that on this site there was a house built by Akbar which was pulled down by Jahāngīr to make room for a structure that, again, in its turn, was dismantled by Shāh Jahān and replaced by the present monument intended for the residence of his favourite empress, Mumtāz Mahal.

A little apart from the group described above, stands the Motī Masjid (Pearl mosque), described by Fergusson[25] as “one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere”. Situated on a high eminence it commands a fine view of the palaces, pavilions and courts. Completed in 1654, it consists of the usual courtyard with an ornamental cistern in the centre and surrounded by cloisters on the three sides and the prayer chamber or sanctuary on the west. The entire building is of pure white marble raised on a stylobate of red sandstone. It occupies a quadrangle, 234 feet by 187 externally, and is approached by three gateways, one in the middle of each cloister. The view of the interior, an unbroken whiteness, in and out, above and below, is exceptionally beautiful and comes as a surprise after the prevailing red glow outside. The prayer chamber, 159 feet by 56 internally, opens on the court by seven arches of great beauty, all foliated in design, and is accessible at both ends from the private apartments by marble screens of exquisite workmanship. The prayer spaces are marked on the floor by inlaid strips of light white marble, the only attempt to colour effect in the whole building. The receding views of the interior arcades are also supremely beautiful. The roof is surmounted by three graceful domes of bulbous shape, the central dome with a substantially raised elevation in relation to the two at the flanks. At each corner rises an octagonal pavilion crowned by a cupola, while a range of light kiosks runs along the line of the parapet in front. In its flawless whiteness, in refined architectural proportions, in the skilful modulation of the various elements, including a charming variety imparted to the skyline, and in the masterly technique in which the materials have been manipulated, the Motī Masjid at Āgra has a remarkably restrained beauty, in contrast to the florid appearance of the residential and office buildings created by Shāh Jahān. Its outstanding qualities illustrate Shāh Jahān's building style at its peak.

In 1638 Shāh Jahān began at Delhi the construction of a new capital city, that of Shāhjahānābād, to contain within its perimeter a sumptuous palace fortress for the accommodation of the imperial household and court. The city was of the shape of a quadrant on the right bank of the river Jumna, with the palace at the apex of the river and the grand congregational mosque, the Jāmi‘ Masjid, at an angle formed by two wide streets traversing from the main gates of the fortress to the city gates. The palace fortress, the Red Fort as it is known because of the red sandstone fabric of its rampart walls, has been designed on an unprecedented scale with all the amenities of the busy and luxurious life of an imperial house and court provided for within its walls in a regular and systematic order. Built at one time and by one of the most splendid of the Mughul emperors, it excels the other Mughul palaces in the largeness of its conception, in the uniformity of its arrangements and in the magnificence of its execution.

The fortress with its halls, palaces, pavilions and gardens was completed in 1648 when, on an auspicious day the emperor entered it ceremonially and formally inaugurated the new capital city. It remained the seat of Mughul government for a little over two hundred years and, though shorn of much of its one-time glory and splendour in the days of its disintegration, it still stands as a witness to the many vicissitudes that befell the empire of the grand Mughuls.

The fortress is planned in the shape of a parallelogram, with its angles slightly canted off, and measures 3200 feet by 1600 feet exclusive of the gateways. It is encircled by a massive rampart wall of red sandstone, relieved at intervals by boldly projecting bastions with domed kiosks on the roof. It has two main gateways, one in the middle of the western wall and the other in the south. The former, known as the Lahore Gate, forms the principal entrance and faces the Chāndni Chauk of historic memory. This portal leads to a wide arcaded passage that communicates with an open square courtyard of 350 feet side, from either end of which arcaded passages run north and south, the former leading to the gardens and the latter to the south gate, known as Delhi Gate. This arrangement encloses on the east a rectangle, occupying nearly two-thirds of the fortress area, and accommodates an orderly array of the most sumptuous buildings and gardens arranged into a regular system of squares and rectangles, planned and designed apparently by the emperor himself.

At the eastern end of the above-mentioned square courtyard stands the Naubat Khānā (Music Pavilion), a double-storeyed building, which leads, again, to another great rectangular court, 550 feet by 385, with the hall of the Dīwān-i-‘Ām at its eastern apex. This hall of public audience has been designed in a stately manner to suit the solemn functions for which it was intended. The spacious court in front was once surrounded by colonnades that imparted an impressive grandeur to the entire setting. It is built of sandstone, but was originally covered with shell plaster polished to the smoothness and whiteness of ivory to fit in with the white marble structures that stand around. It is a colonnaded hall, open on three sides and enclosed at the back, the facade showing an arcade of nine foliated arches springing from double columns in the middle and from four at the corners. The interior corresponds to the facade in having similar arcades in three aisles, while set in an alcove near the back wall is the canopied platform in white marble, richly inlaid with precious stones, intended for the imperial throne. The superb magnificence of this throne platform, known as *Nashihmam-i-Zill-i-Ilahi* (seat of the shadow of God), at once visualises the splendid pageant of the grand Mughuls in days of their supreme brilliance. The recess behind the platform is covered by panels of *pietra dura* work, attributed to one Austin de Bordeaux, which, although rich and fine in execution, cannot be said to have been quite in keeping with the setting that is entirely eastern in design and appearance. The hall was richly painted and covered with gold; but all such costly decorations have vanished.

On either side of this hall and at the back along the eastern rampart wall overlooking the river, the whole area is laid out in buildings, courts and gardens. The space to the south was possibly occupied by the private apartments of the zenana and that to the north by halls, pavilions, gardens and courts, with the magnificent Rang Mahal in the centre connecting the two blocks. The halls and pavilions in both the blocks are lined along the rampart wall in the east and face the courts and gardens on the west. Along the entire length run beautiful channels of crystal water, widening out at intervals into ornamental pools with fountains. A constant supply of water was obtained from the Jumna, seventy miles up the river, brought to the fortress by the canal of 'Alī Mardān and introduced into the palace through an artificially scalloped marble cascade placed near the Shāh Burz in the northern extremity of the eastern wall.

It will be difficult to describe each and every element of this sumptuous conception. The palaces and halls along the eastern wall represent the most resplendent creations in white marble, and on these the highest skill was lavished, particularly in decorative treatment. With a succession of turrets, kiosks, golden domes, projecting balconies, overhanging the sandstone ramparts, they present a fine view from the river, the three towers—Asad Burz and Shāh Burz at the two corners and Musamman Burz in the middle raising up their heads in male fashion above the tops of other structures and imparting an attractive variety to the skyline along the river front. The inside, with the picturesque gardens with fountains, flower beds, pavilions placed within ornamental pools and the Nahr-i-Bihisht (Stream of Paradise) with its rippling water-course traversing the palace area, represents also a fine and magnificent setting for the superb structures. All combined, we have in the sumptuous lay-out and arrangement of the palace area a confirmation of the truth of the Persian couplet, inscribed on the Dīwān-i-Khās, that "if there is a paradise on the face of the earth, it is this, it is this, it is this".

In design and style these structures are approximately identical. We have usually a single-storeyed hall, open on all sides, the interior being divided into a number of bays and aisles by massive piers carrying foliated arches and supporting the flat roof. The ceilings were once plated with silver or gold, and the interior surfaces, those of the piers, arches and walls, are richly ornamented with precious inlay, low relief carvings or patterns in colour and gold. Everywhere there is an emphasis on costly splendour and sumptuous ornamentation, and the latter though at times having an appearance of exuberance and of being overdone, illustrates the highest skill and the most perfect workmanship, so far as technical craftsmanship is concerned. The intricate tracery of the screen bearing the 'Scales of Justice' shows in the fineness of its design and the flawless accuracy of its execution the fine needle-work of an embroidery transferred by chisel of the stone-cutter on the hard fabric of marble.

Two buildings, representative of the style, may briefly be referred to here for an idea of the grandeur and brilliance of this sumptuous palace conception. One of them is the Dīwān-i-Khās (hall of private audience) which is an indispensable feature of Mughul court life and etiquette. In these halls of audiences conferences of a special and ceremonial character were held. The other is the Rang Mahal (palace of colour, or, differently, palace of pleasure), intended for the delectation of the emperor and his household after a busy and tiring day. Both belong to the same general style that we have described; but they excel the other buildings in having the most lavish ornamentation and costly splendour strewn over all the interior surfaces and with an almost overbearing effect.

The Dīwān-i-Khās, also known as the Shāh Mahal, is an open colonnaded hall of one storey enclosed at the back by marble trellises. The front consists of a fine arcade of five foliated arches springing from massive piers, with similar arches, but of varying sizes, on the two sides. The interior is divided into bays and aisles by massive piers carrying foliated arches that support the flat roof. At the top may be seen a beautiful kiosk at each corner. The building is entirely in white marble; but the chaste and elegant appearance of the facade is lost in the interior by a bewildering maze of rich and lavish ornamentation distributed over every available space in brilliant colour, lustrous gold and costly *pietra dura*. The ceiling also was plated with gold, patterned with arabesques and flowers; but this has since disappeared. Fergusson[26] considers it to be "if not the most beautiful, certainly the most highly ornamented of all Shāhjahān's buildings."

But even this splendid hall recedes into the background by the conception of the Rang Mahal, also called Imtiyāz Mahal (palace of distinction) in Shāh Jahān's time and described by a modern critic as the "crowning jewel of Shāh Jahān's seraglio".[27] Its sumptuous appearance confirms the statement of the court chronicler that "in excellence and glory it surpasses the eight-sided throne of heaven, and in lustre and colour it is far superior to the palaces in the promised paradise".[28] Very few traces now remain of its original decoration; but there are still enough to enable one to visualise its former splendour and magnificence. Externally the building measures 153 feet by 69 feet, and the interior consists of a main central apartment with smaller chambers at either end. Foliated arches on massive piers divide this central apartment into a number of bays, each 20 feet square. Along this central apartment runs a marble water channel expanded into an ornamental fountain basin in the central bay. It is a part of the elaborate water course of the Nahr-i-Bihisht that reaches its most enchanting expression in this palace of colour and adds to its beauty in a supremely effective manner. The basin is designed in the shape of a large lotus flower with delicately modelled petals enclosed within a shallow, but exquisitely patterned, square frame. In the centre, on the pericarp of the lotus, is again a small flower through which the water of the fountain bubbles up, "enhancing the pleasantness of the surroundings and adding to its beauty", as recorded by Muhammad Salhi, the biographer of Shāh Jahān. The picturesque account of this fountain by Sayyid Ahmad Khān is interesting and may profitably be quoted. He says that the Rang Mahal "has a tank the beauty of which baffles description. It is made of marble and fashioned in such a way that it resembles a full-blown flower. Its inlay of flowers and foliages in various coloured stones has been so finely executed that it is beyond the power of any one to describe it. Although the tank is seven *gaz* square, yet it is of very little depth. It is just like the palm of a hand. The particular beauty of this is that, when it is full of rippling water, the foliage of the inlay work appears to wave to and fro. In its centre is a beautiful flower like a cup of marble; moreover, on each curving point and arched cusp, flowers and leaves of coloured stones spring from creeping plants, and creeping plants from flowers and leaves. Within the cup you will find a hole through which the water bubbles up from a hidden channel underneath. The sheet of water falling from the edges of the cup and the waving of the plants and flowers under the dancing water are nothing less than a scene of magic."[29]

In keeping with the highly ornamental character of the fountain, the central feature of this elaborate composition, the whole interior of the building was once gorgeously decorated by painting, gilding and *pietra dura;* the traceried marble screens, originally enclosing the arches on the outside and separating the central apartment from the chambers at the sides, were of much intricate decorative workmanship. According to Muhammad Salhi the original ceiling "was gilded and ornamented with golden flowers"; but this was apparently replaced by a silver one that again was removed in the reign of Farrukh-siyar 'to supply a pressing need' and substituted by one of copper. The copper ceiling was also taken off in the reign of Akbar II and a wooden one was put up in its place. The Rang Mahal is one of the most sumptuous conceptions of Shāh Jahān's undertakings in building art, truly representative of the splendour and magnificence of the Mughul court at the highest peak of its brilliance, and such acts of spoliation, noted also in other buildings of the citadel, reflect in a poignant manner the decadence that usually follows a peak of plenty.

The grand Jāmī' Masjid at Delhi, the largest and most well-known in the whole of India, forms also an essential element of the scheme of the city of Shāhjahānābād. Begun in 1644, it was completed in 1658 when Shāh Jahān had already ceased to reign. It is of the usual orthodox plan of an open courtyard with ranges of cloisters on three sides and the prayer chamber on the west. The courtyard has in the centre a reservoir of water for ritualistic ablution and is approached by three gateways, one in the middle of each cloistered side. Its impressiveness is due to the vast scale in which it had been designed and the admirable manner in which each part had been disposed and adjusted in relation to the other. The entire scheme is raised over a lofty terraced basement with majestic flights of steps leading to the imposing gateways that tower above their surroundings; and added to these, the substantial corner turrets, each with a domed pavilion at the top, and the tall minarets, flanking the facade of the prayer chamber, impart an effect of noble height and dignity to the external appearance of the composition. In the interior the immense quadrangle surrounded by arcaded cloisters, each interrupted in the middle by the rear face of the gateway, and the superb sanctuary with its varied elevations create an effect of spaciousness combined with a rich variety in composition in which all the parts are found to be pleasingly co-ordinated to one another so as to produce a unified and impressive design. At the same time it has a severe and imperious aspect, and the "uncompromising rigidity of its long horizontal lines, the harsh black and white inlay of its domes and minarets, its very vastness which necessitates the unending repetition of each detail, all combine to give this otherwise magnificent structure a character which never wholly attracts".[30]

Almost simultaneously another congregational mosque was erected at Āgra, just outside the Delhi Gate of the fort. It is said that Shāh Jahān built it in order to please his favourite daughter, the accomplished princess Jahānārā. It is neither so large nor ambitious, and lacks the impressive grandeur of its counterpart at Delhi. The facade is divided, not by foliated arches, but by those of the so-called 'Tudor' type; the three domes, without necks at the springs, lack the height and fluidity of contour; and there are no tall minarets to add to the effect of elevation. Yet, its merit depends on its pleasing proportions, the admirable distribution of the arches of its facade, the slender pinnacles intermingling with beautiful kiosks lining the parapet, and the zigzag ornament in white marble on the domes. The Jāmi' Masjid at Āgra has an emotional character, in contrast to the severe and imperious appearance of its counterpart at Delhi.

But all the above architectural creations of Shāh Jahān are thrown into shade by that superb conception of the mausoleum that the emperor raised up at Āgra to enshrine the mortal remains of his beloved consort, Arjumand Bānū Begam, better known as Mumtāz Mahal. The Tāj Mahal, as it is called after the title of the empress, stands on an elevated ground on a bend of the river Jumna so that it has a fine view from whatever angle it is seen. As usual, the conception takes the form of a garden tomb, the whole being placed within a rectangular court enclosed on all sides, except on the river front, by a high wall with octagonal turrets, surmounted by domed pavilions, at the corners, and approached by a grand portal in the middle of the southern wall. The rectangle of the court is aligned north and south with the garden occupying a square of about 1000 feet side on the south and the raised terrace of the tomb building and two other accessory structures in the oblong portion at the northern end overlooking the river. The design, to a certain extent, is unconventional, the plan of the courtyard being rectangular, not square, and the tomb itself being situated, not at the centre of the court, but at one end. What impresses the visitor is the beautiful harmony that exists among all parts of the conception. All arrangements, beginning from the entrance portal, lead on, and converge to, the main theme of the entire composition, namely the superb mausoleum building poetically described as a "tender elegy in marble".

The entrance portal, rising up to a height of about 100 feet, is by itself a monumental composition and has been called "a worthy pendant to the Taj itself". Its central archway offers a magnificent vista, a framed picture so to say, of the snow-white mausoleum building standing at the farthest end. The facade is divided into an enormous arched alcove within a rectangular frame, with a similar smaller fronton in two storeys on each side and a turret with a domed pavilion at each corner. The red sandstone fabric is profusely inlaid with white marble and mosaic of precious stones. Along the frame of the central alcove are inscribed Qur'ānic texts in black letters, inlaid on white marble ground, in such a manner that the letters appear to be of the same size throughout the entire height. The black marble inlay of inscriptions on white marble surface constitutes one of the most effective ornamental motifs in the decorative scheme of the Tāj Mahal, used with the charming elegance of embroidery, not only on the gateway but also on the mausoleum building. The arched alcove opens into an octagonal chamber with a smaller room on each side and a staircase at each corner leading to the upper storeys.

The gateway building descends down to the square court laid out in the formal pattern of a Mughul garden. Two ornamental channels of water with rows of fountains and flanked by marble walks run along the middle of the square. In the centre of the garden court the two are joined by a cross channel, this arrangement being expanded into a wide raised platform with a reservoir of water with fountains. Avenues of cypress trees line the marble walks backed by foliage and flowers in neat and small parterres. The lay-out is balanced and harmonised in such a manner as to fit in with the architectural elements and to furnish a beautiful setting and perspective to the tomb building that stands in the centre of the northern end of the court. As Edwin Arnold says, "the garden helps the Tomb, as the Tomb dignifies the garden".

At the northern end of the garden court stands the red sandstone terrace extending to the wall from east to west. The tomb building stands in the centre of the terrace on its own marble platform, flanked by two other subsidiary structures on the two sides. They are built entirely of sandstone. That to the west is a mosque; the corresponding one to the east has no special significance, but is provided for to ensure symmetry, the *jawab* as it is known. Their situation and elevation are so judiciously disposed as to bring into full and fine relief the snow-white tomb building standing in the middle.

The marble platform of the mausoleum building is exactly 313 feet square and a little over 22 feet in height from the garden level. It is approached by two flights of steps concealed within a passage in the middle of the south side. At each corner rises a stately white marble minaret in four storeys ending at the top in a neat pavilion crowned by a graceful dome. From the level of the garden the total height of each minaret is 162 feet. The tomb building rises abruptly from the centre of this substantial platform and externally is a square of 186 feet side with each corner canted off. Each facade consists of a huge arched alcove, set within a rectangular frame, in the centre flanked by similar arched recesses in two stages on each side and chamfered angle. The entire facade is richly ornamented by inscriptions of Qur'ānic texts in black letters on white surface within rectangular bands, and flowers, arabesques and other patterns in precious inlay. In elevation the scheme resolves into two parts, each approximately of equal height. The lower consists of the enormous facades with chamfered corners forming the ground storey, and the upper of the milk-white soaring dome with its encircling domed pavilions. From the garden level the entire height of the building is over 200 feet, a remarkable achievement carried out in effeminate marble. The horizontal and vertical aspects of the building have been so pleasingly combined as to render the external appearance and elevation perfectly balanced and harmonised.

The interior arrangements of the building are equally elegant and illustrate the sense for a unified and balanced design. In the depth of the marble platform is accommodated the subterranean crypt containing the graves proper. Above we have an octagonal hall in the centre, forming the cenotaph chamber, with two-storeyed apartments, one at each angle, all linked up by radiating passages and corridors. The cenotaph chamber is covered by a vaulted ceiling just below the central dome, while the angle-apartments have each a domed pavilion over the roof of the second storey. Light is admitted into the interior by double perforated screens of white marble set in arched recesses. In the centre of the octagonal hall and marked off by an octagonal rail of trellised marble of exquisite beauty and workmanship lies the cenotaph of the empress with that of Shāh Jahān placed by its side on the west. It is said that the emperor planned to erect a black marble mausoleum on the opposite bank of the river as his last resting place and to join the two by a bridge over the river. But the vicissitudes of fortune in his last years prevented the scheme from being materialised and he lies beside his beloved queen in the monument that was intended solely for her. The cenotaphs are composed of lovely white marble of the most translucent kind and are covered all over with the most beautiful ornamentation in costly *pietra dura*. The marble railing around the cenotaphs is said to be a later replacement, the original having been one of gold set with jewels.

It is impossible, within the short space at our disposal, to convey even a cursory idea of the exquisite ornamentation of this beautiful edifice. The charming effect of the Qur'ānic inscriptions in black letters on white marble has already been alluded to. They appear on the facades and also on the interior surfaces in bold and effective bands. Certain elements of the building are embellished with patterns in low relief, but such ornamentations have been worked without any plastic emphasis so as not to disturb the effect of the smooth white texture of the building. The decorative scheme consists principally of floral and arabesque patterns in costly *pietra dura*. In contemporary records we have an account of as many as forty-two kinds of precious stones having been used in the *pietra dura* works, and the infinite skill of the workmen is clearly evident in the perfect and finished execution of the intricate patterns, ranging from the broad scroll-works on the arch spandrils, soffits, etc. to the tiny floral motifs on the cenotaphs and the marble grille encircling them. The numerous shades of this rich kind of ornamentation are so elegantly and perfectly blended that even a close observation and scrutiny fail to discover the points of unison in any part, although a powerful microscope might reveal as many as seventy to ninety such pieces in the composition of a single small flower.[31] The marble trellises with their varied patterns show also an inimitable delicacy of carving along with a fine sense of effective design. The structure and its ornament are in perfect unison with each other, and the balanced design of the entire conception and its beautiful setting have almost a universal appeal.

In the construction of the Tāj the builders also show a perfect mastery of technique, as is evident in every lineament of this snow-white misty pile. The solid foundations and the substructure of the terrace on the river front are, in themselves, feats of remarkable engineering skill. The practical soundness of the system that prevailed among the Mughul builders for construction of compact masonry foundations is manifest in the fact that in spite of its situation by the river that continually laps its side, the monument has not suffered the least damage or deviation due to a set-back in the foundation. The overhang of the great dome indicates a knowledge on the part of the builders of the principles of tension, stress and strain, and at the same time imparts an appearance of surprising lightness and soaring quality to the whole building. This becomes more apparent the farther one recedes from it. The harmonious grouping of pavilions of apparently indigenous derivation around a dome of evidently Persian extraction illustrates a sense of balanced design, and the rustication on the face of the tall minarets produce a subtle contrast to the smooth texture of the mausoleum building situated in the centre of the area marked by them. As a writer poetically observes, the minarets serve as sentinels over the structure that stands within, as if keeping guard over its fair beauty.

By its stately and perfect proportions, the delicacy and purity of its lineaments, its milk-white texture assuming different hues and tones at different times and under different conditions, the flawless execution of the structure and of its varied ornaments, and, lastly, by its picturesque setting aided by the ingenuity of man, the Tāj Mahal at Āgra stands as a creation of superb beauty and magnificence, not only in Mughul architecture but in Indian architecture as a whole. There have been controversies regarding the designer of this lovely monument and a statement of Father Sebastian Manrique was responsible for initiating the belief that the Tāj owes its design to a Venetian, Geronimo Verroneo.[32] This belief, however, is unwarranted as the design is wholly eastern and, in India, a near prototype is recognised in the tomb of Humāyūn at Delhi erected a little over half a century ago. The Tāj is just the culmination of the conception, first noticed in Humāyūn's tomb and later on continued in the tomb of 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, also at Delhi. It fits into a perfectly logical cycle of evolution of an Indo-Persian design. There are contemporary documents recording the names and respective salaries of the builders, artists and craftsmen responsible for the creation of the monument, the chief being Ustād 'Īsā who, according to *Dīwān-i-Afridi* (manuscript in Khuda Bux Oriental Library, Patna), was a citizen of Āgra. The garden, though typically Mughul, was the work of a Hindu garden-planner of the name of Ranmal who came from Kashmir. The attribution of the *pietra dura* ornamentations to a French jeweller, named Austin de Bordeaux, has also to be discountenanced, as the task is stated to have been entrusted to a group of Hindu craftsmen from Multan and Kanauj. The writer of the inscriptions, Amanat Khān Shirāzī, came from Qandahār, while the maker of the dome, Isma'īl Khān Rūmī, apparently hailed from Constantinople. The services of these two were requisitioned from outside, perhaps because of their special proficiency, each in his particular field. There is no evidence of any western artist being concerned in the production of this monument. The list of the principal artists, masons and craftsmen, together with the countries of their origin, as we have in the contemporary chronicles, indicates how the whole eastern world was laid under contribution in the creation of this mausoleum that still stands as a notable monument in the entire range of eastern architecture. As the development of an Indian style the monument belongs to India and has an Indian appearance and character, despite the hands of foreign workmen employed.

With its luminous beauty and picturesque setting the Tāj has been attracting enamoured visitors from far and near, and each one has a reaction according to his own emotions and susceptibilities. Not a little of its appeal attaches to the fact that here we have an emperor's love given concrete shape in stone, his grief for his beloved materialised into a monument of snow-white texture and uncommon grace and elegance. This romantic association has added to its human interest and to its universal appeal. We have many beautiful and poetic eulogies in praise of this superb monument, but they all appear to have been swayed, to a certain extent, by the romantic story behind its creation. Our poet, Rabindranath, describes the Tāj as a "tear-drop" wrung from the sorrowing heart of the emperor. Similar sentiments seem to inspire such romantic statements as that of Bayard Taylor who spoke of the Tāj as a "fabric of mist and moonshine with its great dome soaring up like a silvery bubble". Many a spectator has seen in the monument the fairy-like beauty of Mumtāz Mahal materialised in marble, while such reactions as expressed in the following couplet from the pen of an Englishman of the early eighteenth century are also not uncommon:

"Oh thou! whose imperial mind could raise
This splendid trophy to a woman's praise:
If joy or grief inspired the bold design,
No mortal joy or sorrow equalled thine."

With its milk-white texture and purity of lineaments, the Tāj has, no doubt, a beauty of its own. Its picturesque situation and every arrangement and setting, so contrived and designed as to concentrate on the structure itself, have added to its charm. Its subtle proportions and varied ornaments, perfectly executed and finished, represent the highest skill. Added to these there is the romantic appeal. The Tāj enchants the eye and fills the heart with reverence for an undying love that could find eloquent expression in mute marble. The poetic eulogies bestowed on the Tāj ever since its completion will indicate that through the successive ages it has been viewed and considered more as a monument of immortalised love and materialised sorrow than as a creation of architecture. It is emotions of this kind that prevent a dispassionate study of the monument and its place in the history of Mughul architecture. When so viewed, its beauty and perfection are found to be of an illusive kind. Its specialised glamour tends to wear thin on a closer analysis and from a correct perspective. What strikes the critics first is the inappropriateness of the material in relation to its magnitude; and the impression of a precious miniature casket being magnified into a monumental size appears to be inevitable. Its effeminacy is apparent, and no amount of praise as its being the tribute to a woman of uncommon beauty and grace can justify the inherent weakness and lack of strength which, as already observed, constitute the spirit of the time. The purity of its outlines is nothing short of a rigidity and the lack of variety in its architectural forms is striking. Aldous Huxley recognises in the composition of the Tāj a "poverty of imagination" which, again, is apparent when the monument is viewed more closely. Moreover, there is a lack of shadow along its front and flanks imparting, to a certain extent, a sense of monotony. The elaborate and costly ornamentations are, no doubt, exquisitely done and are flawless in their accuracy; but close at hand they appear to be restless and overrich. Hence it is a distant view of the monument that is the most satisfying, as it brings into magnificent relief the snow-white monument amidst a gorgeous setting of a luxuriant garden with its rippling water-courses reflecting the throbbing monument against the background of the horizon. The Tāj is not so much a triumph of architecture as of splendid decorative setting; and to this the monument owes much of its charm and beauty.[33]

4. *Decay and Disintegration*

Aurangzīb's accession to the throne marks the end of the rich harvest in building art. It may appear that the abundant and ceaseless output that characterised Shāh Jahān's regime brought in a natural exhaustion and the decay of the Mughul architectural style followed as a matter of course. Signs of decadence were, however, evident even before the reign of Aurangzīb in the weakening of the architectonic design and in the tendency to sumptuous decoration and lavish expenditure in material. Mughul architecture displayed the full vigour of a progressive style during the time of Akbar; but after him it degenerated into a style that "was sweet rather than strong, and dainty rather than dignified." Shāh Jahān indulged his artistic taste in extravagantly ornate buildings. His palaces, halls and pavilions, with their effeminate forms and precious inlay, give at their best a picture of decadent splendour and belong rather to the category of exquisite *bijouterie* than architecture. In spite of the brilliance of his architectural undertakings, he could not contribute any new idea or form to the

Mughul architectural style. None of his buildings is distinguished by an intellectuality in design, and even such impressive creations as the Jāmi' Masjid at Delhi, the Moti Masjid at Āgra, or the splendid Tāj Mahal fail to rise above the contemporary flavour of an effete and overstressed magnificence.

The reign of Aurangzīb saw the rapid dissolution of the Mughul architectural style. "There are few things", says Fergusson,[34] "more startling in the history of this style than the rapid decline of taste that set in with the accession of Aurangzeb". The empire of the grand Mughuls reached a tottering height during his reign and the inevitable crash was not long in coming. Symptoms of disintegration were apparent even during his lifetime and with his death vanished the splendid imperial fabric raised up by the great Akbar. It is only natural, therefore, that during these declining days all forms of cultural activity languished. Aurangzīb's own temperament seems to have contributed more to the rapid decay of the architectural tradition than any of the natural causes. His austere puritanism gave little encouragement to art, and his narrow bigotry tried to exclude all non-believers from participating in the construction of monuments of the Islāmic faith or of those intended for the use of the believers in Islām. Mughul architecture, we have already observed, had its foundation in the days of Akbar on a happy and fruitful collaboration among diverse ideas and techniques, and much of its character as a national art movement depended on the capacities and achievements of the indigenous ideals in adapting the other trends and elements to the requirements of the new and growing style. In the later phase of Mughul architecture there was noticed a slow and gradual isolation from the indigenous inspiration, thereby leading to a poverty in architectonic design and loss of structural dignity. Still, the technical skill and efficiency of the indigenous artists and craftsmen were recognised both by Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān who utilised their services a good deal. With the advent of Aurangzīb even this stopped and the style was nipped at the roots. When the indigenous source dried up the style disintegrated with phenomenal rapidity.

The productions of Aurangzīb's reign are few and are of a decidedly inferior quality. Two mosques, erected during his reign, deserve brief mention. The first is the Moti Masjid within the Delhi fort, put up in order to enable the emperor at various times of the day and night to pay his devotions without the trouble of a retinue or long journey. It is a small but graceful structure in marble of the most polished kind. The curved eave over the central archway of the sanctuary is noteworthy, and curves seem to predominate also in the rounded contours of the domes. At the same time it has a restrained beauty, and being erected towards the early part of Aurangzīb's reign it appears to reflect, to a certain extent, the flavour of Shāh Jahān's buildings. The Jāmi‘ or Bādshāhī mosque at Lahore, built in 1674 by Aurangzīb's Master of Ordnance, Fidāi Khān Kūka, is a more vigorous composition and has an imposing appearance in spite of the partial collapse of a few of its eight minarets which constituted the chief feature of its design. Though not comparable to the Jāmi‘ Masjid at Delhi, either in scale or in effect, the broad quadrangle of the Lahore mosque with the arcaded facade of the sanctuary in red sandstone crowned by three white marble domes has a certain dignity. These two mosques retain some semblance of the former achievements, perhaps because of sacred and orthodox character. At the same time there are symptoms of the approaching decline. The spirit of the style seems to have evaporated.

The tomb of Aurangzīb's queen Rābi‘a-ud-Daurānī at Aurangabad illustrates in a pathetic manner the rapid deterioration of the Mughul architectural style. Erected in 1679 it is a frank imitation of the Tāj Mahal at Āgra, though on a much smaller scale. The difference between this tomb, known as the Deccani Tāj Mahal, and Shāh Jahān's masterpiece is striking in view of so short an interval that separated the two monuments, and shows in an effective manner the rapid decay and impoverishment of the style. Like the Tāj Mahal at Āgra we have in this tomb a domed structure in the centre raised on a terraced platform with four minarets at the four corners, all laid within a formal garden. The lay-out of the garden is also practically the same. The composition lacks, however, the subtle and satisfying proportions of the prototype, and the weak foliations of the arches and meaningless ornaments strewn all over the surface of the monument lend it almost an insipid appearance. Compared to the Tāj Mahal, the tomb of Rābi‘a-ud-Daurānī is a very mediocre production which, as Fergusson says, "narrowly escapes vulgarity and bad taste".[35]

With the death of Aurangzīb in 1707 the grand empire vanished under a maze of fratricidal struggles, ignominious internal intrigues and intrepid foreign aggressions. With it collapsed also the splendid pageant of the Mughul court. The life and spirit of the Mughul architectural style had already gone and the outer shell also collapsed. The tomb of Safdar Jang at Delhi, erected about 1754, is the final effort to recall the old spirit of the style; but in this it fails miserably. There was no hope of recovery even of the old glamour, and the architectural style, associated with the name of the grand Mughuls became extinct long before the last of the dynasty was pushed out of his titular sovereignty.

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1. Extract in *CHI.* IV. 524.
2. *Memoirs,* II. 533.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 384.
4. Elliot, V. 124-26.
5. *CHI.* IV. 525.
6. Elliot, V. 108-09; *CHI.* IV. 531.
7. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic*), p. 91.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 93.
9. *CHI.* IV. 530.
10. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic*), p. 97.
11. *HIEA.* II. 175.
12. *Ain.* I.
13. *CHI.* IV. 535-36.
14. *Ibid.,* p. 536.
15. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic*), p. 100.
16. *CHI.* IV. 537.
17. *Ibid.,* pp. 537-38.
18. *Memoirs,* I. 2.
19. *HIEA.* II. 294.
20. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic*), p. 105.
21. *HIEA.* II. 294.
22. *CHI.* IV. 549-50.
23. *Ibid.* p. 553.
24. *Bādshāh-nāma,* I. 221.
25. *HIEA.* II. 317.
26. *Ibid.* p. 311.
27. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic*), p. 112.
28. *Ibid.* p. 112.
29. Extract from *Āsār-us-Sanādid* of Sayyid Ahmad in *CHI.* IV. 557.
30. *CHI.* IV. 559.
31. *Journal of Indian Art,* 1885, p. 61.
32. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic*), p. 116.
33. The author's estimate of the artistic excellence of Shāh Jahān's buildings—in particular Tāj Mahal—as expressed in this para, and also elsewhere in this chapter, is not likely to meet with the general approval, even of scholars, not to speak of readers in general. It may be argued, for example, that final judgment on fine arts, including architecture, must give due consideration to technical excellence and/or propriety, *as well as* to the extent to which it kindles the sense of beauty inherent in human beings of all ages and climes. Judged by this test the Tāj Mahal perhaps ranks much higher than any other building of any age or country. (Editor).
34. *HIEA.* II. 321.
35. *Ibid.* p. 322.

CHAPTER XXIV

MUGHUL PAINTING

I. *Pre-Mughul Period*

The Mughul school of painting represents one of the most significant phases of Indian art. Though miniature paintings in the form of manuscript illustrations were much in vogue in eastern and western India long before Bābur won the battle of Panipat, the numerous miniatures illustrating historical events, literary passages, court scenes, portrait studies, natural history drawings, genre scenes, etc., painted during the reigns of the Imperial Mughuls unfold a completely new concept in Indian art. In their ideas and execution the Mughul miniatures show something never seen before in India, and their lasting effect reverberated throughout the Deccan, Rājasthān, the Punjāb Hills and northern India long after the 'Grand Mughuls' vanished.

Not a single miniature or illustrated manuscript has so far been identified as definitely emanating from the Sultānate court of Delhi, though references to wall-paintings and painters are found in contemporary literary works of Amīr Khusrav Dihlāvī, Shams-i-Shirāj 'Āfīf, Maulāna Dā'ūd, etc. It appears that the art of miniature painting or manuscript illustration did not get any patronage from the Sultāns of Delhi, though many of them built up large libraries and *madrasas,* which must have contained illustrated manuscripts prepared in 'Iraq and Persia.

The situation was very different in some of the provincial Sultānates—especially in Mālwa, Gujarāt, and Jaunpur, where manuscripts were prepared and illustrated. Māndu, Ahmadābād and Jaunpur were important centres of trade and commerce inhabited by communities of prosperous and influential Jain merchants. The Jains consider the gift of sacred books to their preceptors a pious act; the books were in turn deposited with *jñānabhaṇḍāras* attached to the Jain places of worship. Some of the old and flourishing *jñānabhaṇḍāras* in Rājasthān, Saurāshṭra and Gujarāt have yielded, in recent times, a large number of dated or datable manuscripts containing numerous miniatures. Some of these illustrated manuscripts help us to trace precisely the evolution of the art of miniature painting in the 15th and 16th centuries.

With the replacement of inconveniently narrow and brittle palm-leaf by hand-made paper during the 13th century revolutionary changes took place in the field of Gujarāti manuscript painting. The painter found more freedom in his choice of colours and more working space at his disposal; and the miniatures began to show signs of improvement in colouring, composition, delineation and decorative details. At the outset the change was slow and hesitant, as evidenced in the illustrations of a late 14th century combined *Kalpasūtra-Kālakāchārya-Kathā* MS. in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and another MS. of the same subject dated 1414 A.D. in the collection of P.C. Jain, Bombay. Similar changes are noticed in the *Supāsanāhachariyam* MS. dated 1413 A.D., written at Delvada in Mewar, in the collection of Hemachandrāchārya Jñānamandir, Patan, and a *Kalpasūtra* MS. of c. 1425 A.D., written at Māndu, in the collection of Ātmānanda *Jñānabhaṇḍāra*, Baroda. These changes led to their logical culmination in the style of painting evidenced in the beautifully drawn illustrations of a *Kalpasūtra* MS. dated 1439 A.D., written at Māndu, now in the National Museum, Delhi. Another MS. of the *Kālakāchārya-Kathā*, now in the Muni Punyavijayji Collection, Ahmadābād, probably came from the same centre and bearing a similar date. The new development became even more evident in the illustrations of a golden lettered *Kalpasūtra* MS. written in 1465 A.D. at Jaunpur, now in the Narasimhajina Polnā *Jñānabhaṇḍāra* at Baroda. The miniatures and border decorations of the well-known *Kalpasūtra* MS. in the Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār, Ahmadābād, written in c. 1475 A.D. at Ahmadābād, show daring experimentation by introducing decorative motifs and figural details directly lifted from Persian paintings. In dress, textile decoration, landscape and architectural details, in the depiction of elliptoid foliage, Chinese-type floating clouds, arabesques and ornamental decorations, in the use of colours, and finally, in the representation of 'Shāhi' type kings and foreign soldiers with Mongoloid face, small eyes, pointed beards, drooping moustache and sandal-paste coloured body, an over-whelming impact of Persian paintings of Turkoman and other schools become frankly apparent. The illustrated scroll of the *Vasanta Vilāsa*, written in 1451 A.D. at Ahmadābād, though not a Jain hieratic work, may also be included in this category. Thus within the span of a few decades the rigid and orthodox style of the Jain painters was replaced by a more flexible, naturalistic and lively style.

The provincial Sultānates of Māndu, Jaunpur and Ahmadābād could not keep themselves aloof from this current of change. Examples which could be firmly dated and placed at Ahmadābād are not yet available, but Māndu shows the way with no less than four remarkable MSS. The most interesting and important MS. painted at Māndu, the *Nī'matnāma* (*colour plate* 1), a treatise on the art of cooking, is unfortunately undated. Its colophon, however, bears the name of Sultān Nāsir-uddīn Khaljī, son of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Khaljī, and many of the miniatures illustrate the portraits of the former. Though Māndu was the centre of considerable art activity in the field of Jain miniature painting, the illustrations of the *Nī'matnāma* give evidences of a developed and sophisticated tradition revealing close affinity with contemporary Persian paintings. The colour scheme is bright and lively, the foliage rich and fresh, and the human figures naturalistic and beautiful. The gay abandon of the Māndu court is amply reflected in the miniatures of this MS. A similar trend is noticeable in another MS, the *Miftāh u'l-Fuzalā,* a dictionary of rare words, produced at Māndu. An altogether different trend, which could hardly be differentiated from contemporary Persian style, is noticed in the illustrations of a *Būstān* MS., painted at Māndu in 1502 A.D. by one Hājī Māhmūd. The style is so different from the style of *Nī'matnāma* and the *Miftāh-u'l-Fuzalā* illustrations that it becomes difficult to reconcile it with the fact that these were all painted at Māndu for the same patron. Simon Digby mentions the title of another MS., the *'Ajā'ib-u's-San'atī,* painted at Māndu in 1508 A.D., examined by Abdulla Chughtai but never seen again. An *Anwār-i-Suhailī* MS., recently acquired by the National Museum, Delhi, may also be included in this group. The miniatures of this MS. are however of inferior quality differing widely from the style of the *Nī'matnāma.*

Jaunpur became a flourishing literary centre where art, architecture and music were encouraged with equal passion by the Sharqī rulers. The city came to be known as 'Dar-ul-Aman', the Place of Refuge, where Qutban wrote his Āvadhī romance *Mirgāvat* during the reign of Husain Shāh Sharqī (1458-1479). Some of the groups of MSS. discovered in recent years, namely, the *Hamzanāma* at Tübingen State Library, the *Khamsa-i-Amīr Khusrau,* the *Sikandarnāma-yi-Bahri* in an American private collection, the *Shāhnāma* in Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras, a Persian *Mathnavi* in the N. C. Mehta collection, now in Ahmadābād Culture Centre, another *Sikandarnāma* whose present whereabout is not known, may have come from the Āgra-Delhi-Jaunpur region, though no corroborative evidence has yet been discovered to prove this.

Ahmadābād also became a prosperous centre of prolific literary and architectural activities, where many Jain MSS. and such secular works as the *Vasanta Vilāsa* were prepared. But so far we have come across only one Islāmic MS.—an *Anwār-i-Suhailī* of a much later date (1603 A.D.), which bears a colophon mentioning the name of Ahmadābād.

II. *Period of Transition*

The changes noticed in the above groups of illustrated MSS.—Jain and Islāmic—gradually crystallized into new artistic conventions, and a new style of painting emerged in the succeeding decades. This is borne out by a group of MSS. containing miniatures painted in a suave and refined style with a rich and lively colour scheme and a wide repertoire of motifs and designs. This particular group is commonly designated as the *Laur Chandā-Chaura-pañchāśikā* group, and includes MSS. and isolated folios of a large variety, namely, a MS. of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* in the collection of the Asiatic Society, Bombay; the MSS. of *Laur Chandā* in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the John Rhylands Library, Manchester; some dispersed folios of another *Laur Chandā* MS. in the Lahore and Chandigarh Museums; the miniatures of a *Chaura-pañchāśikā* MS. in the N. C. Mehta Collection, now deposited with the Culture Centre, Ahmadābād; the *Gīta Govinda* fragment in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; the dispersed folios of a *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in various Indian and foreign collections; the *Rāgamālā* folios in the collection of Vijayendra Suri; some folios of a *Mirgāvat* MS. in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, and a *Mahāpurāṇa* MS. in the Śrī Digambara Jaina Atiśaya Kshetra, Jaipur. Only two of these, namely the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* and the *Mahāpurāṇa,* have dated colophons with names of painters and places of execution. The former was painted in 1516 A.D. at a place near Āgra, and the latter in 1540 A.D. at Palam near Delhi. These dates help us to place the entire group and a majority of the miniatures in the northern belt in the first half of the sixteenth century, though with obvious reservations.

The illustrations in these MSS. are of uneven quality and exhibit features which are exclusive to some MSS., but totally absent in most others. The illustrations of the *Laur Chandā* MSS. in the Prince of Wales Museum and the John Rhylands Library are of a high standard with marks of refinement lacking in other MSS. Miniatures of the Prince of Wales Museum, *Gīta Govinda,* the dispersed folios of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* the Lahore and Chandigarh Museum *Laur Chandā,* the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of 1516 A.D. and the *Chaura-pañchāśikā* show signs of a common style which, though not as refined as that of the Bombay and Manchester *Laur Chandā* MSS., is of a reasonably good quality. As with the case of the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* the MSS. of this group appear to be prepared for the bourgeoisie and not for any royal patron.

The *Mahāpurāṇa* MS., painted near Delhi, is of great interest as it was prepared in 1540 A.D., that is during the early years of the Mughul period. Its miniatures belong to a style continuing the late fifteenth century Jain tradition, but at the same time reveal connection with the school of paintings whose earliest example is provided by the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of 1516 A.D. There is, however, a great problem in dating the other MSS. of this group because some of them do not depict the typical five-pointed *jāma* (*chākdār jāma*) so conspicuous in the *Hamzanāma* and other early Akbari MSS. So far not a single dated pre-Akbari MS. has been discovered where this particular *jāma* has been shown. This has led a group of scholars to believe that the miniatures of the *Laur Chandā-Chaura-pañchāśikā* group prominently featuring this *jāma* may belong to the early Akbar period. This does not appear to be convincing because these miniatures are closely linked with the style of painting started with the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* MS. of 1516 A.D. in all other respects. The whole group probably belongs to the northern belt extending from Delhi to Jaunpur.

The miniatures discussed above generally have a red, and in some examples blue, green or yellow background, a simple composition featuring females with narrow waist, heavy breasts, pointed nose, large eyes and squarish face, and a minimum of architectural or landscape details with occasional conventionalised trees, foliated rocks and strips of blue sky. In many examples the prevailing mood is that of a gay abandon not to be met with in the hieratic productions of the late 15th century. Their movement is free and unsophisticated. The basic theme of these works is varied and free from established conventions. Such popular subjects as Kṛishṇa legend, *Rāgamālā,* or popular tales as *Laur Chandā, Chaura-pañchāśikā, Mirgāvat,* etc. opened up new avenues of ideas to the artist. These miniatures contributed largely to the origin and evolution of the Rājasthānī styles of painting, though it has not been possible yet to assess their precise contribution to the origin and growth of Mughul painting.

III. *Early Mughul Painting*

The foundation of Mughul painting was laid by Humāyūn during the years of his exile in Persia and Afghānistan. It was mainly due to the coincidence of the Shāh of Persia Shāh Tahmāsp's increasing disinterest in the arts for religious bigotry, and Humāyūn's unexpected presence in Persia that the services of two of Persia's greatest masters, Mīr Sayyid 'Alī and 'Abdus-Samad, could be secured by the Mughul emperor. They started to work at the temporary

Mughul capital at Kabul where young Akbar was also enlisted to have lessons in painting from them. A few of 'Abdus-Samad's works executed during this period are to be found in the Gulshan album compiled by Jahāngīr, now preserved in the Gulistān Palace Library, Tehran. Further details about the activities of the Kabul atelier cannot be traced as these have not been recorded in contemporary chronicles.

Both the masters followed Humāyūn to Delhi when he was able to recover the lost throne of Hindustān and continued to work after organising a flourishing art establishment for Akbar. A large number of talented painters were recruited from various parts of the country for working in it, and within a short time it became celebrated for its fine and sophisticated productions.

The most important work produced in the Mughul studio in the first few years of its existence is the unusual manuscript *Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza,* better known as the *Hamzanāma.* The completed work consisted of nearly 1200 paintings drawn in bold and vivid colours on linen pasted on one side of the unusually large-sized folios, twenty-seven inches by twenty (*colour plate* 2). Unfortunately, only a small fragment of the work has survived, and that too is widely distributed among various collections in Europe and America, with only three or four folios and a few detached fragments in Indian collections. The bulk of the surviving folios are to be found in the Museum of Industrial Art, Vienna, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum, London. Akbar was extremely fond of these semi-mythological fantasies dealing with the exploits of the Prophet's uncle, Amīr Hamza, and kept the gigantic illustrated volumes handy in the *zanana.* None of the folios, so far found, is signed or bears any contemporary attribution to any artist, and the colophon of the MS. has never been found, rendering the task of fitting this important work into a secure chronological sequence extremely difficult. The *Hamzanāma* is mentioned by Abu-'l-Fazl, Badāūnī and Shāhnawāz Khān, but there is considerable discrepancy between their accounts regarding its authorship, antiquity and even the exact number of its folios. Badāūnī and Shāhnawāz Khān mention that the work of preparing the illustrations was initiated at Akbar's instance and took fifteen years and the toils of fifty 'Bihzād-like painters' under the supervision of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, and subsequently of 'Abdus-Samad. Another author, Mullā 'Alā-ud-Daula Qāzvinī, refers in his *Nafais-ul-Ma'āsir* to the *Hamzanāma* as a brain-child of Humāyūn who appointed Mīr Sayyid 'Alī to supervise its completion with scrupulous care. Though many earlier scholars subscribed to this view, it does not seem to be plausible to create such a style of art as reflected in the paintings of the *Hamzanāma* outside India or in the unstable political conditions in which Humāyūn had to live during the years of his exile. The work was probably completed by 1575-76 A.D. The complicated compositions, consisting of architectural details, interiors of palaces, forts or pavilions, and armies of attendants, heroes or women in vivid and violent action show a remarkable grasp on treatment and technique. The colour scheme is invariably very bright with splashes of red, blue, yellow, green, etc. Exotic plants with colourful flowers and foliages and minute details of architectural decorations and furniture, etc. characterise the paintings of the *Hamzanāma.*

The miniatures of an *'Āshiqa* manuscript dated 1568 A.D., an *Anwār-i-Suhailī* manuscript dated 1570 A.D., and an undated manuscript of *Tilāsm* and Zodiac have closely similar appearance. Some miniatures of the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* manuscript of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, follow the Persian tradition more faithfully than the rest which have close affinity with the Indian realism where the trees, flowers, birds, and animals are represented in a highly naturalistic manner (*colour plate* 3). The animal studies in the miniatures of this manuscript are particularly striking for their realistic appearances. They are more lively and self-possessed than the conventional mask-like animals found in Persian painting. The trees and flowers depicted in these miniatures are mostly Indian, though the composition of rocks and hills and forms of cloud follow the Persian tradition. The numerous illustrations of the *Tutināma* of the Cleveland Museum of Art probably belong to the next decade when the painting atelier underwent considerable structural change.

With Akbar's increasing interest in religion and his insatiable desire to go into the depth of various religions—Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Christianity and Judaism—the extent and scope of his library was enlarged. He wanted the basic religious texts of other religions—especially of Hinduism—translated into Persian so that he himself, members of the royal family and his officers might have first-hand knowledge about these works, and ordered for the preparation of sumptuous manuscripts of these translations filled with appropriate illustrations. Abu-'l-Fazl gives a list of important works including books on history, biography, Persian classics, poetry, theology, etc. specially written for the emperor by leading calligraphers and illustrated by the painters of the imperial atelier. Besides the two Persian pioneers, a large number of Indian painters were employed in the studio and placed under them, many of whom in course of time became celebrated masters. Abu-'l-Fazl mentions the names of fifteen painters, Daswant, Basāwan, Kesav, La'l, Mukund, Mishkin, Farrukh the Qalmaq, Madhu, Jagan, Mahes, Khem Karan, Tārā, Sānwala, Haribans and Rām, who became outstanding masters of art amongst more than a hundred painters most of whom were Hindus. They were recruited from various centres—Gwālior, Gujarāt, Lahore, Kāshmīr, and also probably from Mālwa, Rājasthān, and western and eastern Uttar Pradesh. Akbar took a keen personal interest in the works of his artists, examined their weekly output, assessed their merit and rewarded the painters accordingly. All types of artists' materials and costly ingredients were made readily available to the painters, and the paintings dazzled in rich gloss and warm colours. Abu-'l-Fazl narrates in his chronicle how Akbar was personally impressed by the works of an humble painter named Daswant, the son of a *Kahār* or Palki-bearer, who was helped to become 'the first master of the age', whose works 'did not trail behind those of Bihzād and the painters of China'.

The only manuscript in which paintings drawn by this celebrated painter is to be found is the *Razmnāma,* now preserved in the Mahārājā Sawāi Mān Singh II Museum, Jaipur. The manuscript was in course of preparation when Daswant became mentally unbalanced and committed suicide in 1584. 'Abdus-Samad's courtier-son, Muhammad Sharīf, supervised its illustration, and Daswant drew the preliminary outlines of as many as twenty-nine miniatures, all of which were however completed by a second painter. Besides those mentioned above, all other painters mentioned by Abu-'l-Fazl, with the exception of Farrukh the Qalmaq, participated in illustrating this important manuscript. The MS. constitutes a landmark in the history of Mughul painting as it was the precursor of a series of well-written MSS. with a large number of well-chosen miniatures for the personal use of the emperor. Many hands were employed to illustrate this MS. and as many as three painters collaborated to produce some of the finest and fairest examples of Akbari painting. Besides Daswant, Basāwan, La'l, Tulsi and Mishkin were responsible for painting some excellent compositions. Basāwan was the most outstanding painter amongst them who excelled in all the branches of painting—drawing of outline, application of colour, portrait and landscape painting, etc. In a monochrome sketch in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, showing Majnūn in the wilderness with an emaciated horse, Basāwan (*plate* 57) can be seen at his best.

After the *Razmnāma* a large number of illustrated manuscripts were prepared in the imperial atelier which include the *Rāmāyaṇa* completed in November, 1588, also preserved in the same Museum; the

Diwān of Ānwāri dated 1588, in the Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.; the *Tārikh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūryya* in the Khudabux Oriental Library, Patna; the *Akbar-nāma,* the bulk of whose miniatures is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; the *Bāhāristān* written in 1594-95, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī dated 1595-96 divided between the Walters Gallery, Baltimore and the British Museum; the *Anwār-i-Suhāilī* prepared in 1595-96 in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras; the *Bāburnāma* prepared in 1595-96 in the National Museum, Delhi; the *Jāmi'ut-Twārikh* dated 1596, in the Persian Imperial Library at Tehran; a *Khamsa* of Amīr Khūsrav Dihlāvī; the *Dīwāns* of Hāfiz and Shāhī; and a sumptuous copy of the *Tārikh-i-'Alfī* which was commissioned in 1594 but left unfinished, etc. The miniatures included in these manuscripts constitute numerous excellent examples of miniature painting prepared in the Mughul studio. In respect of compositional unity and distribution of space and colour they reveal a masterly command over technique and a mature and lively interest in man and nature. The paintings also reveal a superb blending of heterogeneous Persian, Pre-Mughul Islāmic and indigenous, Deccanese and European artistic elements into a concerted and well-blended style which became typical of the developed Akbari idiom. The colour-tones became more subdued, lines more sure and subtle, expression more lively and composition well-knit. The painters succeeded in a brilliant way in expressing the ideals of amity and synthesis preached by their imperial patron. The *Dīwān-i-Hāfiz* manuscript in the collection of the Raza Library, Rāmpur, contains some delicate miniatures finished by individual masters including a very fine one by Farrukh Beg (*plate* 59).

Some of the finest paintings of the last decade of the 16th century are to be found in the *Akbar-nāma* fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Though the paintings continue the same tradition of miniature painting apparent in the manuscripts of *Timūr-nāma, Jāmi'ut-Twārikh, Tārikh-i-'Alfī,* etc., they reveal a sense of realism and authenticity, witnessed or experienced by the painters themselves, which is missing in those works. The portraits are lifelike, the architectural details contemporary and the flora, fauna and landscape in most examples authentic. In one miniature graphic details of the celebration of the much-awaited birth of an offspring to emperor Akbar (*colour plate* 4) have been painted with a suave charm and lively naturalism which was unknown in early Akbari paintings.

Along with the uncertain political condition emanating from Prince Salīm's rebellion and the untimely deaths of Princes Murād and Dāniyāl, signs of slackness in the rate and quality of artistic production of the Akbari atelier became apparent. The number of manuscripts came down and the number of miniatures also decreased considerably. Amongst the manuscripts produced during the last seven years of Akbar's reign, mention may be made of the *Bābur-nāma* manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Museum of Eastern Cultures, Moscow; the *Jog Bāshisht* dated 1602 in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; the *Nafahat-al-Uns* dated 1603 in the British Museum; another *Akbar-nāma* manuscript dated 1603-4 distributed between the British Museum and the Chester Beatty Library; and the *Iyar-i-Dānish* dated 1604-5 divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the Cowasji Jehangir Collection, Bombay. Most of the miniatures included in these manuscripts are neatly drawn with a simple composition and sombre colour scheme and executed by single painters. Works of the masters mentioned in Abu-'l-Fazl's list become scarce while a new group of painters who worked as assistants in the earlier years predominate.

IV. *New Tradition under Jahāngīr*

Another important development took place during these years which led to a rapid change in the style of Mughul painting. Prince Salīm started a new studio under an emigrè Harati painter named Āqā Rizā which worked in full swing at Āgra and during the years of Salīm's rebellion at Allahābād, and brought about a 'minor artistic revolution'. We know of at least two interesting manuscripts—the *Rājkunwār* dated 1602 in the Chester Beatty Library (*colour plate* 5) and the collection of *Ghazls* and *Rubā'īs* of Amīr Nazm-ud-Dīn Hasan Dihlāvī dated 1602 in the Walters Gallery, Baltimore, which were produced at Allahābād. The pocket size *Dīwān* of Hāfiz divided between the Chester Beatty Library and the British Museum, the *Anwār-i-Suhailī* containing works of Āqā Rizā, Anant, Abu'l Hasan, Bishndās, etc. in the British Museum were certainly taken in hand during the same period, though completed at a later date after Salīm ascended the Mughul throne as Jahāngīr in 1605. The paintings of these manuscripts with the exception of a few examples in the *Dīwān-i-Hāfiz,* show a certain simplicity and rustic charm which is rare in the refined and sophisticated productions of the Akbari atelier. The colour-tones are generally very subdued and the composition rather simple (*colour plate* 5). Besides these manuscripts sumptuous *muraqqa's* or albums were compiled by his painters in which the collection of Persian masterpieces by Bihzād, etc., European engravings and early Akbari productions, along with calligraphic panels written by Mīr 'Alī, Sultān 'Alī, etc., were used as centre-pieces, while the margins of the folios were embellished with floral designs, landscape patterns and miniature pictures of everyday scenes and important personalities.

The trend started in his princely days was vigorously pursued by Jahāngīr and Mughul painting reached its logical culmination in the course of his reign. He helped it to be free from its bond with the text of manuscripts as it was his desire to have a small group of master painters, each highly specialised in one or more branches of the art, who could prepare pictures of persons or groups or themes selected by him and pulsating with life.

At the outset he instructed his painters to bring out some interesting manuscripts from the imperial library for adding new miniatures. Later on he became interested in portraits and had a large number of portraits of the members of the royal family, dignitaries of the court, important persons in the fields of religion, literature, music, art, etc. He even sent his leading portraitist, Bishndās, to Īrān with his envoy Shāh 'Ālam for a set of lifelike portraits of the Shāh, his nobles and family members. Portrait painting was practised in Akbar's time also. Akbar himself 'sat' for the preparation of his own portraits and instructed his painters to prepare albumfull of portraits of the members of the royal family and the leading grandees of the realm. These portraits are in most cases full-length standing representations with the face in either profile or three-quarter profile against a monochrome background. In some examples preserved in the Jahāngīrī albums the names of the persons are noted by the emperor himself, and in some cases he even mentions the names of the painters and the year of execution. Though at the outset Manohar, Nānhā (*plate* 61) and Farrukh Beg were entrusted to paint these portraits, later on Manohar, Abu-'l-Hasan and Bishndās prepared most of the individual and group portraits. These minutely drawn portrait-studies were widely copied at later times and introduced the fashion of having albums of portraits of important officials and generals during the time of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb.

Jahāngīr was keen to preserve a faithful account of his activities and important events in the form of a memoir and commanded his painters to prepare pictorial records of important festivals, assemblies, as well as of unusual interesting birds, animals or flowers seen and appreciated by him. Many delightful paintings depicting Jahāngīr's coronation and assemblies held during such festivals as *holi*, *āb-pāshī* (*plate* 63), birthday weighing, etc. and meticulously delineating the emperor's hunting expeditions, formal receptions and travels, are preserved in Indian and foreign collections. Parts of his original memoir written in his own handwriting have been acquired by the National Museum, Delhi, and a fragment containing some exquisite illustrations like Khusrau's trial, scenes of Jahāngīr's journey to Kabul, festival of *āb-pāshī*, etc. is preserved in the Rāmpur Raza Library. In an example in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Jahāngīr is shown as exhibiting his hunting skill to the Rājput prince Karan (*plate* 62) when he fired at the right eye of a lioness exactly as indicated by the latter.

During the later part of his reign Jahāngīr became addicted to wine and opium to such an extent that the control of the imperial authority was usurped by his all-powerful wife, Nūr Jahān, and son Khurram. Some superb miniatures were painted by the Jahāngīri painters like Abu-'l-Hasan, Bichitr, Hāshim, etc. in which the emperor was given grossly exaggerated importance in a symbolic way as if to make up the loss of his political stature. In some examples in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, he is shown as receiving and embracing Shāh 'Abbās of Īrān, whom in reality he never met, or presiding over an imaginary assembly of holy men and emperors of distant lands or shooting at the severed head of his arch-enemy Malik 'Ambar, whom he could in fact never subdue. This feature of presenting the patron-emperor as an all-powerful entity pampered by the gods, respected by the kings and loved and feared by the subjects, was a new feature in the development of Mughul painting. Slowly the earlier tradition of preparation of illustrations for manuscripts was discarded in favour of *muraqqa's* or albums of single miniatures, portraits, natural history studies, drawings and copies of European engravings.

Amongst the host of painters working under Jahāngīr, Farrukh Beg, Daulat, Manohar, Bishndās, Mansūr and Abu-'l-Hasan secured their places in the history of Mughul painting by virtue of their artistic genius. Farrukh Beg entered into the Akbari atelier during its heyday but maintained his individualistic style which was never submerged in the millieu of its syncretistic atmosphere (*plate* 59). He continued to work for some years in the Jahāngīr studio and prepared some wonderful studies of old poets, dervishes and a superb study of the Bijāpurī Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. Daulat, Manohar, Bishndās and Mansūr all worked during the last few years of Akbar's reign as budding masters. From a fragmentary inscription on a miniature of the *Nafahat-al-Uns* in the British Museum we come to know that Daulat was a pupil of Farrukh Beg. The colour scheme of his works has a freshness which is rare amongst the works of his other contemporaries. During the first few years of Jahāngīr's reign Daulat prepared some excellent portraits of his fellow painters—Bishndās, Govardhan, Abu-'l-Hasan and a self-portrait—at the command of the emperor. These studies along with some portraits of calligraphers presented singly or with painters or assistants, on the margins of folios or under the colophon of manuscripts, provide us with interesting documents of social history.

Manohar, son of the celebrated Akbari master Basāwan and Bishndās, nephew of another well-known Akbari painter Nānhā (*plate* 61) excelled in portrait painting. Though Manohar was never mentioned in the *Tūzuk,* there is no doubt about his competency and the emperor's reliance on him for the preparation of some of the finest portrait-studies and assembly groups showing multiple portraits of princes, nobles, officials and foreign envoys in formal groups. Jahāngīr was satisfied with the work of Bishndās when he returned from Persia with pictures of Shāh 'Abbās and members of his family and court. Some of his works surviving at Boston, Leningrad, etc. fully testify to the fact of his competence.

The most important of all Jahāngīri painters were Ustād Mansūr and Abu-'l-Hasan. The emperor himself speaks highly of them and bestowed the titles Nādir-al-'Asr and Nādir-uz-Zaman on them in recognition of their merit. Ustād Mansūr started his career during the last few years of Akbar's reign as a minor painter but due to Jahāngīr's profound personal interest he became an incomparable expert of drawings of natural history subjects. His studies of rare animals, uncommon birds, unusual flowers etc. are so meticulous and lively that ornithologists and zoologists wonder at his scientific power of observation. Two signed works of this great master—one of a rare Siberian crane and the other of a Bengal florican (*plate* 64)—are in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, while some more may be found in the National Museum, Delhi, the Mahārājā Sawāi Mān Singh II Museum, Jaipur, and the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Some of his universally known studies may be viewed in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Metropolitan Museum, and the Freer Gallery of Art. Abu-'l-Hasan was a far more sophisticated painter who was born within the Mughul household being a son of Āqā Rizā, and grew up in the shadow of Prince Salīm's presence. His earliest known work is, interestingly enough, a copy of Dürer's St. John drawn in his thirteenth year in 1600. Gradually he became a master artist and painted many important works including the iconographical paintings where he elevated his patron to the level of an all-powerful superhuman. He was equally proficient in all branches of miniature painting, but the most interesting feature of his works is the colour scheme—very effective, very attractive and colourful. The extraordinary painting of a chanar tree with hosts of squirrels in every conceivable position in the collection of the India Office Library, London (*plate* 65) is generally attributed to Abu-'l-Hasan, but if any reliance is placed on the late attributions mentioned at the back of the picture, it is likely to be a joint work of Mansūr and Abu-'l-Hasan.

Mention should be made here about the impact of European art on the development of Mughul painting. Though there were some contacts with European traders and missionaries before, the first real contact with Europe was established through the first Jesuit mission of 1580, which came to Fathpur Sīkrī from Goa on special invitation from Akbar. Along with other things the Jesuit fathers presented European prints and engravings of Christian subject-matter which were appreciated and received with much enthusiasm by the Mughuls, especially Prince Salīm. By virtue of their novelty and superior technical quality these European art objects made the Mughul painters realise their own shortcomings and within a short time we notice quite a few of them drawing inspirations from these. At the outset the Akbari masters copied out designs and details from European engravings and applied typical Mughul colours—red, blue, yellow, green, magenta, etc. on them. The result was a curious admixture of oriental taste and occidental technique, which can be seen from a remarkable work in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by Kesavdās (*plate* 58). Similar studies made by such leading Akbari masters as Basāwan, Sānwala and Mishkin testify to their serious interest in European workmanship. The precise and sure linework apparent in the deep and penetrating expression in Basāwan's line drawing study of Majnūn and the emaciated horse (*plate* 57) reveal the extent of seriousness this great painter attached to the masterworks of Europe pouring in the Mughul capital.

In the next stage the Mughul painters introduced occasional European figures and scenes in their own works—with a considerable improvement on the technique of shadowing, modelling and perspective. In order to relieve the monotony of their flat bird's-eye-view perspective they started introducing replicas of European cityscapes and landscapes with occasional figures of European men and women in the distant background. These features became quite evident in such early works as the Jaipur *Razmnāma* and *Rāmāyaṇa, Tārikh-i-'Alfī, Bāhāristān,* etc. Under Jahāngīr the painters went far ahead and adopted many European religious motifs and symbols in their effort to evolve a new iconography. The colour scheme of a typical Jahāngīr period painting is more subdued and naturalistic, its perspective more accurately drawn and lines more sure and subtle —a lot of which is the result of technical improvement and the new experience of his painters. Abu-'l-Hasan used many European motifs and ideas in his works by drawing inspiration from these European materials and even colouring or copying the engravings. The most important painter who studied and incorporated interesting details from European paintings was of course the great painter Basāwan. In sum, the total impact of European art on Mughul paintings became pronounced in these directions: in such technical matters as colour modelling, indication of depth and true perspective, in changing the general attitude of both the painter and the viewer by enlarging the range of subjects; and incorporating various motifs and symbols—mainly of religious nature like cherub, hour-glass, bird of paradise, angel, crown etc.—for expressing the theophanic ideas of Jahāngīr.

V. *Period of Decadence*

Mughul painting lost much of its glamour and refinement and reached a torpid stage within a few years after Jahāngīr's death. Though Shāh Jahān was interested in good miniatures in his princely days and maintained his preference for miniatures and illustrated manuscripts (as evidenced by his autograph notes on so many of them) during the first few years after his accession, much of his enthusiasm later was reserved for architecture. Aurangzīb was so orthodox and averse to painting (and music) that the highly developed art of miniature painting headed for a steady decline. The sprawling art-atelier was virtually disbanded and the painters either ceased to paint or chose to migrate to the courts of favourable patrons in other centres.

For the first few years Shāh Jahān allowed the painters to work in the same manner as they were doing during the last decade of Jahāngīr's reign. The style of their works changed as Shāh Jahān's taste differed from that of his father. He loved however to have himself portrayed as a universal monarch under divine care—eulogised by angels who carry his crown from the Heaven or hang the banner for his long and victorious life. Whether standing or seated on the peacock throne or riding on his favourite horses he is invariably shown as clad in the finest attire and jewellery, and haloed. In the large number of court assemblies to be seen at the India Office Library, the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, the Bodleian Library, the Jaipur Mahārājā Sawāi Mān Singh II Museum, and elsewhere he is invariably given the most exalted position amongst the multitude of courtiers and officers. There is yet another category of pictures where he is shown in company with his father Jahāngīr and grandfather Akbar, all enthroned under a richly embroidered canopy, where Akbar is shown as handing over the crown to him.

At the initial stage some illustrated manuscripts including a *Būstān* in the British Museum, a *Gulistān* in the Chester Beatty Library and a *Mush-wa-Gorbeh* in the Mahārājā Sawāi Mān Singh II Museum, Jaipur, were prepared. Their miniatures retain the basic traits of Jahāngīr paintings and are well-finished with an attractive colour scheme. In many of these miniatures as well as the single portrait studies a noticeable peculiarity is the indication of depth and perspective achieved through the depiction of hazy, lightly-coloured cityscape in the distant background. In the allegorical pictures of 'Ubaid's celebrated work *Mush-wa-Gorbeh* the animals are depicted with a loving care which is so characteristic of Akbarī and Jahāngīrī paintings. Here of course the colouring is very subdued.

Similar formal setting fading into a cityscape background is also noticeable in the miniatures commonly known as 'conversation pieces'. Though Jahāngīr was shown in company of ascetics like Gosāin Chidrup or Mullā Mīr, etc., and isolated entertainment scenes of poets and religious teachers occur in the *Dīwān-i-Hāfiz* manuscripts at Rāmpur Raza Library (*plate* 59) or the fragment of the pocket-sized work in the Chester Beatty Library, scenes showing assembly of poets or law-givers were never very popular in Jahāngīr's time. Similar studies of poetic and religious discussions are also included in the album prepared by Dārā Shukoh as a present to his wife. The latter work also contains some exquisite studies of young princes and beautiful maidens. Portrait painting in general was practised more vigorously during Shāh Jahān's reign than in his predecessor's time, and formal portraits of high nobles and courtiers as well as delicate line-drawing portraits like that of a musician by Muhammad Nādir Samarqandī were painted in abundance. These remarkable works of art attracted the attention of celebrated painters and critics by virtue of their fine draftsmanship and soft feminine touch.

Though Shāh Jahān devoted his whole-hearted energy and interest for architectural monuments of unique delicacy and beauty, his art-atelier was still capable of producing the celebrated manuscript of *Shāhjahān-nāma* as late as in 1657. The pictures in this manuscript represent the last flicker of the great Mughul art tradition. They are all conceived in a grand scale with meticulous attention devoted to men and nature. The portraits are finished with loving care. The well-known painting in the Indian Museum showing Shāh Jahān witnessing Sūfī dance (*plate* 67) is a fine example of the style of this period. The famous painting of Dancing Dervishes with well-finished portraits of Hindu and Muslim religious teachers and saints of the Spencer Churchil collection, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is generally assigned to this period when Dārā Shukoh was taking deep interest in the teachings of mystics and saints of all religions.

Jahāngīr's preference for assembling albums containing calligraphic panels and pictures of all sorts was also imbibed by Shāh Jahān. In the Shāh Jahānī albums portrait-studies of important officials (*plate* 69), poets, singers, etc. along with studies of birds and animals made by Hunhar, Bichitr, Morār, Muhammad Nādir Samarqandī, etc. were used with the calligraphic panels. The margins of these albums generally depict the sophisticated floral motifs and flowering spray motifs in brilliant colours resembling the motifs used in the Red Fort or the Tāj Mahal. In many examples human figures have also been introduced amidst scrolls of floral and vegetal motifs.

The production of the Shāh Jahānī atelier displays an extravagant use of richness in decorative details and colours which take away the lively vigour and freshness so evident in the Jahāngīrī paintings. The period of decay has already set in and Mughul painting deteriorates into conventionalism and lifeless repetition of a set formula (*plate* 70). Aurangzib (cf. *plate* 68) hastened this process of decadence by his bigotry and hatred against the art of painting. He might have revived some interest at the end of his long rule, as a result of which a number of miniatures of reasonably good quality were prepared in which he is shown hunting, in court or at war. But this was not enough to keep the workshop engaged and alive. The centres of artistic activities have already shifted to other regions where interesting developments in the saga of Indian painting were taking place.

VI. *Regional Centres*

A detailed notice of developments in the field of Indian painting as achieved in different centres of Rājasthān and Central India—like Mewār, Amber, Bikāner, Bundi, Mālwa, etc.—need not be included here because the style and contents of the productions of these schools were very much different and distinctive. The impact of Mughul painting was undeniably tremendous as details of dresses and costumes, interior decorations, artistic conventions, colour scheme, and technique followed the Mughul pattern, but the art of Rājasthān belongs to a different tradition and the indebtedness to Mughul painting did not change its basic traits and character in its entirety. As many of the Rājput rulers had to serve the imperial Mughuls and spend much of their time in the Mughul capital they were familiar with all the developments that were taking place in every field of human endeavour. Rājasthānī painting of the 16th and 17th centuries betrays a close knowledge of all these developments within the framework of its own traditions.

Mention should however be made of the brief but glorious developments that were taking place at the remote corners of the Peninsula—at Bijāpur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar. The style of painting prepared at these Deccanese kingdoms was highly refined and sophisticated with a brilliant colour scheme and rich decorative details which differ considerably from the general style of Mughul painting. These paintings have a cool poetic quality which is rarely found in the numerous paintings prepared at the Mughul studio. Though there are some dated materials from which it is possible to trace some of the earlier productions, the achievements of the three centres cannot be easily differentiated for their complicated relationship with each other and the consequent migration of painters from one place to another. The landmarks in the history of these Deccanese kingdoms are the battle of Talikota in 1565 jointly fought by them against Vijayanagara and the beginning of Mughul onslaught in 1591.

The earliest Deccanese paintings, discovered so far, are to be found in an unfinished manuscript of *Tārif-i-Husain Shāhī* in the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. These were painted between 1565-1569. The remarkable palette of blue, gold, mauve, pink, red and yellow with tall and stately ladies clad in colourful *saris* and the happy intermingling of idea and expression make these paintings unique in the history of Indian art. Some extraordinary examples of Rāgas and Rāginīs were prepared at Bijāpur during the last decade of the 16th century from which the solitary example of Hindola Rāga in the National Museum, Delhi, may easily be regarded as one of the finest musical paintings ever painted. The other set—of which ten exquisite pieces were brought by Rājā Anūp Singh of Bikāner—reveals indebtedness to Mughul painting and has been assigned a similar date. The well-known encyclopaedic work *Nujum-al-ulm* dated 1570 in the Chester Beatty Library containing 876 illustrations of different sizes was also probably prepared at Bijāpur.

The enchanting and gorgeous picture of an unknown lady (*plate* 71)—sometimes identified as a *yoginī* and sometimes as the Queen of Sheba—definitely hails from Bijāpur as the exotic flowering plants, golden sky and rich attire of the subject could not have been conceived in a centre of less importance.

The enlightened rulers of Bijāpur, ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh I and his successor Ībrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II, provided good patronage for the development of art and music and lent the school of Bijāpur its poetic charm and delicacy. A series of great portrait studies were painted at Bijāpur, with some brilliant and remarkable likeness of Ībrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh II. These portraits have a feeling of intense liveliness and exotic romanticism which are rarely found in Mughul portrait studies. The colour scheme is worked out meticulously to make these studies so strikingly effective. The interesting portrait of a prince and his minister in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (*plate* 72) may also have come from the same centre, though its painting style is less opulent and more straightforward. Interesting portraits were also prepared in Golconda during the first half of the 17th century from where equally striking pieces of painted textiles were manufactured and exported. From about the middle of the 17th century these important centres seem to have ceased to produce good paintings though inferior examples continued to be painted for many more years.

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CHAPTER I

SOURCES

As this Chapter is itself an analysis of the various sources for the study of Mughal India, a bibliography on it becomes superfluous and so no such attempt is made. Only commentaries on sources are enlisted below.

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CHAPTER II

BĀBUR

1. *Original Sources*

Primary: Turki

Bābur-nāma	The foundation of our knowledge of Bābur's history.

Turki text

(a) Edited by N. Ilminsky, Kazan, 1857 from the Bukhara manuscript edited by Kehr in London, 1737.
(b) Facsimile from a manuscript belonging to the late Sir Salar Jang of Hyderabad, edited with a preface and indexes by A. S. Beveridge. Leyden and London, 1905.

Translations: Persian

(a) By Shaikh Zain-ud-dīn Khvāfi who was *Sadr* in Bābur's reign and died in 940/1533-34. MSS. in the British Museum and Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
(b) By Pāyandah Hasan, commenced in 994/1586 and continued by Muhammad Qulī Hisari. MSS. in the Cambridge University, British Museum, India Office and the Bodleian.
(c) By Mīrzā 'Abdur-Rahīm, completed in 998/1589-90. MSS. in the British Museum, Bibliotheque Nationale, India Office, Bodleian, Rylands and many other libraries abroad and in India.
Lithographed edition, Bombay, 1308/1890-91.

French

By A. Pavet Le Courteille from Ilminsky's text. Paris, 1871.

English

(a) By John Leyden and William Erskine from 'Abdur-Rahim's Persian version. London, 1826. Second edition, London, 1844.
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(b) By F. G. Talbot. Summarised from Leyden and Erskine's translation with an introduction and supplementary notes, London, 1909.
(c) By A. S. Beveridge from the Turki (Hyderabad Codex), London, 1921.

German

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Persian

Habīb-us-Siyar	by Khvānd Amīr, commenced in 927/1521 but continued to 935/1529. It is a general history, but valuable for Bābur's career outside India. The author was Bābur's contemporary and met him in India. Lithographed text, Teheran, 1271/1855. Also Bombay, 1273/1857.
Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī	by Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt, composed in 952/1545-46. The author who was Bābur's cousin was in intimate contact with him during his Kābul career and took part in various important political affairs. The work is valuable as it is of help in filling the lacunae in the *Bābur-nāma*. British Museum MS. Or. 157. English translation by Sir E. Denison Ross, with a preface by N. Elias, London, 1895.
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Tārīkh-i-Amīr Mahmūd	by Muhammad bin Khvānd Amīr, compiled after 957/1550. It is a history of Shāh Isma'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp and valuable for Bābur's career outside India. The author was the son of the famous historian Khvānd Amīr, British Museum MS. Or. 2939.
Tārīkh-i-Īlchī-i-Nizām Shāh	by Khūr Shāh, compiled in 971/1563-64. It is a general history including chapter on Safavī Shāhs and Indian rulers. The author was an envoy of the Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to the Shāh of Persia and remained in Persia from 952/1545 to 971/1563-64. This lends supreme importance to his work for Bābur's history outside India, particularly for his relations with Shāh Isma'īl and the Uzbegs. British Museum MSS. 23, 513 and Or. 153.
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	very valuable for Mughul-Safavī relations during the period it covers. Contains a detailed account of the relations between Bābur and Shāh Isma'īl. Valuable for Bābur's career outside India. MS. at the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Lithographed, Teheran, 1313-14/1896-97.

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Tabaqāt-i-Akbari	by Khvāja Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, composed in 1002/1593-94. Volume II gives a brief good account of Bābur and Humāyūn, though the chronology is defective and there are inaccurate statements as well. Lucknow, 1875 and Calcutta, 1931. English translation by B. De, Volume II, Calcutta, 1936.
Tārīkh-i-Firishta	by Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh better known as Firishta, completed in 1015/1606-7. Though a southerner, Firishta's chapters on Mughul history are of importance as offering a neutralist view. Scholars rather undervalue his work. He gives a dispassionate and accurate account of Bābur's career and is of value in filling the lacunae in the *Bābur-nāma*. Lithographed text edited by J. Briggs, Bombay and Poona, 1831-32. Also Lucknow text, 1864-65 and Cawnpore, 1874, 1884 and 1905-6. English translation by J. Briggs, London, 1829. Reprinted Calcutta, 1908-10.
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Tārīkh-i-Alfī	by Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān, composed in 997/1588-89. It is a syndicate work on general history up to 1589, but the fourth volume in

	which the history of the Mughul emperor from Bābur to Akbar occurs, is attributed to the authorship of Ja'far Beg Āsaf Khān. The account closely resembles that of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*. India Office MS. No. 3293 which is a very beautiful copy. Also British Museum MS. Or. 465.
Haft Iqlīm	by Amīn Ahmad Rāzi, composed in 1002/1593-94. Though a work on geography and biography, it gives a succinct account of Indian history in connection with Āgra. Amīn Ahmad was a foreigner, but he came to India and stayed here for a considerable time. Though his account is very brief, its importance lies in the fact that it corroborates the statements of other historians and offers the stand-point of an independent author who was not connected with the Mughul Court. MS. at the ASB library, Calcutta.
Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī	by Ibrāhīm bin Harīr, composed in 957/1550. It is a general history including that of Muslim India up to 1550. Its treatment is quite different from that of Nizām-ud-dīn and Abu-'l-Fazl whom the majority of chroniclers follow. Its account is methodical and the work 'is very remarkable for its accuracy in the chronological part' (Sachau). India Office MS. 104 and Bodleian MS. 97.
Majāmi‘-ul-akhbār	by Muhammad Sharīf-ul-Husainī, known as Waqū‘ī, completed in 1000/1591-92. It is a compendium of general history and in dealing with the Mughul period of Indian history shows independence of Abu-'l-Fazl and Nizām-ud-dīn. It corroborates as well as corrects some of the statements of Nizām-ud-dīn. The author was a poet of Akbar's court. The work is far more detailed than the *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* and seems to be also better as a chronicle. India Office MS. 119.
Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn	by Tāher Muhammad Hasan ‘Imād-ud-dīn, completed in 1015/1606-7. It is a general history of the Muslim East including India up to the last year of Akbar's reign. British Museum MS. Or. 168.
Ma‘dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī	by Ahmad bin Bahbal, completed about 1023/1614. It is a general history and consists of two volumes. The second volume comprises the history of the Chaghatāi dynasty from Tīmūr to Jahāngīr. India Office MS. 121 which is the only one extant.
Iqbāl-nāma	by Mu‘tamid Khān, composed in 1029/1619-20. It is divided into three volumes: the first treats of the history of Muslim India from

	Muhammad bin Sām to Humāyūn. India Office MS. 312.
Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūrīya	Composed early in the reign of Akbar. It is a history of Tīmūr and his successor in Īrān, and of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar down to the twenty-second year of his reign. MS. 551 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna, which is the only one extant.
Wāqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī	by Shaikh Rizqullah, composed in 980/1572-73. Detailed accounts and anecdotes relating to the times of the Lodīs, of Bābur, Hūmayūn and Akbar and of the Sūrs. He was a detached and religious-minded person and his account of contemporary events is the main source of Nizām-ud-dīn, Ni'mat-Ullah, 'Abdullah and Ahmad Yādgār. British Museum MS. Or. 1929.
Nafā'is-ul-Maāsir	by Mīrzā 'Ala-ud-Daula Qazvīnī, composed in 983/1575. Though the work is mainly devoted to notices of poets of the sixteenth century, it contains a short account of the Mughul emperor Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar. British Museum MS. Or. 1761. Photostat copy at the Calcutta University Library.
Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh or Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh	by Hasan bin Muhammad-ul-Khākī-us-Shirāzī, completed in 1019/1610-11. The author came to India from Shirāz in the time of Akbar and held different offices under him. His work is a general history up to the date of composition and in the Indian section he closely follows Nizām-ud-dīn. British Museum MS. Or. 1649 and the MS. at the Public Library, Lahore.
Zafar-ul-Wālih-bi-Muzaffar wa Ālih	by 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Makkī, completed in 1020/1611. It is a history of Gujarat written in Arabic, but it gives a summary of the reigns of the Mughul emperors. It mainly follows Abu-'l-Fazl, but gives occasionally new details. Edited by Sir E. D. Ross in three volumes. London, 1910, 1921 and 1928.
Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk	by Rafi'ud-dīn Shirāzī, composed in 1020/1611. Though a history of the Deccan, it deals with the history of the Mughul emperors of India and of the Safāvī monarchs of Persia. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's copy, made from the MS. at the Salar Jang Library, Hyderabad, A.P.
Tārīkh-i-Shāhī or Tārīkh-i-Salatin-i-Afāghina	by Ahmad Yādgār, composed about 1023/1614. It is a history of Afghān rulers of India from Buhlūl Lodī to the defeat and death of Hīmū and is of value for Mughul-Afghān relations. Besides it deals also with the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. The author's father was in

	the service of Mīrzā ‘Askarī and he supplies several details of incidents occurring during the last few years of Bābur’s reign which are not found in any other chronicle. Edited by M. Hidayat Husain. Calcutta, 1939.
Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh	by Hasan-i-Rūmlū, composed in 985/1577. Though the work professes to be a general history, it is mainly a history of Shāh Isma‘īl and Shāh Tahmāsp. Text, Baroda, 1931. English translation by C. N. Seddon, Baroda, 1934.
Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh	by Ahmad Ibrāhīmī, completed in 1000/1592. A history of the Safavīs. (It is of great importance for Mughul-Safavī relations. MS. at Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Photostat copy at the Calcutta University Library.
Rauzat-us-Safavīya	by Mīrzā Beg, compiled about 1035/1625. A fairly detailed history of the Safavī dynasty, it is valuable for Bābur’s career outside India and for Mughul-Safavī relations during the period it covers. MS. P. 583 at the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta.
Khulāsa-i-Maqāl	by Muhammad Tāhir, composed under Shāh ‘Abbas II (1052-1077/1642-1667). A history of the Safavī dynasty, its treatment is different from that of other Safavī chronicles. Bodleian MS. which is the only one extant.
Nusakh-i-Jahānārā	by Qāzī Ahmad Ghaffārī, composed in 972/1563-64. It is a general history of the East including that of the Safavī and Indian rulers. British Museum MS. Or. 141.
Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh	by Yahyā bin ‘Abdul-Latīf Qazvīnī, composed in 948/1541. It is a general history from the earliest times to the date of composition. MS. 469 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.
Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh	by Muhammad Afzal Husaini, composed about 1063/1652. Malcolm and Morley valued the work very much as a history of the Safavī dynasty. MS. 1750 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

2. *Modern Works*

Caldecott, R. M.	*Life of Baber,* London, 1844.
Edwardes, S. M.	*Babur, diarist and despot,* London, 1926.
Erskine, W.	*A history of India under Baber and Humayun,* Vol. I, London, 1854.
Grenard, Fernand	*Baber, first of the Moguls,* Translated from the French into English and adapted by Homer White and Richard Glaenzer, London, 1931.
Poole, S. Lane	*Babar,* London, 1899.
Williams, L. F. Rushbrook	*An empire builder of the sixteenth century,* London, 1918.

3. *Select articles*

Banerji, S. K. (a) 'Babur and the Hindus', *JUPHS.* (*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*) 9 ii (1936), 70-96.

(b) 'Babur's post-war settlements in the Doab, Malwa and Bihar', *PIHC,* 1946, 296-300.

Bausani, A. 'L'India vista da due grandi personalita' musulmane. Babare Biruni', *Al-Biruni Commemoration Volume,* 1951, 53-76.

Beveridge, H. (a) 'Babar Padshah Ghazi', *Calcutta Review,* Volume CV, No. 209.

(b) 'A letter from the Emperor Babur to his son Kamran', *JAS.* N.S. (1919), 329-334.

Hidayat-Ullah 'Babur and the Afghans', *Proceedings* of the *Pakistan History Conference* (1958), 203-15.

Lamb, H. 'Varying cultural influences of the last Timurid Age in Samarkand. An aspect of the character of Zahir Al Din Muhammad surnamed Babur (the tiger), founder of the Dynasty known as the Great Moghuls of India', Trudui XXV dvadtzat pyatogo Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov, Moskva 1960, tom III (1963), 217-221.

Momin, Mohiuddin 'A *Soyurghal* of Babur', *IHRC.* Proceedings. 36 ii (1961), 49-54.

Mustafa, Khurshid 'Babur's court in India', *Is. C.* 30 (1956) 40-43.

Naimuddin, Sayyid 'Some unpublished verses of Babur', *Is. C.* 30 (1956), 44-50.

Prasad, Ishwari 'Khalīfa's conspiracy', *University of Allahabād Studies,* 1943. History section.

Rahim, Abdur 'Mughul Relations with Persia', *Is. C.,* 8 (July 1934), 457-64.

Rosset, L. F. 'Le Padishah Baber (1483-1530) son passage a Kaboul. Afghanistan' (Sociéte des études historiques d'Afghanistan), 1946, 3. 36-46.

Sarwar Zaidi, S. M. 'Babur the humane and just', *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference* (1952), 250-254.

Schimmel, A. 'Babur Padishah, the poet', *Is. C.,* 34 (1960), 125-138.

Sharma, S. R. 'The story of Babar's death', *JRAS.* (1926), 295-98; (1928), p. 399.

Yusuf Ali, A. 'The self-revelation of Bahar', *JUPHS,* 3 ii (1926), 61-82.

Varma, R. C. 'The relation of the Mughals with the tribes of the North West', *Is. C.,* 24 (1950), 249-58.

CHAPTER III

HUMĀYŪN

1. *Original sources*

Primary

For Tārīkh-i-Amīr Mahmūd, Tārīkh-i-Īlchī-i-Nizām Shāh, Shāh-nāma-i-Qāsimī, Tārīkh-i-'Alāmārāi 'Abbāsī, Nusakh-i-Jahānāra, Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh and Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, see Chapter II.

Tazkirat-ul-Wāqi'āt	by Jauhar Āftābchī, composed in 995/1587. A contemporary straightforward and eye-witness account, it is the foundation of our knowledge of Humāyūn's reign. It is, however, weak at chronology. British Museum MS. Add. 16, 711; India Office MS. 221; Lindesiana MS. 412 now in John Rylands Library, Manchester; and Punjab University Library MS. at Lahore. English translation by Major C. Stewart, London, 1832. Also Calcutta, 1904.
Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Shāhī	by Shaikh Ilāhdād Faizī Sirhindī composed during the reign of Akbar. It is a recension of the *Tazkirat-ul-Wāqi'āt* written at Jauhar's request by Faizī Sirhindī for presentation to Akbar. India Office MS. 222.
Humayūn-nāma	by Gulbadan Begam, composed in 1000/1591-92. As an eye-witness and contemporary account by Bābur's daughter, its importance is next to Jauhar's chronicle. It throws considerable light on the manner and customs of the period. Gulbadan Begam is, however, more an affectionate sister than a dispassionate historian of Humāyūn. The work has been edited and translated into English by A. S. Beveridge, London, 1902. Lithographed edition, Lucknow, 1925.
Mukhtasar or Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar	by Bāyazīd Bīyāt, completed in 1000/1591-92. It is a history of the reigns of Humāyūn and Akbar from 1542 to 1591. For Humāyūn's reign it is a contemporary account as the author was with him for a considerable time. India Office MS. 223. Text published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1941. Abstract in English by H. Beveridge in *JAS*, lxvii, no. 1 (1898), pp. 296-316. English translation excluding chapters i-iii by B. P. Saksena in *Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. VI, pt. 1, (1930), pp. 71-148.
Humāyūn-nāma	by Khvānd Amīr, composed in 941/1534. It is an eye-witness account of the rules and ordinances of Humāyūn, description of court festivities and of some buildings erected by him. Text edited by Hidayat Husain under the title of Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī and translated into English by Baini Prasad and both published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1940.
Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī	by Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt. See chapter II. The author knew Humāyūn intimately; and his assessment of Humāyūn's character and some details about his reign are of

	much value. He gives an eye-witness account of the battle of Kanauj.
Mirāt-ul-Mamālik	by Sīdī ‘Alī Ra‘īs. Translated into English by A. Vambery under the title: *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidī ‘Ali Ra‘īs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Persia during the years 1553-1556,* London, 1899. The Turkish admiral arrived in India in 1556 and was in this country at the time of Humāyūn’s death. Valuable for the last days of Humāyūn’s life.
India Office MS. 224	Date of composition not known. It contains historical extracts dealing with Humāyūn’s flight to Persia and the recapture of Qandahar.
Haft Risāla-i-Taqwīm-ul-Buldān	Buhar Library (National Library), Calcutta, MS. 45. The contents are similar to those of the India Office MS. 224.
British Museum Add. MS. 7688	It is of very great importance as it reproduces several letters of Humāyūn and Shāh Tahmāsp which are not found elsewhere.
‘Ināyat-nāma	by ‘Ināyat Khān Rāsikh, compiled in 1163/1750. It is a collection of letters and other historical documents by the Mughul emperors Bābur, Humāyūn, Akbar and others and eminent men of the Mughul empire. India Office MS. 411.
Faiyyāz-ul-Quwānīn	Compiled by Nawāb ‘Ali Husain Khān of Lucknow. Contains letters of Humāyūn and Akbar. Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s copy of the MS. now at the National Library, Calcutta.
Durar-ul-mansūr	by Muhammad ‘Askarī Bilgrāmī, compiled in 1231/1816. Contains the letters of Shāh Tahmāsp and Humāyūn. MS. at the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Secondary

For Akbar-nāma, Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī, Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, Tārīkh-i-Alfī, Haft Iqlīm, Majāmi‘ul-Akhbar, Rauzat-ut-Tāhīrīn, Ma‘dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī, Iqbāl-nāma by Mu‘tamid Khān, Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūrīya, Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk, Nafa‘is-ul-Maāsir, Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh by Hasan, Waqi‘āt-i-Mushtāqī, Tārīkh-i-Shahī or Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Afāghina, Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh by Hasan-i-Rūmlū, Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh, Rauzat-us-Safavīya, Khulāsa-i-Maqāl and Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh by Muhammad Afzal Husainī, see chapter II.

Tārīkh-i-Akbarī	by ‘Ārif Qandahārī, composed during the reign of Akbar. It is a general history of India from the early Muslim period to the reign of Akbar. The MS. at the Rampur State Library is a fragment dealing with the reign of Akbar, but the Allahabad University Library MS. gives a brief account of some details regarding Humāyūn from his sojourn in Persia to his death. The reign of Humāyūn is also

	not in the E. G. Browne MS. at the Cambridge University Library.
Humāyūn-nāma in verse	Composed during the reign of Akbar. It is a poetical account of Humāyūn. The author's name and date of composition are not mentioned. The work was probably composed during the reign of Akbar who is alluded to as the reigning sovereign. British Museum MS. Or. 1797.
Iqbāl-nāma or Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn Bādshāh	Composed by the poet Faizī bin Mubārak. Lindesiana MS. 431 now in John Rylands Library, Manchester.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh	by 'Abdul-Qādir Badāūni, composed in 1004/1596. Volume I deals with the history of Humāyūn in considerable detail. Though Badāūni generally follows Nizām-ud-dīn, he has always something new to give. Text published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1868. English translation by G.S.A. Ranking published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1898.
Tārīkh-i-Firishta	See Chapter II. Firishta's treatment is his own; and he has occasionally something new to offer. In his treatment of Humāyūn's reign he is brief, systematic and comparatively free from any prejudice.
Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh	by Nūr-ul-Haqq, composed in 1014/1605. It is a general history of India from Muhammad of Ghūr to the accession of Jahāngīr. The author was the son of 'Abdul-Haqq, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*. India Office MS. 290.
Subh-i-Sādiq	by Muhammad Sādiq, composed in 1048/1638-39. A considerable portion of this voluminous general history is devoted to an account of the Mughul dynasty till the author's times. It deals with Humāyūn's reign at considerable length. MS. 471 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.
Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh	by Muhammad Yusūf, completed in 1056/1646. It is a general history up to the accession of Shāh Jahān and gives a summary account of Humāyūn's reign. MS. 476 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.
Mujmal-i-Mufassal	by Muhammad Barārī Ummī, composed in 1065/1655. It is a general history of the East from the earliest times to 1627. Contains a brief account of Humāyūn. MS. 43 at the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Also Bodleian MS. 101.
Āsār-i-Shāh Jahānī	by Muhammad Sādiq Dihlavī, composed during the reign of Shāh Jahān. It traces the history of the Mughul emperor from Bābur to Shāh Jahān. MS. 564 at the Oriental Public Library, Patna.

Tārīkh-i-Sher-Shāhī	by ʻAbbās Khān Sarwānī, composed after 987/1579. It is a biography of Sher Shāh written by order of Akbar. Transcript of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, now at the National Library, Calcutta. See chapter IV.
Tārīkh-i-Khān Jahānī wa Makhzan-i-Afghānī	by Khvāja Niʻmat-Ullah, completed in 1021/1613. History of the Afghāns to the date of composition. MSS. at the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Edited by S.M. Imām-ud-dīn, Dacca, Vol. I, 1960; Vol. II, 1962. See chapter IV.
Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī	by ʻAbdullah, written during the reign of Jahāngīr. History of the Afghān rulers of India up to the year 983/1575-76, based on the Waqiʻat-i-Mushtāqī. British Museum MS. Or. 197. Also transcript of Sir Jadunath Sarkar now at the National Library, Calcutta. See chapter IV.
Afsānah-i-Shāhān	by Muhammad Kabīr bin Shaikh Ismaʻīl, composed in all probability towards the end of Akbar's reign. The author was reported to have met Akbar three times. Narratives and anecdotes concerning the Lodī and Sūr Sultāns of Delhi. British Museum MS. Add. 24409.
Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt	by Abū Turāb Valī, composed before 1003/1595. It is a history of Gujarāt from 932/1526 to 992/1584. The author's father and uncle were in the service of Humāyūn. Valuable for Humāyūn's relations with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt. Edited by Sir E. D. Ross and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1909.
Mirāt-i-Sikandarī	by Sikandar bin Muhammad Manjhu, completed in 1020 or 1022/1611 or 1613. It is a history of Gujarāt from 798/1396 to 1000/1591. Bombay, 1831, 1890. English translation by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi. Bombay, 1899. Also English translation by E. C. Bayley entitled *Local Muhammadan Dynasties: Gujarat*, London, 1886.
Zafar-ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa ʻĀlih	by ʻAbdullah Muhammad, see chapter II. Valuable for Humāyūn's relations with Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt.
Tārīkh-i-Sind, better known as Tārīkh-i-Maʻsūmī	The author was in the Mughul emperor's service for some time and retired in 1606. It is a history of Sind from the Muslim conquest to 1600. The work is of importance for Humāyūn's activities in Sind. Edited by U. M. Daudpota, Poona, 1938. English translation by Captain G. G. Malet, Bombay, 1855.

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Khan, Iqtidar Alam	*Mirza Kamran*, Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Bombay, 1964.
Prasad, Ishwari	*The Life and Times of Humayun,* Calcutta, 1955.
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Banerji, S. K.	(a) 'Humayun's religion', *PIHC,* I (1935), 46-61.
	(b) 'Humayun's religion' *JIH,* 17 (1938), 151-164.
	(c) 'Kingship and nobility in Humayun's time', *JUPHS,* 14 (1941), 25-38.
Beveridge, H.	'Humayun in Persia', *Calcutta Review,* January 1898.
Blochmann, H.	'Note on C. J. Rodgers' article; Notes on the death of Humayun', *JAS,* Vol. XL (1871), 136.
Kazimi, M. R.	'Humayun in Iran', *Is. C.,* 18, Jan. 1969, 5-11.
Khan, I. A.	'Wizarat under Humayun, 1545-55', *Medieval India Quarterly,* 5, 1963, 73-79.
Qanungo, K. R.	'Humayun's relations with the Rajput Princes', *JIH,* I (1922), 582-85.
Rahim, Abdur	'Mughal relations with Persia', *Is. C.,* 8 (July 1934), 464-66.
Ray, Nishith Ranjan	'Humayun and Maldeo', *PIHC* (1939), 1124-32.
Ray, Sukumar	'A letter of the Mughul Emperor Humayun to his brother Kamran', *PIHC* (1958), 318-19.
Rodgers, C. J.	'Notes on the death of Humayun', *JAS,* Vol. XL (1871), 133.
Sharma, Sri Ram	'Humayun and Maldev', *JIH* 11 (1932), 192-202.
Varma, R. C.	'The relation of the Mughals with the tribes of the North West, *Is. C.,* 24 (1950), 258-60.

CHAPTER IV

SHER SHĀH AND HIS SUCCESSORS

1. *Original Sources*

(a) *Afghān Sources*

Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī	'Abbās Sarwānī. Translated in Elliot and Dowson, IV, 305-433.
Makhzan-i-Afghāna	Ni'mat-Ullah. Translated by B. Dorn in *History of the Afghans,* 1829.
Tārīkh-i-Dāūdī	'Abdullah. Partly translated in Elliot and Dowson, IV, 434-513.

(b) *Non-Afghān Sources*

Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, Muhammad Haidar Dughlāt, Tr., Elias and E. Denison Ross, 1895.

Tazkirat-ul-Wāqi'at, Jauhar, Translated by C. Stewart, 1832.

Memoirs of Bābur, Humāyūn-nāma, Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, Akbar-nāma. See chapter III.

2. *Secondary Works*

Qanungo, K. R.	*Sher Shah and his times,* 2nd edn., Bombay, 1965.
Roy, N. B.	*The Successors of Sher Shah,* Dacca, 1934.
Srivastava, A. L.	*Sher Shah and his Successors,* Agra, 1950.
Thomas, E.	*Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi,* Delhi, London, 1871.

Also see Bibliography on chapter III.

3. *Articles*

Bhattasali, N. K.	'The Date of Sher Shah's Accession', *Islamic Review,* 1936, 127.
Karim, Abdul	'Date and Place of Sher Shah's Accession', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan,* 5, 1960, 63-71.
Saran, P.	'The date and place of Sher Shah's Birth', *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* 1934, 108.
Misra, Satish Chandra	'Administrative System of the Surs (Sher Shah and his Successors), *Islamic Culture,* 31 (Oct. 1957), 322-34.
-do-	'Revenue System of Sher Shah', *JIH,* 37 (April 1959), 57-66.

CHAPTER V
AKBAR

1. *ORIGINAL SOURCES*

Persian

For Tārikh-i-Alfī, Tārīkh-i-Haqqī and Rauzat-ut-Tāhīrīn, Tārikh-i-Salātīn-i-Afāghina, see chapter II.

For Tārīkh-i-Īlchī-i-Nizām Shāh, Tārīkh-i-'Ālamārāi 'Abbāsī, Majāmi'-ul-Akhbār, Nafā'is-ul-Maāsir, Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh by Hasan, Ahsan-ut-Tawārīkh by Hasan-i-Rūmlū, Rauzat-us-Safavīya, Khulāsa-i-Maqāl, Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh by Muhammad Afzal Husaini, 'Ināyat-nāma, Faiyyāz-ul-quwānīn, Subh-i-Sādiq, Mujmal-i-Mufassal, Āsār-i-Shāh Jahānī, Waqi'āt-i-Mushtāqī, Makhzan-i-Afghāni, Tārīkh-i-Dāūdi, Afsānah-i-Shāhān, see chapter III.

Akbar-nāma	by Shaikh Abu-'l-Fazl, completed in 1004/1596. The main foundation of our knowledge of Akbar's history. Behind the rhetoric and adulation of Abu-'l-Fazl, there is a vast mass

of material in the Akbar-nāma which is not to be found elsewhere. Abu-'l-Fazl's defects as a historian have been unduly exaggerated. Vols. II and III. Text, Lucknow, 1284/1867-68. Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1877-86. English translation by H. Beveridge, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol. II, 1912 and Vol. III, 1939.

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Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh by 'Abdul-Qādir Badāūni. See also Chapter III. Volume II is on the history of Akbar's reign and Volume III gives an account of the eminent men of the Mughul empire in arts, letters and science. Badāūnī wrote the history of Akbar from the point of view of a bigoted Sunnī, but it is extremely valuable as a check on the lop-sided rosy picture of Akbar and the Mughul empire by Abu-'l-Fazl as well as for the evolution of Akbar's religious beliefs. Text, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1865 and Vol. III, Calcutta, 1869. English translation of Vol. II by W. H. Lowe, Calcutta, 1898; second edition, 1924 and of Vol. III by T. W. Haig, Calcutta, 1925.

Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī by Khvāja Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad, completed in 1002/1593-94. Volume II gives the history of Akbar's reign—a bare narrative of events. Volume III deals with provincial histories and is of value in connection with Akbar's conquest of these kingdoms. Text, Lucknow, 1875 and Calcutta, Vol. II, 1931 and Vol. III, 1941. English translation by B. De: Vol. II, Calcutta, 1936 and Vol. III, Calcutta, 1940.

Tārīkh-i-Akbarī by Muhammad 'Ārif Qandahārī, completed in 1580. See also chapter III. The author was Mīr-i-Sāmān to Bairām Khān and also served as an officer under Akbar's *vazīr* Muzaffar Khān Turbati. Though it is a history of Akbar's reign up to only 987/1579, it is of great value as offering a view-point independent of Abu-'l-Fazl and Nizām-ud-dīn and

	throws new light on Akbar's personality and government. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's transcript of the MS. at the Rampur State Library.
Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar	by Bāyazīd Bīyāt. See chapter III. Though it is not a systematic account of Akbar's reign, it is valuable as a plain straightforward narrative of events by a contemporary.
Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-Tīmūrīya	See chapter II. It gives the history of Akbar's reign up to the twenty-second year. It is valuable as the earliest written account of Akbar.
Akbar-nāma	by Shaikh Ilāhdād Faizī Sirhindī. It is a plain account of Akbar's reign to 1010/1601 composed at the suggestion of Akbar's chief Bakhshī, Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī, who died in 1616 and under whom the author served. Valuable for the history of some of the last years of Akbar's reign and particularly for the eye-witness account of the siege of Asīrgarh. India Office MS. 289.
Takmila-i-Akbar-nāma	by ‘Ināyat-Ullah. A detailed account of Akbar's reign from the forty-seventh year to his death, a continuation of Abu-'l-Fazl's *Akbar-nāma*. The Text has been published at pp. 802-43 of the Calcutta text of the *Akbar-nāma,* Vol. III and the English translation at pp. 1206-62 of H. Beveridge's translation of the *Akbar-nāma,* Vol. III. For various issues regarding the author and date of composition see Beveridge's translation, Vol. III, p. 1204.
Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh	by Shaikh Nūr-ul-Haqq, composed in 1014/1605. Though the work is based on the Tārīkh-i-Haqqī, the narrative is brought down to 1605 with addition of numerous informations. Valuable as a contemporary account. See chapter III.
Ma‘dan-i-Akhbār-i-Ahmadī	See chapter II. Valuable as offering an independent view, independent of Abu-'l-Fazl and Nizām-ud-dīn and particularly for biographical materials regarding Bairām Khān and ‘Abdur-Rahim. The India Office MS., the only one extant, breaks off in the thirty-seventh year of Akbar's reign, 999/1590-91. Ni‘mat-Ullah, author of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī,* valued it as the best historical work.
Inshā-i-Abu-'l-Fazl or Mukātabāt-i-‘Allāmī	Compiled in 1015/1606-7 by his sister's son ‘Abdus-Samad. It contains letters written in Akbar's name and by Abu-'l-Fazl to kings and nobles which throw considerable light

	on Akbar's relations with neighbouring rulers and with his own officers. Calcutta, 1810 and Cawnpore, 1913.
Ruq'āt-i-Abu-'l-Fazl	Compiled by his nephew Nūr-ud-dīn Muhammad. Date of composition not known. These letters are addressed by Abu-'l-Fazl to his friends and contemporaries, among them being Akbar, Dāniyāl, Murād, Salīm, Akbar's queens and daughters. They throw much light on Akbar's history. Lucknow, 1913.
Jarīda-i-Faramin-i-Salātīn-i-Delhi	It contains letters addressed by Akbar to Rājā 'Alī Khān and to several nobles as well as his instructions for the administration of the cities and countryside. Aligarh Muslim University MS.
Tārīkh-i-Firishta	See chapter II. Firishta offers to some extent a dispassionate neutralist view of Akbar's reign and is of special value for Akbar's relations with the Deccan Sultānates. He has avoided several errors of Nizām-ud-dīn. His importance has been rather undervalued by modern scholars.
Iqbāl-nāma	by Mu'tāmid Khān. See chapter II. Volume II of the work deals with the reign of Akbar, mainly based on Abu-'l-Fazl's *Akbar-nāma*. India Office MS. 312. Also Buhar (National Library, Calcutta). MS. 66.
Anfa'-ul-Akhbār	by Muhammad Amīn, composed in 1036/1626-27. Valuable for a brief account of the last years of Akbar's reign. Extracts on events of 1003/1595 and 1012-14/1603-05 in Sir Henry M. Elliot: *Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Muhammadan India,* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1850; Persian Text, pp. 91-93 and English Translation, pp. 389-94.
Haft Iqlīm	See chapter II. Besides offering the standpoint of an independent author not connected with the Mughul court, it contains valuable geographical account of the Mughul empire as well as accounts of the notables of the time.
Maāsir-i-Rahīmī	by Muhammad 'Abdul-Bāqī Nihāvandī, completed in 1025/1616. Though primarily a life of 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, it contains a history of Akbar's reign in the first volume and the second gives a biographical account of Bairām Khān and history of the provincial kingdoms. Published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol. I, 1924 and Vol. II, 1925.
Hālāt or Wāqi'āt-i-Asad Beg	by Asad Beg who was employed in the Deccan. The Memoirs from 1011/1602 to 1014/1605

	are valuable for the last years of Akbar's reign, particularly for the murder of Abu-'l-Fazl. Transcript of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, now at the National Library, Calcutta.
'Abdullah-nāma	by Hāfiz Tānish. Valuable for Akbar's relations with his arch-enemy 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg. Punjab University Library, Lahore.
Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt	See chapter III. Important for Mughul activities in Gujarat during Akbar's reign.
Mirāt-i-Sikandarī	See chapter III. Valuable for Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt.
Zafar-ul-Wālih bi Muzaffar wa Ālih	See chapter II. It is of value, particularly for Akbar's relations with Gujarāt.
Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī	See chapter III. Valuable for Akbar's relations with Sind.

Sanskrit

Sarvadesha Vrittānta Samgraha	by Mahesh Thakur. It is a history of the Mughul emperors from Bābur to Akbar. It is a summary in Sanskrit of Abu-'l-Fazl's *Akbar-nāma* and has no independent value. Photostat copy of the India Office Ms. at the Calcutta University Library.
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CHAPTER VI

JAHĀNGĪR

1. *Original Sources*

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CHAPTER VII

SHĀH JAHĀN

1. *Original Sources*

A. *Persian*

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Khulasat-ut-Tawārīkh	See chapter VI.
Mulakhkhās	Mumammad Tahīr.
Subh-i-Sādiq	Muhammad Sādiq.
Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī	Sādiq Khān.
Tuhfat-i-Shāhjahānī	Sudhārī Lal.
Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign	Published by Daftar-i-Diwani, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1950.

B. *European Sources*

English Factories in India	See chapter VI, (1624-29) 1909, (1630-33) 1910, (1634-36) 1911, (1637-41) 1912, (1642-45) 1913, (1646-50) 1914, (1651-54) 1915.
Travels	Peter Mundy, Vol. II, Travels in Asia, 1630-34, ed., R. C. Temple, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, XXXV, London, 1914.
Travels	1629-43, Sebastian Maurique, trans. & ed., Luard and Hosten, 2 Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1926-27.
Travels in India	1640-67, Tavernier, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edn., revised by W. Crooke, London, 1925.
'A General Description of India'	c1638, extracts, trans. by Moreland, *JIH,* XVI, 1937, 63-77.
Mandelslo's Travels in Western India	(A.D. 1638-9), S. Commissariat.

2. *Secondary Works*

Ghauri, I. A.	*War of Succession between the sons of Shah Jahan,* 1657-58, Lahore, 1964.
Qanungo, K. R.	*Dara Shukoh,* Calcutta, 1952.
Saksena, B. P.	*History of Shah Jahan of Delhi,* Allahabad, 1932.

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Ansari, A. A.	'Shah Jahan's North-West Frontier Policy', *JPHS,* 5, April-July 1957, 113-23.
Ali, M. Athar	'The Religious Issue in the War of Succession', 1658-59, *Medieval India Quarterly,* 5, 1963, 80-87.
Ghauri, I. A.	'Ideological Factor in the Mughal War of Succession, '1657-58', *JPHS,* 8, April 1960, 97-120.
Halim, A.	'Shahjahan, Farman in favour of certain money-lenders', text with translation, *IHRC,* Dec. 1942, 59-60.
Khan, Y. M.	'Shahjahan's Relations with Golconda', *JPHS,* April 1959, 90-98.
Sharma, Ram	'Aurangzib's Rebellion against Shah Jahan', *JIH,* Vol. XLIV, pt. 1, April 1966, 109-24.
Singh, Raghubir	'The Date of the Battle of Dharmat', *BPP,* 74, July-Dec. 1955, 144-46.

CHAPTERS VIII & X

AURANGZĪB

1. *Original Sources*

A. *Persian Chronicles*

'Ālamgir-nama	by Mīrzā Muhammad Kāzim, ed., Khadim Husain and Abdul Hai. An official history of the first ten years of Aurangzīb's reign, based on State records. Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1865-73.

‘Ālamgir-nama	by Hatim Khān, B.M. Addl. MSS. 26, 233. An abridgement of Muhammad Kāzim’s ‘Ālamgir-nāma, but giving certain facts omitted by Kāzim.
Maāsir-i-‘Ālamgīrī	by Muhammad Sāqī Musta’idd Khān. A complete but condensed history of Aurangzīb’s reign; the first ten years abridged from Kāzim’s ‘Ālamgīr-nāma. Bib. Ind., ed., Ahmad ’Ali, 1870-3.
Wāqi‘āt-i-‘Ālamgīrī (also Zafar-nāma)	by ‘Āquil Khan Rāzī; covers 1657-63.
‘Amal-i-Sālih	See chapter VII.
Tārīkh-i-Shāh Sujā‘ī	by Mīr Muhammad Ma‘sūm (an old servant of Shujā‘). Essential for events in Bengal though ends abruptly on 18 April 1660. Mss. I.O.L. & O.R.P., Patna.
Tārīkh-i-Aurangzīb	by Abu-l-Fazl Māmūri, B.M. Or. 1671.
Fathiyya-i-‘ibriyya	by Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Tālish. A diary of Mīr Jumla’s Kuch Bihar and Assam campaigns. The first portion of the work has been printed under the title Tārīkh-i-Mulūk-i-Ashām, Calcutta, 1848. Abridged in English by Blochmann, *J.A.S.B.*, 1872; Two sections translated by Jadunath Sarkar in *J.B. and O.R.S.* “Continuation” (Bodleian MS. 589) gives the history of Bengal from Mīr Jumla’s death to the conquest of Chatgāon (1663-66). Sir J. N. Sarkar translated four long sections of the ‘Continuation’ in *J.A.S.B.*, 1906 & 1907.
Nuskha-i-Dilkushā	by Bhimsen. An invaluable account of an eyewitness of the Deccan affairs, 1670-1707. B.M. Or. 23. For life of the author and analysis of contents, see, J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India,* Calcutta, 1919, 242-249.
Futūhāt-i-‘Ālamgīrī	by Ishwar Dās Nāgar. B. M. Addl. 23, 884. An authoritative work for events in Rājputāna, 1657-98. For life of the author and analysis of contents, see, J. N. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India,* 242-249.
Wāqi‘āt	by Ni‘mat Khan ‘Ālī, lithographed, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1928.
Mirāt-i-Ahmadī	by ‘Alī Muhammad Khān, ed., Nawab Ali, 2 Vols. & Supplement, Baroda, 1927-28, 1930. Original source for Gujarāt affairs, the wealth of *farmāns,* etc. quoted *in extenso* and the economic data supplied. Very useful details of political history from 1730 onwards.

Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb	by Muhammad Hāshim Khāfī Khān. See chapter VI.
Ausaf-nāma-i-'Ālamgīrī	by Alah Yar Balkhi; Ms. Cambridge University library, Brown Cat. 100. Pers. 477. An eulogy in prose and verse of Aurangzīb.
Aurang-nāma A 'poem'	by Haqīrī. Ms. Hyderābād Āsafiya Library.
Khulasāt-ut-Tāwārīkh	See chapter VI.
Chahar Gulshan	by Rai Chaturman Saksena. Portion translated and annotated by J. N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzib,* Calcutta, 1901.
Mirāt-ul-'Ālam	by Shaikh Muhammad Baqā, B. M. Addl. 7657.
Sa'T-i-Nuhzat-i-'Ālamgīr Pādshāh	MS. Brochet, 1, 703, Supp. Pers. 477.
Alqab-nāma	B. M. Or. 1913, containing titles of the princes and nobles of Aurangzīb.
Riyāz-us-Salātīn	by Ghulam Husain, ed., Abdul Hak Abid, Bib. Ind. 1890; Trans. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1904.
Tārīkh-i-Bangāla	by Salīm-ullah. Trans. F. Gladwin. *Narrative of Transactions in Bengal,* Calcutta, 1788, reprint, 1918.
Maāsir-ul-Umarā	by Shāh Nawaz Khān, ed., Molvi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind., 1888, 3 Vols. The famous biographical dictionary of the Mughul nobles.
Basātīn-us-Salātin	by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubairī. Despite being a later compilation, this is a very useful and accurate history of Bijāpur.
Qutb-nāma-i-'Ālam	by Sayyid Muhammad Mīr Abū Turāb.

B. *Administrative Literature, Accountancy Manuals, etc.*

Zawābit-i-'Ālamgīrī	B. M. Or. 1641. A very useful official manual, containing statistics, office procedure, administrative regulations and miscellaneous information regarding the Mughal empire, C. 1689.
Dastūr-al-'Āmal-i-'Ālamgīrī	C. 1659. B. M. Addl. 6, 599.
Dastūr-al-'Amal-i-Mumālik-i Mahrusa-i Hindusthān, Aurangzib	Post-1671. B. M. Or. 1840, ff. 133a-144b.
Dastūr-al-'Amal-i-'Ilm-i Navīsindagi, Aurangzīb	Post-1676, B. M. Addl. 6599, ff. 133b-185a.
Farhang-i-Kārdānī	A.D. 1679, Jagat Rāi Shujā'i Kāyath Saksena, Aligarh, Abdus Salam, Farsiya 85/315.
Intikhab-i-Dastūr-al 'Amal-i Pādshāhī, Aurangzīb	Post-1686. Edinburgh, 224.

Dastūr-al-'Amal Aurangzib	Post-1696. Bodl. Fraser 86.
Siyāq-nāma	A.D. 1694-96; Munshī Nand Rām Kāyash Shrivastavya, Lithograph, Nawal Kishore; Lucknow, 1879.
Farhang-i-Kārdānī o Kār-āmozī	A.D. 1699, Udaichand, Edinburgh 83.
Khulasatu-s Siyāq	A.D. 1703. B.M. Addl. 6588, ff. 64a-94a.
Dastūr-al 'Amal-i-Shāhjahānī, & C	Late Aurangzib (?), I.O.L. 415, ff. 23b-109b; B.M. Addl. 6588, ff. 15a-47b.
	Statistical Account of the area, divisions and revenues of the provinces of the Mughul Empire, drawing upon the Āin and the Village and Area Statistics of Aurangzīb's reign. Compiled after the death of Aurangzīb. B. M. Or. 1286, ff. 310b-343a.

C. *Records and Documents Including Collectanea*

Akhbārāt-i-darbār-i-mu'alla	Daily reports and news letters from the court by the agent of the Rājā of Amber. The main transactions publicly contracted at the courts, such as appointments, promotions and demotions of *mansabdars,* posting of officials, news received from provinces and expeditions, the Emperor's instructions on particular problems of administration are reported in the Akhbārāt.
Ahkām-i-'Ālamgīrī	ed., J. N. Sarkar. English translation by the same, *Anecdotes of Aurangzīb,* 4th ed., Calcutta, 1903.
	Documents preserved at Jaipur (now at Bikaner). Transcripts of selected documents in the Dept. of History, Aligarh.
	Records preserved at the Central Record Office (U.P.) Allahabad. A collection of *farmans*, sale deeds, gift-deeds, judgments etc. and other documents concerning grants. Mostly 17th & 18th centuries.
Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's reign	ed., Yusuf Husain Khan, Hyderabad, 1958.
Selected Waqai of the Deccan (1660-71)	ed., Yusuf Husain Khan, Hyderabad, 1953.
Waqa-in-Ajmer, 1678-80	Asafiya Library, Haiderabad, Fan-i-Tarikh, 2242. The volumes contain reports of a news-writer, first posted at Ranthambor, and then at Ajmer and finally accompanied the imperial army under Pādshāh Quli Khān in the Rājput war. Very useful information about the working of the Mughul administration and the Rāthor rebellion of 1679-80.

	Collection of *Farmāns* of Aurangzīb and Farrukh Siyar, MS. Fraser, 228.
Nigar-nāma-i-Munshī 'Malikzāda'	A collection of administrative documents, letters, etc. 1684. B.M. Or. 1735; Or. 2018, Bodl. Ms. Pers. el; lithographed ed. Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1882.

D. *Collection of Letters*

Ādāb-i-'Ālamgīrī	A collection of fully drafted letters written by Qabīl Khān on behalf of Aurangzīb (1650-58), together with a collection of letters written on behalf of Prince Akbar, c. 1680, by Muhammad Sādiq during the Rāthor rebellion. B.M. Addl. 16, 847; Or. 177; Abdus Salam Collection, 326/96, Azad Library, Aligarh.
Akhām-i-'Ālamgīrī	Letters and orders collected by 'Ināyat-ullah Khān, Aurangzīb's last secretary, covers c. 1700-5. I.O. 3887. Rampur State Library and Patna O.P.L.
Ruq'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī	ed., Saiyed Najib Ashraf Nadvī, Vol. 1, Azamgarh, 1930. Aurangzīb's correspondence with Shāh Jahān, Jahānārā and other princes before his accession, largely extracted from Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī.
Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt	Letters and orders compiled by 'Ināyat-Ullah in 1719. Covers 1699-1704. Bodl. Fraser 157; A.S.B.; O.P.L., Abdus Salam, 322/92, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
Kalimāt-i-Aurangzīb	*Inyāyatullah.* Covers c. 1703-6. Complete copy in Rampur State Library, a fragment in I.O.L., 3301, ff. 33a-60b.
Raqāim-i-Karāim	Letters to Amīr Khān. Compiled by Sayyīd Ashraf Khān Mir Muhammad Hasaini. Bodl. Ouseley 168 & 330. B.M. Addl. 26, 239; Sir Sulaiman collection, 412/145, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
Dastūr-ul-'amal-i-Āgāhī	Letters and orders collected by Rājā Bahar Mal, in 1743-44. B.M. Addl. 26,237; Abdus Salam 323/93, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
Rumūz-wa-Ishārahā-i-'Ālamgīrī	Letters and orders collected by Sabadmal (?), 1739-40. B.M. Addl. 26,240.
Jāmi'al-Inshā	Munshi Bhāgchand. A collection of letters, the bulk consisting of letters written by Jai Singh and the correspondence between the Mughul and Persian Courts. B.M. Or. 1702.
Bahār-i-Sakhun	1663-64. Muhammad Sālih Kanbū Lāhorī, B.M. Addl. 5557; Or. 178.
Faiyyāz-ul-qawānīn	Letters of Mughul emperors, and princes, nobles and other rulers, collected by 'Ibādullāh Faiyāz in 1723-24. B.M. Or. 9617 (2 Vols).

Khatut-i-Shivājī	Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS. 173.
Inshā-i-Raushan-kalām	Bhūpat Rāy. Letters written on behalf of Ra'dandāz Khan, *faujdār* of Baiswāra, 1698-1702, and of his son and deputy, Sher-andāz Khān. I.O.L. 4011, B.M. Addl. 6600, Abdus Salam collection, 339/409, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh.
Kārnāma-i-waqāi'	Chathmal 'Hindu'. A collection of letters written on behalf of Ma'tabar Khān (*faujdār* of Kalyān) c. 1688-98. I.O.L., 2,007.
Haft Anjuman	Compiled by Udirāj, the secretary of Rustam Khān and of Mīrzā Rājā Jai Singh. Paris Bib. Nat. No. 37, a fragment. Two complete MSS. in India.
Matin-i-Inshā or Mufīd-al-Inshā	A collection of letters written on behalf of 'Ali Quli Khān, *faujdār* of Kuch Bihar and collected by Champat Rai in 1700 A.D. Bodl. 679.
Riyāz-al-Wadād	Īzid Baksh 'Rasa' 1673-95. B.M. Or. 1725. The author's own letters.
'Arzdāshts	Jai Singh's petitions to the Court and Princes, 1655-58; also includes a few 'arzdashts from other nobles belonging to Aurangzīb's reign. R.A.S., Pers. Cat. 173; ff. 8-76.
Durr-al-Ulum	Collection of letters and documents belonging to Munshi Gopal Rai Surdaj, collected and arranged by Sahib Rai Surdaj, 1688-89. Bodl. Walkar 104.
Nigarnāma-i-Munshī	Malikzada. Lithographed, Nawal Kishore, 1882. A very important collection of letters and administrative documents.
Ruq'āt-i-Hamīd-ud-dīn Khān	A servant of Aurangzīb's mother-in-law Nauras Bānū and afterwards *faujdār* of Malwa.
Ruq'āt-i-Nawāzish Khān	*Faujdār* of Mandu, later governor of Kashmir.
Inshā-i-Madhulāl	Lithographed letters of Mu'izz-ud-dīn and others.
Muraqa'at-i-Hasan	Maulana Abu'l-Hasan, a civil officer in Bengal and Orissa, 1655-67. Rampur State Library, Inshā, No. 182.
Majmū'a-i-munshāt-va-ghaira	Letter to and from Bīdār Bakht, from Mukhlis Khān, Ruhullah Khān Asad Khān to Muhummad Murād Khān etc. Rampur State Library, Inshā, No. 176.
	Miscellaneous collection of letters of the reigns of Aurangzīb and Bahādur Shāh, including five letters from Shivājī, R.A.S. Morley 81 (Pers. Cat. 71).
	Collection of letters, called "Reports from the Deccan" in the Lindesiana Catalogue but actually correspondence between Mewar and the Mughul Court, etc., John Rylands Library, MSS. 353.

	English Factory at Surat, Persian correspondence, 1695-97, I.O.L. 150.
Pārasanīs MS.	Letters from Shivājī, Murād Baksh, etc. Marāthī translation published by Rājwāde; and English translation (in MS.) in Pārasanīs collection, Sātārā.

E. *Marāthī*

Shiva-Chhatrapatichen Charitra	Krishnājī Anant Sabhāsad, ed., K. N. Sane (3rd edn. 1912), translated by Mankar (1884 and 1886) and by S. N. Sen (2nd edn. 1925).
Jedheyanchi Shakāvali	Text in Shiva-charitra-Pradip, Translated by J. N. Sarkar in *Shivājī Souvenir,* 1927.
Il-Qalmī Bakhar	Dattājī and transcribed by K. R. Malkare, edited by Rājwāde and Pārasanīs. See also chapter IX.

F. *Hindi*

Chhatra-prakāsh	Lal Kavi. Text ed., W. Price, Calcutta, 1829; Translated in Pogson's *History of the Boondelas,* 1830.

G. *Assamese*

Kāmrūpar Buranji	Edited by S. K. Bhuyan, Assamese Text.
Purānī Āsām Buranji	Gauhati, 1930.
Annals of Delhi Pādshāhat	Assamese chronicle, tr. by S. K. Bhuyan, Gauhati, 1947.

H. *European Sources*

François Bernier	*Travels in the Mogul Empire,* 1656-68; tr. A. Constable, 2nd edn. revised by V. A. Smith, London, 1916.
Jean Baptiste Tavernier	*Travels in India,* 1640-67, tr. V. Ball, 2 Vols., London, 1889.
Thomas Bowrey	*A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal,* 1669-79, ed., R. C. Temple, Cambridge, 1905.
Nicholo Manucci	*Storia do Mogor,* 1653-1708, tr. and ed., W. Irvine, 4 Vols., London, 1907-8.
Strerynsham Master	*The Diaries of Streynsham Master,* 1675-80, ed. R. C. Temple, 2 Vols., London, 1911.
H. Yule (ed.)	*The Diary of William Hedges,* 3 Vols., Hakluyt Society, London, 1887-89.
S. N. Sen (ed.)	*The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri,* New Delhi, 1949.
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J. Ovington	*A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689,* ed. H. G. Rawlinson, London, 1929.
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Diary and Consultation Books of Fort St. George	1681-85; edited by A. T. Pringle, 5 Vols., Madras, 1893-95.
Early Annals of the English in Bengal	C. R. Wilson, 3 Vols., Calcutta, 1895-1917.
Edward Barlow	*Barlow's Journal,* 1670-97, 2 Vols., London 1934.
Alexander Hamilton	*A New Account of the East Indies,* 2 Vols., ed., W. Foster, London, 1930.
Charles Lockyer	*An Account of Trade in India,* London, 1711.
Martin François	*Memoires de François Martin,* 1665-1696, ed., A. Martineau, Paris, 1931.
Gautier Schouten	*Voiage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales,* 1658-1665, Amsterdam, 1707.
J. S. Stavorinus	*Voyage in the East Indies,* Trans., S. H. Wilcocke, Vol. 3, London, 1798.
W. Ph. Coolhas (ed.)	*Generale Missiven,* (Der V.O.C.), Deel III, 1655-1674, The Hague, 1968.

2. *Secondary Works*

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Bhuyan, S. K.	*Lachit Barphukan and his times;* a history of the Assam-Mughul conflict of the period, 1667-1671, Gauhati, 1947.
Bhuyan, S. K.	*Atan Burangohian and his times,* a history of Assam from the invasion of Nawab Mir Jumla in 1662-63 to the termination of Assam-Mughul conflicts in 1682; compiled chiefly from indigenous Assamese sources, Gauhati, 1957.
Chatterjee, Anjali	*Bengal in the Reign of Aurangzib,* Calcutta, 1967.
Das, H. H.	*The Norris Embassy to Aurangzib,* Calcutta, 1959.
Faruki, M.	*Aurangzeb and his times,* Bombay, 1935.
Qanungo, K.	*Dara Shukoh,* Calcutta, 1952.
Lane-Poole, Stanley	*Aurangzeb and the Decay of the Mughul Empire,* Delhi, (n.d.).
Naumani, Maulana Shibli	*Aurangzeb Alamgir per Ek Nazar.*

Sarkar, J. N.	*History of Aurangzib,* 5 Vols., Calcutta, 1912-25. *Studies in Aurangzib's reign,* Calcutta, 1933. *Anecdotes of Aurangzib,* 2nd edn.; Calcutta, 1925. *India of Aurangzib,* Calcutta, 1901. *Studies in Mughal India,* 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1919.
Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan	*The life of Mir Jumla,* Calcutta, 1951.
Sharma, S. R.	*Religious Policy of Aurangzeb,* Calcutta (n.d.).

3. *Articles*

Abbas, S. Ali	'Aurangzeb and the Mughal Decline, a critical study', *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society,* 14, June 1962, 1-25.
Chandra, Jnan	'Alamgir's Attitude towards Non-Muslim Institutions', *J.P.H.S.,* 7, 1959, 36-39.
-do-	'Aurangzeb and Hindu Temples', *JPHS,* 5, Oct. 1957, 247-54.
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Deshpande, Y. K.	'Revenue Administration of Berar in the Reign of Aurangzeb, (1679 A.D.),' *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission,* 1929, 81-87.
Jaffar, S. M.	'An estimate of Aurangzeb', *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society,* 12, June 1961, 17-26.
Jalal-uddin	'A study of Madad-i-Ma'ash grants and formation of its rule by Emperor Aurangzeb', *Indo-Iranica,* 21, No. 3, Sept. 1968, 35-37.
Khan, Yar Muhammad	'An analysis of Aurangzeb's attitude towards Qutb-Shah', *Punjab Journal of Research,* Vol. I, No. 2, July 1966, 87-102.
Madhava Rao, P. Setu	'Inshae Madhoram—a Persian source of Mughul-Maratha conflict (1690-1700)', *JIH,* Vol. XLIV, pt. 1, April 1966, ser. No. 130, 269-88.
Rahim, M. A.	'Emperor Aurangzeb's Annexation of Jodhpur and Rajput Rebellion', *J.A.S.P.,* Dacca, April 1965, 65-90.
Sarkar, Jagadish Narayan	'The Haft Anjuman of Udairaj alias Tab'yar, Munshi of Mirza Raja Jai Singh', *BPP,* 82, Jan. 1963, 65-73, Jan. 1964, 43-55.
-do-	'New Light on Mirza Raja Jai Singh's Policy in Bijapur', *JIH,* Vol. XLIII, pt. III, Dec. 1965, Serial No. 129, 747-61.

Siddiqi, M. H. — 'The Muhtasib under Aurangzeb', *Medieval India Quarterly,* 5, 1963, 113-119.

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CHAPTER IX

SHIVĀJĪ

1. *Original Sources*

A. *Marathi*

Shiva-Chhatrapatichen Charitra — by Krishnājī Anant Sabhāsad, ed., K. N. Sane (3rd edn., 1912). Translated by Mankar (1884, 1886), S. N. Sen (2nd edn., 1925).

Jedhe-yanchi Shakavali — Text in Shiva-charitra-Pradip. Trans. by J. N. Sarkar in Shivājī Souvenir, 1927.

Sanads and Letters — Ed. P. V. Mawjee and D. B. Pārasanīs, 1913.

Powadas or Marathi Ballads — Collected by H. A. Acworth and S. T. Shaligram, 3rd edn., 1911. Eng. trans. of ten of the ballads by Acworth, Longmans, 1894.

Savant-vadi-Samsthanchā Itihas — V. P. Pingulkar, 1911.

Il-Qalmī Bakhar — by Dattājī, transcribed with modifications by Khandōjī K. R. Malkare. Edited by Rājwāde and Pārasanīs. Rough translation by Frissel, as "the Raigarh Life" in Forrest's *Selections. Maratha Series.* Expanded Persian version, Tārīkh-i-Shīvajī (I.O.L. 1957, also Rieu, i, 327), by Jadunath Sarkar in *Modern Review,* 1907 and 1910.

Marathyan-chya-Itihasachin-Sadhanen — ed., V. R. Rājwāde and others.

B. *Sanskrit*

Shiva Bharat — by Paramānand, ed. with a Marathi translation by S. M. Divekar, 1927.

Parnāb-parvat-grahan-ākhyānam — by Jayaram, ed. by S. M. Divekar, 1923.

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C. *Hindi*

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CHRONOLOGY

1026	Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī raids India for the seventeenth time (p. 372).
1192	Fall of Prithvīrāj Chauhan at the second battle of Tarain (p. 372).
1300	Punjābī language develops (p. 572).
1318-1389	Khwāja Bahā'uddin Naqshband, a Sufi reformer (p. 670).
1335-1383 (1386?)	Lallā Didi (Lal Ded) Kāśmīrī poetess (p. 577).
1394-1460	Prince Henry, the Navigator (p. 502).
1411-1443	Sultān Āhmad I of Gujarāt (p. 400).
1420-1470	Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, Sultān of Kāśmīr (p. 577).
1443	'Abdur Razzāk, Persian Ambassador at Vijayanagar (p. 685).
1447-1539	Vyāsatīrtha (Vyāsarāya), a pontiff of Mādhva sect. (p. 652).
1450-1525	Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, founder of the famous Nyāya school of Nadia (p. 705).
1458-1479	Husain Shāh Sharqī (p. 805).
1469-1538	Gurū Nānak, (p. 572).
c. 1470-1540	Śrīnātha Āchārya Chūdāmaṇi (p. 636).
1475-1534	Khvānd Amīr, author of *Habīb-us-Siyar* and *Humāyūn-nāma,* which give information about Bābur and the first three years of Humāyūn's reign respectively (p. 3).
c. 1478-1581	Sūrdās (p. 648).
1479-1531	Vallabhāchārya, the propagator of Puṣṭimārga (p. 647).
1480-1564	Purandara-dāsa (p. 652).
1480-1600	Vādirājatīrtha, Dvaita philosopher (p. 615).
1482-1518	Sultān Mahmūd Shāh Bahamanī (p. 412).
1483, February 14	Birth of Bābur at Farghāna (p. 25).
c. 1486	Birth of Farīd (Sher Shāh) in the *paragana* of Narnaul (pp. 68, 69).
1486-1516	Mān Singh, Tomara Chieftain of Gwālior (p. 753).
1486-1533	Chaitanya, the Vaishnava saint (p. 555).
1487	Diego Cao voyages southwards from the mouth of the Congo to the modern Walvis Bay (p. 502).
c. 1487	Śaṅkaradev, who introduced Vaishnavism in the Brahmaputra valley, is born (pp. 642, 675).
1487-1517	Sultān Sikandar Lodī (pp. 306, 733).
c. 1487-1539	Chuhungmung Svargadeo, Ahom King (p. 642).
1490	Malik Ahmad, gr. of Junnar, assumes independence (p. 415).
1490	Qāsim Barīd assumes independence (p. 412).

1490	Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, the gr. of Bijapur, proclaims independence (p. 412).
1490-1510	Yūsuf ‘Ādil Khān, Sultān of Bijapur (p. 445).
1490	Fathullāh ‘Imād-ul-Mulk, gr. of Berar, proclaims independence (pp. 412, 463).
c. 1490-1514	Mahārājā Dhanyamāṇikya of Tripura (p. 642).
1492	Śrīpādarāya, founder of *Dāskūṭa movement* in Karnatak, passes away (p. 652).
1493-1519	Parāgal Khān, gr. of Chittagong (p. 560).
1494-1554	Bhālaṇ, Gujarātī writer (p. 569).
1496-1509	Gurū Nānak undertakes a journey in the eastern parts of India (p. 656).
1497, November	Bābur wrests Samarqand from Baisunqur Mīrzā to lose again after about 100 days (p. 25).
1497	Bābur loses both Farghāna and Samarqand (p. 25).
1497	Vasco da Gama leaves Portugal on his eastern voyage (p. 503).
1498, May 21	Vasco da Gama reaches Calicut (p. 502).
1498, June	Bābur recovers Farghāna (p. 25).
1498, August	Vasco da Gama starts on his return voyage (p. 503).
1498-1546	Mīrā Bāi (Some give this date as 1503-1546) (p. 566).
1500, November	Bābur wrests Samarqand for the second time from Shaibānī Khān (p. 25).
1500	The second Portuguese expedition to India under Alvarez Cabral reaches Calicut (p. 504).
c. 1500	Moth-kī-Masjid at Delhi is built (p. 745).
1500-1580	Narasiṁha Mehta, Gujarāti poet (p. 630).
1501, May	Bābur is badly defeated by Shaibānī Khān at Sar-i-pul and is forced to offer his eldest sister Khānzāda Begam in marriage to his enemy (p. 25).
1501	A throneless Bābur is forced to retire to Tashkent to seek shelter under his maternal uncles—Sultān Mahmūd Khān and Ahmad Khān (p. 25).
1502	A fresh expedition under Vasco da Gama starts for India (p. 504).
1503, June	Ahmad Tambal inflicts a crushing defeat on Mahmūd Khān and Ahmad Khān (maternal uncles of Bābur) at the battle of Archiyān (p. 26).
1503	A Portuguese fleet reaches Malabar coast (p. 504).
c. 1503-1553	Hita Harivaṁśa, founder of the Rādhā-Vallabhī sect (p. 648).
1504, October	Bābur crosses the Hindu Kush and captures Kābul from Muqim the Arghun (p. 26).
1504	Qāsim Barīd passes away (p. 412).

1504	Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān gains possession of the province of Gulburga held by Dastur Dinar (p. 446).
1504-1575	Janārdana Svāmī, the spiritual preceptor of Sant Ekanātha (p 578).
1504	'Alā-ud-din 'Imād Shāh, succeeds as Sultān to the throne of Berar (p. 463).
1504-1530	'Ala-ud-dīn 'Imād Shāh, Sultān of Berar (p. 463).
1505, January	Bābur makes his first invasion on Hindustan *via* the Khyber Pass, reaches Tarbila on the Indus and fights the Afghan tribes (p. 26).
1505, May	Bābur returns to Kābul *via* Ghaznī (p. 26).
1505	Francisco de Almeida is appointed the first Portuguese viceroy in the East (p. 504).
1506, May 5	Death of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Baiqara of Herat (p. 26).
1506, October 26	Bābur joins the two sons of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Baiqara on the river Murghab and accompanies them to Herat to fight the Uzbegs (pp. 26, 27).
1506, December 24	Bābur returns to Kābul from Herāt (p. 27).
1507, June	Shaibānī Khān captures Herāt (p. 27).
1507, September	Bābur sets out for the Indus and advances up to Mandrāwar but returns to Kābul (p. 27).
1508	Bābur suppresses the rebellion of Ullugh Mīrzā (p. 27).
1509	Malik Ahmad, the Sultān of Ahmadnagar, passes away (p. 415).
1509	A Portuguese fleet defeats a combined fleet of the Egyptians, the Zamorin and the Sultān of Gujarāt, off Diu and establishes naval supremacy (p. 505).
1509-1529	Kṛishṇadevarāya, Vijayanagara emperor (pp. 486, 588).
1509-1553	Burhān Nizām Shāh, Sultān of Ahmadnagar (p. 416).
1510	Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān captures Goa, which remains under him for a short time (p. 447).
1510, October	Yūsuf 'Ādil Khān passes away (p. 447).
1510	Shaibāni Khān is killed in a battle against Shāh Isma'īl, the Safavī ruler of Persia (p. 28).
1510	Nizām Shāhi army repulses an attack by the Berar army (p. 463).
*c.*1510	Chaitanya visits the chief shrines of South India (p. 652).
1510-1515	Gurū Nānak undertakes a journey in the southern parts of India (p. 656).
1510-1534	Ismā'īl 'Ādil Khān, Sultān of Bijapur (p. 447).
1511, January	Bābur reaches Qunduz; receives an embassy from Shāh of Iran (p. 28).

1511	Bābur sends an embassy under Wais Mīrzā to the Safavi King, Shāh Ismā‘īl of Iran and gets an assurance of friendship and help (p. 28).
1512, May	Bābur is defeated by the Uzbegs at Kul-ī-Malik in the vicinity of Bukhārā and loses Bukhārā and Samarqand. Bābur retires to Hissār (p. 28).
1512, November	Bābur marches against the Uzbegs to Bukhārā with the aid of Iranian army under Najm Beg but is defeated at Ghazdawān (pp. 28, 29).
1512	Kṛishṇadevarāya occupies Raichur (p. 448).
1512	Bijapur army raids Goa but the attack is repulsed (p. 506).
1514, August	Shāh Isma‘īl, the Safavi king is defeated at Tabriz by the Uzbegs (p. 29).
1514, November	Bābur returns to Kabul after an unsuccessful attempt to capture Bukhārā (p. 29).
1514-1595	Vijayīndratīrtha, Mādhva commentator (p. 615).
1515-1517	Gurū Nānak undertakes a journey in the northern parts of India (p. 656).
1516-1576	Viṭhalanātha, s. of Vallabhāchārya (p. 647).
1517, November	Death of Sultān Sikandar Lodī (p. 70).
1517	Ibrāhīm Lodī ascends the Delhi throne (p. 29).
1517	Bābur makes an unsuccessful attempt to capture Qandahar (p. 31).
1517-1521	Gurū Nānak undertakes a journey in the western parts of India (p. 656).
1517-1526	Ibrāhīm Lodī, Sultān of Delhi (p. 733).
1518	Sultān Qutb-ul-Mulk, the gr. of Telingana, declares independence (pp. 412, 468).
1518	Nizām Shāhi army captures Pāthrī (p. 463).
1518	Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī passes away (p. 466).
1518-1522	Farīd (Sher Shāh) acts as deputy to his father in the *paraganas* of Sassarām and Khavāspur Tāndā (p. 70).
1519-1615	Haridāsa-svāmī, founder of a Vaiṣṇava sect. (p. 649).
1519	Bābur crosses the Khyber pass and advances up to Peshāwar subduing Yūsufzāī Afghans on the way (p. 31).
1519	Bābur raids Bājaur, conquers it and reaches Jhelum after crossing the Indus; sends an unfruitful embassy under Mullā Murshid to Ibrāhīm Lodī claiming Punjab as his hereditary possession; returns to Kābul, subduing Gakkhars on the way (pp. 30-31).

1519-1526	Bābur's seven raids on Hindusthān. First in 1519, as per his own statement. Raids of 1505 and 1507 as the first and second and the third in early 1519, according to Abu'-l-Fazl. Bābur himself states he raided India five times. Firishta regards the two invasions of 1519 as the first and second invasions on India (pp. 30-31).
1519	Śāṅtikīrti, Kannaḍa poet, writes his *Śāṅtināthapurāṇa* (p. 597).
1520	Bābur invades India for the fifth time and advances up to Sayyidpur but cuts short his advance to return to Kābul (p. 31).
1520	Bābur makes an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Qandahār (p. 31).
1520	Bābur becomes master of Badakhshān on the death of Wais Mīrzā and puts Badakhshān under his son's charge (pp. 31-32).
1520	Kṛishṇadevarāya wrests Raichur from Ismā'īl Ādil Khān (p. 448).
1520-1540	Malik Muhammad Jāyasī composes his *Padumāvatī* (p. 567).
1520-1568	Sulaimān, the Magnificent, of Turkey (p. 398).
1520-1592	Appayya Dīkṣita, a Śaiva writer on philosophy (p. 641).
1521	Bābur makes another unsuccessful attempt to conquer Qandahār (p. 31).
1522, September 6	Bābur captures Qandahār without opposition (p. 31).
c. 1523	Birth of Gosvāmi Tulsīdāsa (p. 564, 565).
1524	Bābur undertakes his sixth invasion of Hindustān at the invitation of Daulat Khān Lodī, viceroy of the Punjab, and reaches Lahore where he meets Ibrāhīm Lodī's army and defeats it. Bābur returns to Kābul (p. 32).
1524	Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur and Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar form an alliance to challenge Kṛishṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar and punish Amīr Barīd. However, this alliance did not come off (p. 416).
1525, November 17	Bābur sets out on his last Indian expedition (p. 33).
1525	The combined armies of Burhān Nizām Shāh, Amīr Barīd and 'Imād Shāh raid Sholapur but are repulsed by the Bijapur army (p. 416).
1526, April 5	Sultān Muzaffar of Gujarāt passes away (p. 391).
1526, April 21	Bābur defeats Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī at the battle of Pānīpat. Ibrāhīm Lodī is killed in the battle (p. 34).

1526, April 27	Bābur becomes Emperor of Hindusthan (p. 35).
1526, May 26	The infant son of Sultān Muzaffar of Gujarāt is raised to the throne under the name of Mahmūd II (p. 391).
1526, December	Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī's mother makes an unsuccessful attempt on Bābur's life by poisoning through royal servants (p. 36).
1526	Humāyūn captures Jaunpur, Ghāzīpur and Kālpi (p. 35).
1526	Farīd (Sher Shāh) enters the service of Sultān Muhammad (Bihār Khān Lohānī) who declared independence after the battle of Panipat (p. 71).
1526-1537	Bahādur, Sultān of Gujarāt (p. 391).
1527, February 11	Bābur sets out on his first *jihad* against Rānā Saṅgrām Siṁha (p. 36).
1527, March 17	Battle of Khānuā is fought in which the Rajputs are completely routed (p. 37).
1527, April 7	Bābur marches into Alwār, capital of Mewat (p. 37).
1527	Farīd (Sher Shāh) joins Mughul camp being deprived of his *jāgīr* (p. 71).
1528, January 28	Bābur besieges Chanderi and captures it the next day (p. 37).
1528, February 2	Bābur sets out on an eastern campaign against the Afghans (p. 37).
1528, September 26	The battle of Jām is fought between Shāh Tahmāsp and the Uzbegs, who are defeated (p. 38).
1528, November 13	Bābur advises Humāyūn to undertake an expedition against the Uzbegs (p. 38).
1528	Farīd (Sher Shāh) gets back his *jāgīr*, of which he had been deprived, in recognition of his services rendered to Bābur (p. 71).
1528	Death of Sultān Muhammad (p. 71).
1528	Jalāl, son of Sultān Muhammad, is raised to the throne on the latter's death (p. 71).
1528	The combined armies of Muhammad I of Khandesh, ‘Alā-ud-dīn ‘Imād Shāh of Berar and Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt invest Daulatabad held by Nizām Shāh but have to retire due to stout resistance (p. 392).
1528	Nuno da Cunha is appointed Portuguese gr. in India (p. 392).
1528	Amīr Barīd, prime minister of Bahamanī kingdom, becomes practically independent (p. 466).
1528-1531	Ratna Singh, Rānā of Mewār (p. 327).

1529, May 6	The battle of Gogra (the last exploit of Bābur) is fought between the Mughul army and the Bengal army, which is defeated. Bābur becomes master of northern India and frustrates the last stand of the Afghans to oust the Mughuls (p. 38).
1529	Jalāl becomes a vassal of Bābur (p. 71).
1529	Farīd (Sher Shāh) is appointed deputy (*nāib*) to administer the principality of Jalāl (p. 71).
1529	Bahādur, Sultān of Gujarāt, forces ʻAla-ud-dīn ʻImād Shāh of Berar and Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar to conclude peace (p. 392).
1530, December 30	Death of Bābur (p. 45).
1530, December 30	Humāyūn ascends the throne (p. 45).
1530	Farīd (Sher Shāh) celebrates his second marriage with Gauhar Gossain (widow of Nāsir Khān Lohāni) (p. 71).
1530	Farīd (Sher Shāh) acquires the fortress of Chunār by his marriage with Lād Mālka, widow of Tāj Khān (p. 71).
1530	Muhammad Shāh, ruler of Kashmir, ascends the throne of Kashmir for the fourth and last time (p. 402).
1530	Ismāʻīl ʻĀdil Khān gains possession of Rāichūr and Mudgal (p. 449).
1530	ʻAla-ud-dīn ʻImād Shāh of Berar passes away (p. 464).
1530	Ismāʻil ʻĀdil Khan restores Bīdar to Amīr Barīd (p. 467).
*c.*1530	Jamālī mosque is built (p. 745).
1530-1542	Achyutadevarāya, emperor of Vijayanagar (pp. 486, 608).
1530-1562	Daryā ʻImād Shāh, Sultān of Berar (p. 464).
1531, February	The Portuguese fleet in India bombards Diu and other fortifications under Bahadūr Sultān of Gujarāt (p. 392).
1531, March 28	Bahādur, Sultān of Gujarāt, captures Mandu and annexes that portion of Malwa which is ruled by Mahmud II (pp. 47, 392).
*c.*1531, September	Humāyūn defeats Afghans led by Sultān Mahmūd at the battle of Dadrah (pp. 46, 72).
1531, December	Humāyūn invades Chunār and forces Sher Shāh to come to terms as a vassal (p. 46, 72).
1531	The Mewār Rānā, Ratna Singh, and Surya Mal die in a scuffle (p. 328).
1531	Rudra Pratāp founds the kingdom of Bundelkhand with Orchha as capital (p. 376).

1531	Hostility breaks out between the Sultāns of Bīdar and Bijāpur for the possession of Kalyāni and Qandahār (p. 417).
1531/1532	Sultān Nusrat Shāh of Bengal sends an embassy to Bahādur, Sultān of Gujarāt (p. 394).
1531-1536	Vikramāditya, Rānā of Mewar (p. 328).
1532, May 10	Silhadi's army fights against Bahādur's army but is defeated (p. 393).
1532	Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt annexes to his kingdom Raisen, Chanderi, Bhilsa and captures Ranthambhor (p. 47).
1532	Mīrzā Sikandar invades Kāshmīr (p. 402).
1532-1623	Tulsīdāsa (p. 649).
1533, January	Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt lays siege to Chitor (pp. 47, 329).
1533, March 24	Sultān Bahādur raises siege of Chitor on certain conditions and returns to Gujarāt (pp. 329, 394).
1533, August	Humāyūn lays the foundation for a new city in Delhi known as Dīnpanāh. Some believe this to be the site of old Indraprastha (p. 46).
1533	Mīrzā Haidar, who had invaded Kāshmīr, retires from Kāshmīr after concluding peace with Mīrzā Muhammad, Shāh of Kāshmīr (p. 402).
1533	Chaitanya, the Vaishṇava Saint, passes away (p. 644).
1533-34	Bahādur, Sultān of Gujarāt, sends an embassy to Humāyūn (p. 395).
1533-1536	Sher Shāh consolidates his position in Bihar (p. 51).
1533-1599	Saṅta Ekanātha (pp. 579, 630).
1534, July	Muhammad Zaman Mīrzā and Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā (brothers of Humāyūn) rise in revolt against Humāyūn, but are defeated and imprisoned (p. 46).
1534, November	Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt again besieges Chitor and breaks the treaty of 1533 (March) with Humāyūn (p. 47).
1534, November	Humāyūn undertakes an expedition to Mālwa (p. 47).
1534, December	Bahādur, Sultān of Gujarāt, and the Portuguese conclude peace (p. 394).
1534	Sher Shāh defeats the Bengal army at Sūrajgarh (pp. 51, 73).
1534	Bahādur, Sultān of Gujarāt, gives asylum to Muhammad Zamān Mīrzā (p. 395).
1534	Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, Sultān of Bijāpur, passes away (pp. 417, 449, 469).

1534	Ghiyās-ud-dīn Muhammad Khvānd Amīr writes *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī* dealing with the first few years of Humāyūn's reign (p. 4).
1534-1535	Mallū 'Ādil Khān, Sultān of Bijapur (p. 449).
1535, February 18	Humāyūn leaves Agra to challenge Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt (p. 396).
1535, March 8	Humāyūn Captures Chitor (p. 47).
1535, April 25	Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt flees towards Mandu when challenged by Humāyūn at Mandasor. [*Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* gives this date as 1535, March 25 (pp. 47, 65, 367)].
1535, August	Ikhtīyār Khān surrenders the fort of Chāmpāner and thus Humāyūn becomes master of Gujarāt (pp. 48, 49).
1535, October 25	The Portuguese and Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt conclude a treaty (p. 397).
1535, December	The local chiefs and people of Gujarāt rise in rebellion against Humāyūn in favour of Bahādur Shāh and the Mughul officers are driven away from Navsārī, Broach, Surat, Cambay and Pātan (p. 49).
1535	Sher Shāh conquers territory of Sultān Mahmūd up to Bhāgalpur (p. 73).
1535	Chitor falls to Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt (p. 331).
1535	Portuguese capture Diu (p. 506).
1535-1557	Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh I, Sultān of Bijapur (p. 412).
1536, May 25	Tardī Beg Khān, Mughul governor of Gujarāt, retreats to Mandu from Chāmpāner and thus Gujarāt and Malwa are lost to Humāyūn (p. 50).
1536	Humāyūn leaves Mandu for Agra (p. 397).
1536	Bahādur, Sultān of Gujarāt, drives away Mughuls from Gujarāt (p. 397).
1536	Sher Shāh compels Sultān Mahmūd of Bengal to conclude peace on payment of huge indemnity (p. 31).
1536	Vikramāditya, Rānā of Mewar, is murdered by Vanvīr (p. 331).
1536	Hamīd bin Fazullāh writes his *Siyar-ul-'Ārfīn* (p. 14).
1536-1540	Vanvīr, Rānā of Mewār (p. 331).
1537, February	Death of Sultān Bahādur of Gujarāt at Diu (p. 398).
1537, July	Humāyūn starts on an expedition to Chunār (p. 51).
1537	Sher Shāh besieges Gaur under the pretext of non-payment of the annual tribute by Sultān Mahmūd (p. 74).
1537	The Portuguese receive grant of the site of Hooghly (p. 201).

1537	Muhammad Shāh, ruler of Kāshmīr, passes away (p. 402).
1537	Shams-ud-dīn, s. of Muhammad Shāh of Kāshmīr, ascends throne (p. 402).
1537	Sunni rising against Burhān Nizām Shāh on his accepting Shiah faith (p. 417).
1538, March	Sher Shāh loses Chunār to Humāyūn (p. 74).
1538, April 6	Mughuls capture Gaur (p. 52).
1538, May 10	Mahmūd Khān, s. of Sultān Bahādur's brother (Latīf Khān), is raised to the throne of Gujarāt under the name of Mahmūd III (p. 398).
1538, June	The battle of Teliyāgarhī is fought between Mughuls and Sher Shāh's army led by Jalāl Khān and the Mughul advance party retreats to Colgong (pp. 52, 75).
1538, August 15	Humāyūn conquers Bengal (pp. 51, 52).
1538	Sher Shāh celebrates his coronation at Gaur and assumes the title of Farīd-ud-duniyā Wa-din-Abu'l Muzaffar Sher Shāh (p. 75).
1538	Goa is made the seat of a Bishop (p. 508).
1538	A fleet under Turkish admiral and the fleet of Gujarāt Sultān attack Diu unsuccessfully (p. 507).
1538	Kalimullāh, the last Bahmanī Sultān, passes away in Ahmadnagar (p. 412).
1538-1545	Sher Shāh Sūr (pp. 18, 45).
1538-1554	Mahmūd II, Sultān of Gujarāt (p. 398).
1539, March	Humāyūn sets out to his capital after the conquest of Bengal (p. 53).
1539, June 26	Sher Shāh attacks Humāyūn at Chausa and annihilates Mughul army. Humāyūn escapes by crossing the Gangā with the help of a water-carrier (p. 54, 76).
1539	Humāyūn leaves Gaur to challenge Afghan menace (p. 75).
1539	Sher Shāh's second coronation at Gaur (p. 77).
1539-1552	Gurū Angad, the Sikh Gurū (p. 663).
1539-1593	Shāh Hussain, Sūfī poet (p. 576).
1540, May 17	Sher Shāh attacks Humāyūn on the Ganges at Bilgrām and defeats Mughul army completely. This battle is known as the battle of the Gangā or the battle of Bilgrām. Humāyūn returns to Agra (pp. 55, 77, 78).
1540, October end	Humāyūn leaves Lahore (p. 56).
1540, December 2	Mīrzā Haidar enters Kāshmīr and conquers it without any fight (p. 403).
c. 1540	The Portuguese introduce inquisition in their Indian settlements (p. 507).
c. 1540	Briṅdāvanadās writes *Chaitanya-Bhāgavata* (*Chaitanya-maṅgala*) (pp. 555, 644)
1540	Uday Singh captures Chitor from Vanvīr (p. 332).

1540	Shams-ud-dīn, ruler of Kāshmīr, passes away (p. 402).
1540	Nazuk Shāh ascends the throne of Kāshmīr (p. 402).
1540-1545	Humāyūn in exile (p. 45).
1540-1572	Uday Singh, Rānā of Mewār (p. 332).
1541, January 26	Humāyūn encamps at Rohri (Sind) and the period of his exile begins (p. 56).
1541, August	Kājī Chak enters Kāshmīr with a force lent by Sher Shāh, is defeated and both Kājī Chak and Daulat Chak flee to India (p. 403).
1541, November 6	Humāyūn (in exile) reaches Sehwān and lays siege (p. 57).
1541	Sher Shāh raids Gaur and takes Khizr Khān, governor of Bengal, a captive (p. 79).
1541-1547	Rāmavarman, ruler of Quilon (p. 611).
1541-1551	Haidar Mīrzā enjoys an independent kingdom in Kāshmīr which is short-lived (p. 66).
1542, March 4	Humāyūn raises siege of Sehwān and retreats to Bhakkar (p. 57).
1542, July 31	Humāyūn reaches Bikaner with the hope of enlisting sympathy of Rājā Māldev of Mārwār (p. 57).
1542, October 15	Birth of Akbar (Emperor) at Umarkot (p. 58).
1542	Sher Shāh invades Mālwa and conquers it (p. 80).
1542	Ali Barīd, ruler of Bīdar, assumes the title of *Shāh* (p. 412).
1542	Sholapur is restored to Bijapur Sultān by Amīr Barīd on concluding a peace treaty (p. 418).
1542	Amīr Barīd passes away (p. 467).
1542	St. Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies, organises the Portuguese Indian Church (p. 509).
1542-1580	‘Alī Barīd, Sultān of Bīdar (p. 467).
1543, January	Sher Shāh invades Chanderi (p. 81).
1543, June	Sher Shāh captures Raisen (p. 81).
1543, July 11	Humāyūn leaves for Sehwān and advances up to Shal on his way to Qandahar (p. 58).
1543, September	Sultān Qulī Qutb-ul-Mulk of Golconda is assassinated (p. 469).
1543	Sher Shāh invades Mārwār (p. 81).
1543	Sher Shāh conquers Upper Sind (p. 80).
1543	Daryā Khān, a noble of Mahmūd III of Gujarāt, who wants to capture power, flees to Burhānpur (p. 399).
1543	A quadruple alliance amongst Burhān Nizām Shāh, Jamshīd Qutb Shāh, Daryā ‘Imād Shāh and Rāmarāja of Vijayanagar is concluded to invade ‘Ādil Shāhī kingdom of Bijāpur (pp. 418, 470).

1543	Venkata I and Tirumala I of Vijayanagara. (p. 487).
1543-1550	Jamshīd Qutb Khān, Sultān of Golconda. (p. 469).
1543-1564	Sadāshiva and Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar. (p. 488).
1544, January	Humāyūn being pursued by Mīrzā Askarī's men enters Shāh Tahmāsp's territory. (p. 59).
1544, August	Humāyūn calls on Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia at the latter's summer capital (p. 59).
1544, November	Sher Shāh marches on Kalinjar (p. 83).
1544	Sher Shāh invades Mewār and captures Chitor. (p. 82).
1544-1603	Dādu, founder of *Parabrahma Ṣaṁpradāya.* (pp. 567, 654).
1544	Kaji Chāk passes away. (p. 403).
1545, March 21	Humāyūn raids Qandahār. (p. 59).
1545, May 22	Sher Shāh is fatally wounded by gun-powder blast during the siege of Kalinjar and passes away the same night (p. 83).
1545, May 26	Jalāl Khān, the second s. of Sher Shāh, ascends the throne at Kalinjar on the death of Sher Shāh and assumes the title of Islām Shāh. (p. 90).
1545, September 3	Mīrza 'Askarī surrenders Qandahār fort to Humāyūn and Qandahār is made over to the Persians. (p. 59).
1545, October	Humāyūn wrests Qandahār from the Persians (p. 59).
1545, November 18	Humāyūn enters Kābul after exile (p. 60).
1545	Mahmūd III, Sultān of Gujarāt, forestalls a coup and takes the reins of government in his own hands (p. 399).
1545	Sūrdās compiles his *Sūr-sārāvalī* (p. 648).
1545-1548	Joa de Castro, Portūguese viceroy for the east (p. 507).
1545-1554	Humāyūn makes preparations for recovering his lost dominions (p. 45).
1545-1554	Islām Shāh Sūr (p. 90).
1545	Mīrzā Haidar, ruler of Kāshmīr, accepts Mughul suzerainty (p. 404).
1546, March	Humāyūn sets out on a (first) campaign of Badakshān (p. 60).
1546, April 20	Mahmūd III, Sultān of Gujarāt, attempts to recover Diu from the Portūguese (p. 399).
1546, November 11	The Portuguese defeat the Gujarāt army at Diu. (p. 399).
1546-1550	Vriṅdāvana Dāsa writes his *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* (pp. 555, 644).
1546-1624	Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, head of the Naqshabandi order (p. 309).

1547, April 27	Mīrzā Kāmarān escapes from Kābul when the fort is besieged by Humāyūn (p. 60).
1547	Rāmarāya concludes a political and commercial treaty with the Portuguese (p. 491).
1547	The Tomb of 'Īsā Khān is built at Delhi (p. 751).
1548, June	Humāyūn sets out on a (second) campaign against Badakhshān (p. 60).
1548, August 17	Mīrzā Kāmarān surrenders Taliqan fort and submits to Humāyūn, who pardons him. (p. 61).
1548, August	Ibrāhīm Ādil Shaāh I concludes peace with the Portuguese (p. 450).
1548	Jāmshīd, the Qutb Shāhi ruler of Golconda, secures release of 'Āli Barid from Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I of Bijapur (p. 419).
1549, February	Humāyūn leads a campaign against Balkh and the Uzbegs, but the campaign results in a fiasco (p. 61).
1549	Birth of Malik 'Āmbar (p. 435).
1550, January 14	Birth of Abu-'l-Fazl Allāmī at Agra (p. 5).
1550	Humāyūn marches towards Ghurband to chastise Mīrzā Kāmrān, but is wounded in an engagement (p. 61).
1550	Humāyūn captures Kābul from Mīrzā Kāmrān (p. 61).
1550	Jāmshīd Qutb Khān, Sultān of Golconda, passes away (p. 470).
1550-1580	Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda (pp. 412, 470).
1551, October	Mīrzā Haidar, ruler of Kāshmīr is fatally shot by an arrow in a night attack on the rebels (p. 404).
1551	Rebellion breaks out in Kāshmīr under the leadership of Husain Makri and Idi Raina (p. 404).
1551	Mīrzā Muhammad Haidar Dughlat composes *Tārīkh-ī-Rashīdī* (Persian), which gives information about Bābur and Humāyūn (p. 3).
1552	Haibat Khān Niyāzi invades Kāshmīr and the Afghans are routed (p. 404).
1552	Nazuk Shāh, ruler of Kāshmīr is deposed and Ibrāhīm is set up on the throne (p. 404).
1552	Portuguese settlements in India are depopulated owing to forced conversions (pp. 508, 509).
1552	St. Francis Xavier passes away (p. 509).
1552-1574	Amar Dās, the Sikh Gurū (pp. 307, 663).
1552-1610	Gokulnāthji, author and commentator (p. 648).
1553	Humāyūn gets Mīrzā Kāmrān blinded (p. 63).
1553	Burhān Nizām Shāh and Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar jointly invade Bijāpur (p. 420).
1553	Burhān Nizām Shāh passes away (p. 420).

1553-1556	The Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Rais in India (p. 20).
1553-1565	Husain Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar (p. 420).
1554, November 22	Islam Shāh Sūr passes away (p. 92).
1554, December 25	Humāyūn leaves Afghanistan on his march to Delhi (p. 62).
1554	Fīrūz Shāh, minor son of Islām Shāh Sūr ascends the throne on the death of his father, but is murdered by Mubāriz Khān (p. 94).
1554	Mahmūd III, Sultān of Gujarāt, is poisoned and meets his end (p. 400).
1554	Bairam Khān joins Humāyūn in his Indian campaign (p. 62).
1554-1556	Muhammad ‘Ādil (Adli) Shāh Sūr (p. 94).
1554-1561	Ahmad III, Sultān of Gujarāt (p. 401).
1555, February	Humāyūn occupies Lahore (p. 95).
1555, February	Humāyūn’s forces defeat Afghan troops at Dipalpur (p. 95).
1555, May	The battle of Māchīwārā is fought between the Mughul and the Afghan army in which the Afghan army is defeated (p. 63).
1555, June 22	Humāyūn’s forces defeat Sikandar Shāh at the battle of Sirhind (p. 95).
1555, July 23	The victorious Humāyūn reaches Delhi and distributes offices and commands to his faithful servants (p. 63).
1555	Saif-Ain-ul-Mulk, who had joined Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur, turns into a rebel (p. 421).
1555	Sikandar Shāh, defeats Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr and captures Delhi and Agra (p. 95).
1555	Humāyūn occupies Lahore (p. 95).
1555-1556	Humāyūn’s restoration on the throne of Delhi as emperor (p. 45).
1555-1556	Delhi, Agra and the surrounding areas are visited by a severe famine (p. 734).
c.1555-1587	Rājā Nara Nārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar (p. 642).
1556, January 26	Humāyūn passes away (p. 64).
1556, January	Hīmū occupies Agra and Delhi (p. 96).
1556, February 14	Akbar ascends the throne (p. 104).
1556, November 5	Battle of Panipat is fought between Hīmū and the Mughul army. Hīmū is taken captive and both Bairam Khān and Akbar severe his head from the body (pp. 96, 100, 106).
1556, December 7	Bairam Khān sends an army under Iskandar Khān to deal with Sikandar Shāh Sūr (p. 106).
1557, July 25	Sikandar Shāh Sūr surrenders Mankot to the Mughuls (p. 107).
1557, October 5	Mīrzā Kāmrān passes away on his way to Mecca (p. 67).

1557	Muhammad ‘Ādil Shāh Sūr is defeated by Khizr Khān Sūr of Bengal in a battle (p. 97).
1557	Ismā‘īl, who is raised to the throne of Kāshmīr after deposing Ibrāhīm, passes away (p. 404).
1557	Ibrahim ‘Ādil Shāh, Sultān of Bijapur, passes away (p. 421).
1557	Husain Nizām Shāh I and Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh jointly invade Gulburga, but a solution is found with the intervention of Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar and peace is effected (p. 421).
1557	Bishoprics are created in Cochin and Malacca (p. 508).
1557	Goa is raised to the status of Archbishopric (p. 508).
1557-1580	‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh I, Sultān of Bijapur (p. 451).
1558	A large Persian force led by Sultān Husain Mīrzā invades Qandahār and captures it (p. 153).
1558	Abu-’l-Ma‘ālī with the help of Mughul and Kāshmīrī soldiers rises against Ghāzī Chak, but the rebels are defeated (p. 405).
1558	‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh I forms an alliance with Vijayanagar (p. 451).
1558	Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar raids Portuguese territories (p. 491).
1559	Muhammad ‘Adil Shāh Sūr passes away (p. 97).
1559-1615	Dāsopaṅta, Marathi poet (p. 580).
1559-1637	Bhāi Gurdās, the Sikh writer (p. 111).
1560, October	Bairam Khān rebels, but surrenders to Akbar (p. 111).
1560	The Mughul army, raiding Kāshmīr under Mīrzā Qara Bahādur, is defeated by the forces of Ghāzī Khān near Rajaori (p. 146).
1560	Inquisition is launched on with vigour at Goa by the Portuguese (p. 508).
1561, January 31	Bairam Khān is assassinated (p. 111).
1561, March 29	Akbar’s army defeats Bāz Bahādur at Sārangpur in a campaign against Mālwā (p. 112).
1561, April	Ahmad III, Sultān of Gujarāt, is assassinated (p. 401).
1561, November	Akbar appoints Atga Khān his prime minister (*Vakil*) (p. 113).
1561	Mīrzā Sulaiman, r. of Badakhshan, seeks Akbar’s help against the Uzbegs (p. 156).
1561	Mughul army suppresses an uprising of the Afghans under Sher Khān Sūr (p. 113).
1561	Daulat Chak, the prime minister sets up Habib as king of Kāshmīr (p. 405).
1561-1572	Muzaffar III, Sultān of Gujarāt (p. 401).
1562	Akbar decides on Rajput alliances (p. 113).

1562	Akbar overthrows Māham Anaga group (pp. 114, 115).
1562	Shāh Tahmāsp sends an embassy to Akbar (p. 154).
1562	Daryā ‘Imād Shāh, Sultān of Berār, passes away (p. 464).
1562	Burhān ‘Imād Shāh, s. of Daryā ‘Imād Shāh, ascends Berār throne (p. 465).
1562	Akbar repeals the Islamic law with regard to the making of prisoners of war and their conversion with their families into slaves and Muslims (pp. 115, 539).
1562	Akbar curtails the authority of *Sadr-us-Sudur* (p. 115).
1562	Akbar sends an expedition against Mālwā under Abdullah Khān, who restores Mughul authority in Mālwā (p. 113).
1562	Akbar marries the daughter of Rājā Bharmal of Ambar (p. 381).
1562-1601	Akbar pursues a policy of expansion of his empire (pp. 115, 116).
1563, April 15	Birth of Gurū Arjun, the Sikh Gurū.
1563	Akbar remits the pilgrim tax on the Hindus (p. 539).
1563	Hussain Khān, br. of Ghāzī Khān usurps Kāshmīr's throne (p. 405).
1563	Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh marries daughter of Husain Nizām Shāh I (p. 423).
1563-1624	Mujāddid Alf-i-Sānī Shaikh Sirhandī, who started the Orthodox reform movement in India (p. 233).
1564, May 13	Sulaiman Mīrzā defeats Shah Abu-'l-Ma‘ālī on the bank of the Ghurband and delivers him to Muhammad Hakim, who had him hanged (p. 143).
1564, December 26	The confederate army of Deccan Sultāns encamps at Talikota to crush Vijayanagar (pp. 414, 424).
1564	Akbar abolishes the *jizya* on the Hindus (pp. 115, 381, 539).
1564	Akbar appoints Muzaffar ‘Alī Turbatī as the finance minister (*Dīwān*) (p. 115).
1564	Akbar lays the foundation of a township Nagarchain (the city of repose) near Agra (p. 116).
1564	Akbar marries daughter of Mubārak Shāh, r. of Khāndesh (p. 118).
1564	Tāj Khān Kararānī, an officer of Sher Shāh, overthrows the Sūrs, who had befriended Akbar (p. 129).
1564	Akbar receives embassy from Shāh Tahmasp (p. 154).
1564	Death of Rāṇī Durgāvatī (p. 633).

1564-1572	Construction of Humāyūn's mausoleum at Delhi (p. 748).
1565, January 23	The battle of Talikota (also known as Rakshasi-Tangadi) is fought between Vijayanagar and the confederate armies of Deccan Sultāns (pp. 414, 425, 492-495).
1565	Akbar sends an army against the Uzbeg officers in his service who had shown signs of a rebellion. Ultimately Akbar grants amnesty to the Uzbegs (pp. 117, 118). In 1566 also these Uzbeg officers rose in rebellion against Akbar but Akbar, after quelling the rebellion, forgives them and re-instates them in their positions (p. 119).
1565	Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabī replaces Muhammad Sālih of Herat as *Sadr-us-Sudur* (p. 115).
1565	Husain Nizām Shāh passes away (p. 426).
1565	Downfall of Vijayanagar empire (p. 593).
1565-1572	Revival of Bengal Sultānate under Sulaiman Kararānī (p. 129).
1565-1573	Akbar constructs the fortress palace at Agra (p. 756).
1565-1588	Murtaza Nizām Shāh I (pp. 426-428).
1565-1617	Keśava-dāsa, Hindi poet (p. 567).
1566, November 16	In response to a call for help from Muhammad Hakīm, Akbar sets out to Punjab (p. 143).
1566	Tufal Khān, the regent of Burhān 'Imād Shāh, purchases peace with the Bijāpur Sultān on payment of heavy sum of money (p. 465).
1566	Akbar constructs the Delhi Gate at Agra (p. 756).
1566-1570	Sadāshiva and Tirumala of Vijayanagar (p. 495).
1567, August 31	Akbar starts on an expedition against the Mīrzās (p. 120).
1567, September	Akbar undertakes an expedition to Chitor (p. 121).
1567, October 23	Akbar encamps opposite Chitor fort on his campaign against Mewār (pp. 121, 333).
1567	I'timād Khān, a noble of Muzaffar Shāh III, seeks Akbar's help against Chingiz Khān (pp. 125, 126).
1567	Akbar suppresses finally the Uzbeg rebellion; in a battle at Sakrawal (Mankarwal) on 9th June, 1567, Khān Zamān is slain and Bahādur Khān is taken captive and later on executed (pp. 119, 120, 172).
1567	Caesar Frederick visits Vijayanagar (p. 425).
1567-1568	Ibrāhīm Sūr passes away (p. 97).
1568,	Jai Mal, the commander of Chitor fort is shot

February 23	fatally by Emperor Akbar when Chitor is besieged (pp. 122, 333).
1568, February 25	Chitor falls to Akbar and Akbar orders mass massacre (p. 334).
1568, September	Akbar takes steps to improve administration in his empire (p. 122).
1568	Akbar posts his Ambassadors Mīrzā Muqīm and Ya‘qūb at the Court of Husain Shāh, r. of Kāshmīr (p. 146).
1569, March 21	Rai Surjan Har(d)a, chief of Bundi, surrenders the fort of Ranthambhor and his two sons and accepts other conditions (p. 123).
1569, August 30 (or September 9)	Birth of Salīm (Jahangīr) (pp. 125, 175, 195 fn. 1).
1569	‘Ālī Khān (Shāh) forces his brother Husain Khān to abdicate Kāshmīr throne in his favour (p. 406).
1570, January	Murtazā Nizām Shāh I, in alliance with ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh of Bijāpur and the Zamorin, unsuccessfully raids Portuguese possessions of Chaul and Goa (pp. 427, 450).
1570, June 7	Murād (Prince) is born (p. 125).
1570, November	Bāz Bahādur surrenders to Akbar and joins Akbar's service (p. 113).
1570	Tirumal celebrates his coronation at Penugonda (p. 497).
1571	Akbar decides to make Sīkrī his capital (p. 125).
1571	‘Alī Khān Chak attempts to seize the throne of Kāshmīr from ‘Alī Shāh (p. 406).
1571	The Asiatic empire of Portugal is divided into three independent commands (p. 507).
1571	Pūrnānand writes his *Śāktakarma* (p. 639).
1571	Akbar constructs Akbarī Mahal at Agra (p. 758).
1571	The tomb of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī is built at Sikri (p. 765).
1572, February 28	Uday Singh, Rānā of Mewār, passes away (p. 334).
1572, March 1	*Mahārānā* Pratāp Singh ascends Mewār throne (p. 335).
1572, July 2	Akbar sets out on a campaign of Gujarāt (pp. 126, 401).
1572, September 10	Shaikh Dāniyāl (Prince) is born (p. 125).
1572, Novemb	Muzaffar III, Sultān of Gujarāt, submits to Akbar (p. 401).
1572, November	Akbar receives Yār ‘Alī Beg, envoy from Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda, gr. of Khurāsān (p. 154).
1572, December	Akbar defeats Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā at Sarnal (p. 127).

1572	Death of Sulaimān Kararānī, Bengal Sultān (p. 129).
1572	Bāyazīd, s. of Sulaimān Kararānī, ascends the throne of Bengal, but is murdered within a few months (p. 129).
1572	Dāūd, Sulaimān's younger son, is raised to the throne of Bengal after murdering Bāyazīd (p. 129).
1572	'Abdullah Khān, the Uzbeg ruler, sends to Akbar his first envoy Hājī Altamash who is received coldly and ultimately dismissed (p. 156).
1572	'Abdullah Khān, the Uzbeg ruler, objects to giving protection to Mīrzā Shāh Rukh (p. 156).
1572	Shāh Tahmāsp writes *Tazkirāt-i-Tahmāsp*, which gives a history of Humāyūn's sojourn in Persia (p. 4).
1572	Death of Ghazālī Mashhadī, Akbar's court poet (p. 622).
1572	Eknāth completes his eleventh book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Marathi) (p. 650).
1572-1576	Mahārāṇā Pratāp Singh consolidates his position (p. 336).
1572-1585	Srīraṅga, Vijayanagar ruler (p. 497).
1572-1597	Mahārānā Pratāp Singh of Mewār (p. 335).
1573, January 22	Mughul forces defeat the combind armies of Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, Shāh Mirzā and Sher Khān Fulādī at Pātan (p. 127).
1573, February 26	Surat surrenders to Akbar (p. 127).
1573, June 3	Akbar returns to Fathpur Sīkrī after his Gujarāt campaign (p. 127).
1573, August	Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fulādī create fresh troubles for Akbar in Gujarāt (p. 128).
1573, September 2	Akbar reaches the vicinity of Ahmadābād to deal with the threat of the confederacy of the rebels—Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk and sons of Sher Khān Fulādī. Akbar defeats the combined rebel forces and is victorious in the second campaign of Gujarāt (p. 128).
1573, October 5	Akbar returns to Fathpur Sīkrī after his successful second campaign of Gujarāt (p. 128).
1573	Akbar introduces the far-reaching reforms in his administration such as branding system (*dāgh*), conversion of assignments (*jāgīrs*) into reserved lands (*khālisa*), fixing the rank (*mansab*) and the gradation of pay of the officers of the State (p. 129).

1573	Akbar despatches envoys to the Courts of Khāndesh and Ahmadnagar (p. 161).
1573	Emperor Akbar crushes the Gujarāt rebellion (p. 381).
1573-1595	Five famines visit northern-India (p. 735).
1574, March	Chandra Sen, s. of Rājā Māl Dev of Jodhpur rises against the Mughuls (p. 131).
1574, June 20	Akbar starts for Patna to reduce Dāūd, Sultān of Bengal (p. 130).
1574, April	Narnāla is captured by Murtazā I (p. 465).
1574	Murtazā Nizām Shāh I annexes Berar to Ahmadnagar kingdom (pp. 161, 413, 427).
1574	Bhakkar surrenders to Mughuls (p. 151).
1574	Gosvāmi Tulsī-dāsa commences writing his *Rāma Charita Mānasa* (p. 565).
1574-1581	Gurū Rām Dās, the Sikh Gurū (p. 664).
1575, April 12	Dāūd, Sultān of Bengal submits to Munim Khān, Mughul commander at Cuttack and is given a fief, after his defeat at Tukaroi on 3rd March, 1575 (p. 130).
1575, September 25	Mughul army under Mun'im Khān captures Tāndā, capital of Dāūd, Bengal Sultān (p. 130).
1575	Ibādat-Khāna (House of Worship) is founded by Akbar at Fathpur Sīkrī (p. 134).
1575	Mīrzā Sulaimān, r. of Badakhshān, who is expelled by his rebellious grandson, Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, seeks Akbar's protection (p. 156).
1575	Mīrzā 'Alā-ud-daulah Qazvīnī writes his *Nafāis-ul-Maāsir* which gives biographical accounts of Persian poets of Akbar's time (p. 8).
1575	Plague visits Bengal (p. 735).
1575-1595	Composition of *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita* by Kṛishṇadās Kavirāj. Some hold that this was written between 1612 and 1615 (p. 555).
1576, April	Akbar sends an expedition against *Mahārāṇā* Pratāp Singh of Mewār under the command of Rājā Mān Singh and Āsaf Khān (Ghiyās-ud-dīn 'Alī) (p. 131).
1576, June 21	The battle of Haldīghāt is fought between *Mahārāṇā* Pratāp Singh and Mughul army and *Mahārāṇā* Pratāp is defeated (pp. 132, 335, 336).
1576, July 12	Dāūd, Sultān of Bengal, who rises against Mughuls again, is defeated at the battle of Rājmahal, taken prisoner and executed (p. 131).
1576, October 11	Akbar leaves Ajmer for Gogunda with a large army against *Mahārāṇā* Pratāp (p. 337).
1576	Shāh Tahmāsp passes away (p. 154).

1576	Vijayanagar army defeats the Bijāpur army when the latter laai siege to Chandragiri (p. 452).
1577, February	Akbar despatches an expedition under Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad Khān against Rājā ‘Alī Khān of Khāndesh, who refused to recognise the sovereignty of Akbar and pay tribute (p. 161).
1577, July 9	Two envoys of Mīrzā Shāh Rukh of Badakhshān reach Akbar’s Court (p. 156).
1577	Mihr ‘Alī, a servant of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā rises in revolt against the Mughuls (p. 133).
1577	Akbar receives envoy from the Sultān of Ahmadnagar (p. 161).
1577	Akbar receives a second embassy from ‘Abdullah Khān, the Uzbeg ruler (p. 157).
1577	Mihr-un-nisa (Nūr Jahān) is born near Qandahār (p. 184, 185).
1577	Hasan Beg Romulu writes his *Ahsan-ut-Tawārikh,* which gives a contemporary account of Persia (p. 7).
1577	Pūrṇānanda writes his *Śrītattva Chiṅtāmanī* (p. 639).
1578, March	Akbar sends another expedition under command of Shāhbāz Khān to capture Kumbhalgarh (p. 338).
1578, April 4	The Mughuls capture Kumbhalgarh (p. 338).
1578, October	Akbar sends an expeditionary force under command of Shāhbāz Khān against *Mahārāṇā* Pratāp, who had started recovering his lost territories (p. 132).
1578, October	The Ibādat Khāna (House of Worship) founded by Akbar becomes a Parliament of Religions (p. 135).
1578	Dastūr Māhyārjī Rānā, an exponent of Zoroastrianism, arrives at the Court of Akbar (p. 137).
1578	Muzaffar III of Gujarāt, who is in custody of Mughuls since 1572, escapes to Saurāshtra (p. 145).
1578	Akbar sends a mission to Muhammad Hakīm, r. of Kābul to acknowledge his sovereignty, but in vain (p. 144).
1578	Akbar sends Mullā ‘Ishqī and Qāzī Sadr-ud-dīn as Mughul envoys at the Court of ‘Alī Shāh, r. of Kashmir on the acceptance of Mughul suzerainty by the Shāh (pp. 147, 406).
1578	The Portuguese viceroy of Goa sends Antonio Cabral as an ambassador to Akbar’s court (p. 159).
1578	Akbar sends an envoy to Mīrzā Shāh Rukh of Badakhshān (p. 156).

1578	Madhukar Shāh, the Bundela chief, submits to Mughuls (p. 376).
1578	Haidar Malik writes his *Tārīkh-i-Kāshmīr* (p. 12).
1578	Death of Jamāl al-Dīn Muhammad Ṭāhir, Arabic writer (p. 619).
1578-1580	Hājī Muhammad 'Ārif Qandāharī writes his *Tārīkh-i-Akbar Shāhī,* a most valuable history of Akbar's reign. (p. 4).
1579, June 26	Akbar recites the *Khutba* composed by Faizī in verse which ends with the words *Allahu Akbar* and claims that he is the agent of God—*Khalīfatu'llāh.* (p. 135).
1579, September 2	Akbar becomes the *Imām* and the *Mujtahid* of the age by the famous declaration (*Mahzar*) which he obtained from tne Ulamā. Akbar becomes the *Khalīfa* (head of Islamic faith) in India. (pp. 135, 136, 158).
1579	Akbar enters into a friendly alliance with Nara Nārāyan of Cooch Behār. (p. 184).
1579	'Alī Shāh, the ruler of Kāshmīr, passes away. (p. 406).
1579	Golconda army under Murhari Rāo sacks Ahobalam and invades other places. (p. 471).
1579	The first Englishman, Thomas Stephens (a Jesuit), visits western India (Goa). (p. 512).
1579-1580	Akbar revises the policy of assignment system introduced in 1573. (p. 129).
1580, January	Lohar Chak(k) overthrows Yūsuf Shāh, ruler of Kāshmīr. (p. 147).
1580, February 28	The first Jesuit Mission from Goa arrives at Akbar's Court on an invitation from Emperor Akbar. (pp. 137, 159).
1580, November 8	Yūsuf Shāh, dethroned ruler of Kāshmīr, defeats Lohar Chak(k), the usurper at Sopur and regains his kingdom without Mughul assistance. (p. 147).
1580	Akbar sends an army under the command of Rājā Mān Singh to help Yūsuf Shāh to wrest Kāshmīr throne from the usurper. (p. 406).
1580	Mīrzā Hakīm raids Mughul territories of the Punjab. (p. 144).
1580	Rebellion breaks out in Bengal with the slogan "*Islām in danger.*" (pp. 139, 141, 142).
1580	'Alī Adil Shāh, Sultān of Bijāpur, is assassinated. (pp. 429, 452).
1580	Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh Sultān of Golconda passes away. (p. 472).
1580	The 'Union of Portugal and Spain' under Philip II hastens the downfall of maritime and commercial supremacy of the Portuguese in the East. (p. 510).

1580	Ceylonese rise in rebellion against the Portuguese. (p. 507).
1580	The Spanish monopoly of the Magellan route is successfully challenged by Sir Francis Drake. (p. 510).
1580	Decline of Portuguese trade with India. (p. 510).
1580	Akbar permits those Hindus, who had been forcibly converted to Islām, to revert to the religion of their forefathers, and restores the Hindu women forcibly married to Musalmans to their families. (p. 539).
1580-1586	Yūsuf Shāh Chak, ruler of Kāshmīr. (p. 577).
1580-1587	Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh II, Sultān of Bidar, p. 468).
1580-1612	Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda. (p. 472).
1580-1627	Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, Sultān of Bijāpur. (p. 452).
1581, February 6	Mān Singh, Mughul commander, repulses the attack of Mīrzā Hakīm and defends Lahore. (p. 144).
1581, February	Akbar sets out from Fathpur Sīkrī to chastise Mīrzā Hakīm. (p. 144).
1581, July 12	Prince Murād defeats Mīrzā Hakīm in a battle near Kābul. (p. 145).
1581, August 10	Akbar triumphantly enters Kābul.
1581, December 1	Akbar returns to Fathpur Sīkrī after an expedition against Mīrzā Hakīm and pardoning him and reinstating him to the Government of Kābul. (p. 145).
1581	Akbar sends Mīrzā Tāhir and Sālih 'Āqil as envoys to Kāshmīr Court. (p. 147).
1581-1582	Prince Salīm at the age of 12 assumes nominal charge of government departments and military detachments, as per the Tīmūrid custom. (p. 175).
1581-1606	Arjun, the Sikh Gurū. (pp. 307, 664).
1582, April	Khān A'zam is appointed Mughul governor of Bengal. (p. 142).
1582	Akbar promulgates the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. (p. 138).
1582	Akbar receives a Jain delegation, which he himself had invited. (p. 137).
1582	Akbar effects further curtailment of power of *Sadr-us-Sudur* and appoints six provincial *Sadrs*. (p. 115).
1582	An English fleet attempts voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. (p. 510).
1582	Akbar withdraws from the provincial governors the power of inflicting capital punishment. (p. 549).

1582	Narottam Thākur brings about a synthesis of different schools of Bengal Vaishnavism and holds a grand festival to mark this synthesis. (p. 645).
1583, February	Fr. Rudolf of the Jesuit Mission leaves Akbar's Court. (p. 159).
1583, March	Khān A‘zam recovers Teliyāgarhī, which was taken by the rebels. (p. 142).
1583, September	Muzaffar III raises a rebellion against the Mughuls and captures Ahmadābād. (p. 145).
1583, November 26	Shāhbāz Khān, a Mughul commander, defeats M‘asum Khān Kābuli, a rebel leader of Bengal. (pp. 141-142).
1583	Ralph Fitch and a few other Englishmen reach India via the Persian Gulf. (p. 512).
1583-1584	Famine visits North-Western India. (p. 735).
1583-1591	Ralph Fitch, European traveller, tours India. (p. 734).
1584, January	Akbar sends an army under Mīrzā Khān to quell the rebellion on Muzaffar III in Gujarāt. (p. 146).
1584, March	Mīrzā Khān defeats Muzaffar III at Nandod and puts him to flight. (p. 146).
1584	Akbar adopts the solar *Ilāhī era*. (p. 137).
1584	‘Abdullah Khān Uzbeg of Bukhārā occupies Badakshān and incites the frontier tribes to rise against Mughuls. Mīrzā Shāh Rukh seeks refuge at Akbar's Court. (pp. 151, 156).
1584	*Mahārānā* Pratāp Singh recaptures many of his lost territories. (p. 338).
1585, December 31	Akbar sends an expeditionary force under Mīrzā Shāh Rukh and Rājā Bhagwān Dās to subjugate Kāshmīr. (p. 147).
1585	Bāyazīd passes away. His son Jalāl-ud-dīn becomes the leader of the Raushanāis. (p. 148).
1585	Kābul is annexed to Mughul empire. (p. 151).
1585	A party of three Englishmen—John Newbery, Ralph Fitch and William Leedes—arrive at Akbar's Court with a letter from Queen Elizabeth of England (written in February, 1583) recommending favourable reception, friendly treatment and suitable privileges. (p. 160).
1585	Akbar orders an expedition under Khān Azam against Berār which does not come off till 1586 (p. 162).
1585	Rājā Jagannāth attempts to crush *Mahārānā* Pratāp Singh, but in vain. (p. 338).
1585	The temple of Rādhā Vallabh is constructed at Vriṅdāvana. (p. 648).
1586, February 24	Emperor Akbar's army invades Kāshmīr and Yūsuf Shāh submits to Akbar. (p. 147, 407).
1586, February	Death of Rājā Birbal. (p. 149).

1586, March 11	Akbar receives an envoy (Mīr Quraish) from Abdullāh Khān, the Uzbeg chief. (p. 157).
1586, April 7	Akbar refuses to recognise the treaty entered into with Yūsuf Shāh of Kāshīmr, and imprisons Yūsuf Shāh, although he was assured of safe conduct by Rājā Bhagwān Dās. (p. 148).
1586, July 8	Ya‘qūb, son of Yūsuf Shāh ruler of Kāshmīr challenges Mughul authority over Kāshmīr. (p. 148).
1586, July 8	Akbar sends an army under Qāsim Khān to chastise Ya‘qūb, son of Yūsuf Shāh, ruler of Kāshmīr, who challenged Mughul supremacy over Kāshmīr. (pp. 148, 408).
1586, August 7	Ya‘qūb, the Kāshmīr rebel, surrenders to Akbar at Sopur. (p. 148).
1586, October 15	Qāsim Khān, Mughul commander, defeats Kāshmīri forces and enters Śrīnagar. (p. 148).
1586	Jalāl-ud-dīn forms a confederacy of Raushanāis, Yūsufzāis, the Mohmands, the Khalils and other tribes against Mughuls and raids Mughul territories. (p. 150).
1586	Yā‘qub makes two ‘unsuccessful attempts to wrest Śrīnagar from the Mughuls. (p. 148).
1586	Mughuls besiege Sehwān. (p. 151).
1586	Jānī Beg, ruler of Sind, offers submission to Akbar, but later on asserts independence. (p. 151).
1586	Mughul expedition under Khān ‘Azam against Berār fails and the Mughul forces have to retreat from the battlefield of Chandur against the combined opposition of Rājā ‘Alī Khān and Nizām Shāh. (p. 161).
1586	Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh II, Sultān of Bijāpur, marries Malikā Zamān, sister of Sultān of Golconda. (p. 472).
1586-1600	Rājadhara, ruler of Tripura. (p. 642).
1586-1614	Venkata II, ruler of Vijayanagar. (pp. 497, 608).
1587	Akbar transfers Rājā Mān Singh to Bihār. (p. 150).
1587	Ya‘qūb makes a third attempt to wrest Śrīnagar from the Mughuls, but his attempt is foiled by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, governor of Kāshmīr. (p. 148).
1587	Akbar suppresses finally the revolt in Bengal (p. 142).
1587	‘Abbās Sarwānī writes his *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shāhī* alias *Tuhfā-i-Akbar Shāhī* which deals with the reign and administration of Sher Shāh. (p. 8).

1587	Jauhar Āftābchī writes *Tazkirāt-ul-Wāqui'āt,* a wellknown chronicle of Humāyūn's reign under Emperor Akbar's orders. (p. 4).
1587	Gulbadan Begum (daughter of Bābur) writes *Humāyūn nāma,* in Persian at Akbar's instance which is a first-rate authority on the domestic relations of the first two Mughul rulers with their wives, sons, daughters, and other members of the royal family and on their social and harem life. (p. 3).
1587-1591	Qāsim Barīd Shāh II, Sultān of Bīdar. (p. 468).
1587-1629	Shāh Abbās, the Safavī King of Persia. (p. 473). Closer contacts are established between Akbar and Shāh Abbās of Persia. (p. 154).
1588, June 14	Husain, son of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I, murders his father and succeeds to Ahmadnagar throne. (p. 161, 428).
1588	Mughul army under the command of Zain Khān undertakes a campaign into Swāt and Bājaur. (p. 150).
1588	Narāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa composes his *Nārāyaṇīyam.* (p. 653).
1588-1589	Husain Nizām Shāh II, Sultān of Ahmadnagar. (p. 428).
1588-1589	Jaffar Beg and Āsaf Khān write *Tārīkh-i-Alfī* under orders from Akbar. (p. 13).
1589, April 1	Husain, son of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar, is deposed and murdered by the nobles. Ismā'īl, son of Burhān-ud-dīn, younger brother of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I, is raised to the throne. (p. 161).
1589, May 6	Death of Miyān Tānsen, the reputed singer at Akbar's Court (p. 408).
1589, August 7	Yā'qūb, Shāh of Kāshmīr sumbits to Emperor Akbar. (p. 408).
1589, October	Akbar visits Kābul. (p. 150).
1589	Burhān-ud-dīn, the younger brother of Murtazā Nizām Shāh I, invades Berār. (p. 162).
1589	Akbar visits Kāshmīr for the first time. (p. 153).
1589	Hakīm Humām, an envoy of Akbar who had gone to the Court of 'Abdullah Khān, the Uzbeg, returns to Akbar's Court with a letter from 'Abdullah Khān. (p. 157).
1589	Rājā Bhagwān Dās passes away. (p. 167).
1589	Rājā Todar Mal passes away. (p. 167).
1589	Peace treaty is concluded between Ahmadnagar and Bijāpur. (p. 429).
1589	Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II builds Ānand Mahal at Bijāpur, (p. 456).
1589	Death of Shaikh Wajīh-al-Dīn 'Alawī, saint, scholar and writer. (p. 619).
1589	Mahīdhara writes his *Mantra-mahodadhi.* (p. 639).

1589-1591	Ismā‘īl Nizām Shāh II. (p. 429).
1590	The Afghans repudiate the treaty with the Mughuls and capture Puri. (p. 152).
1590	Khān Khānān ‘Abdur-Rahīm invades Sehwān. (p. 151).
1590, August	Mughuls conquer the kingdom of Afghan ruler Qutlū Khān Lohānī in north-Orissa and the ruler’s son Nasīr Khān pays homage to Mān Singh. (p. 152).
1590	Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda, builds a new capital at Hyderabad. (p. 472).
1591, January 4	Maulavī Husain, an envoy of ‘Abdullah Khān, reaches Akbar’s Court. (p. 157).
1591, May	Burhān-ud-dīn, younger brother of Murtazā Nizām Shāh, deposes Ismā‘īl and occupies the throne of Ahmadnagar as Burhān Nizām Shāh II. (p. 162).
1591, August	Akbar sends ambassadors to the Sultāns of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golconda. (p. 162).
1591, October	Khān Khānān ‘Abdur-Rahīm inflicts a severe defeat on Jānī Beg and ultimately Jānī Beg submits to Mughuls. (p. 151).
1591	Salīm tries to seize sovereign power. (p. 166).
1591	Akbar receives the second Jesuit Mission at Lahore. (p. 159).
1591	Shāh ‘Abbās sends his envoy Yādgār Sultān Rūmlū to Akbar. (p. 155).
1591	Bijāpur army led by Dilāvar Khān is defeated by Ahmadnagar army at Dhārāseo. (p. 454).
1591	Captain Lancaster rounds the Cape of Good Hope and voyages to Cape Comorin and the Malay Peninsula. (p. 510).
1591-1592	Bāyazīd writes *Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn* which gives history of both Humāyūn and Bābur. (p. 4).
1591-1595	Burhān Nizām Shāh II. (p.48).
1591-1601	Amīr Barīd II, Sultān of Bīdar. (p. 468).
1592, January 15	Birth of Shāh Jahān at Lahore. (p. 197).
1592, April 18	The Afghans and the Mughuls fight a battle at Benapur (in Orissa) and the Afghans are defeated. (p. 152).
1592, July	Akbar leaves for Kāshmīr to deal with Yādgār (cousin of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān) who rebelled against Akbar. (p. 153).
1592	Jalāl-ud-dīn, after his return from Turān, gives troubles to Mughuls in the N.W. Frontier region. (p. 150).
1592	Madhukar Shāh, the Bundela chief, passes away. (p. 376).
1592	Burhān Nizām Shāh II raids Bijpāur. (p. 430).

1592	Burhān Nizām Shāh II raids Chaul, a Portuguese fortress but ultimately has to retreat. (p. 430).
1592-1593	Mughul campaigns against Jalāl-ud-dīn, leader of a confederacy against Mughuls (p. 150).
1593, January	The Mughuls conquer Orissa (p. 152).
1593	Zain Khān, Mughul commander, suppresses the rebellion of Afghan and other tribes in N.W. frontier region and receives submission of the rebel leaders. (p. 150).
1593	Muzaffar III, who is hounded like a wild beast by the Mughuls, is captured by Khān A‘zam, governor of Gujarāt, but Muzaffar commits suicide on the way. (p. 146).
1593	Faizī, an envoy of Akbar, and other envoys who had been sent to Deccan Sultāns by Akbar, return to Akbar's Court without getting acknowledgement of Mughul sovereignty from the Deccan Sultāns. (p. 162).
1593	Jānī Beg is appointed governor of Multān and afterwards of Sind by Akbar. (p. 152).
1593	Shaikh Mubārak, Akbar's counsellor, passes away. (p. 167).
1593	The Levant Company of England gets an extended Charter permitting it to trade overland with India. (p. 511).
1594	Akbar sends an embassy to Shāh ‘Abbās of Persia. (p. 155).
1594	Isma‘īl, brother of Ibrāhīm ‘Adil Shāh II, rebels, but the rebellion is suppressed. (p. 454).
1595, April 18	Akbar finally conquers Qandahār without a battle when Abdullāh Khān surrenders the fort. (pp. 151, 154).
1595, April	Burhān Nizām Shāh II passes away. (p. 162).
1595, May 5	A Jesuit Mission (third) consisting of Fr. Jerome Xavier, Fr. Emmanuel Pinheiro and Br. Benedict de Goes arrives at Akbar's Court at Lahore. (p. 159).
1595, December 26	Mughul forces under Prince Murād, Khān Khānān Abdur Rahīm and Rājā ‘Alī Khān besiege Ahmadnagar (pp. 163, 432).
1595	Akbar annexes Baluchistan (p. 151).
1595	Akbar annexes to his kingdom Cutch, Makran and territories up to the border of Qandahār (p. 153).
1595	Akbar completes conquest of northern India, including Baluchistān, but excluding Assam (p. 153).
1595	Faizī, the poet laureate passes away (p. 167).
1595	Burhān Nizām Shāh II passes away (p. 430).

1595	Ibrāhīm Nizām Shāh, Sultān of Ahmadnagar, whose reign lasts only for a few months, is slain in a battle against Ahmadnagar (p. 431).
1595	The first Dutch fleet passes Cape of Good Hope despite Portuguese defiance (p. 507).
1595-1601	The Dutch complete as many as fifteen voyages to the East (p. 510).
1596, March 23	Chānd Sultān, on behalf of Ahmadnagar, concludes peace with Prince Murād by agreeing to cede Berār to Mughuls (pp. 163, 433).
1596, May	Raushanāis again rise in revolt against the Mughuls in N.W. frontier region (p. 151).
1596, June 14	Akbar sends his ambassadors Khvāja Ashraf Naqshbandī and Shaikh Husain to 'Abdullāh Khān, the Uzbeg (p. 157).
1596-1597	'Abdul-Haqq writes his *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī* (p. 7).
1597, January 29	*Mahārānā* Pratāp Singh passes away (pp. 132, 339).
1597, February 8/9	The battle of Ashti (near Sonpet) is fought between the Mughul forces and the forces of Bijāpur and Golconda who had rushed to the rescue of Ahmadnagar in which the Mughuls are victorious (pp. 163, 164, 434).
1597, July 30	'Abdullāh Khān, the Uzbeg, sends back Akbar's envoys with his own envoy Mīr Quraish to Akbar's Court, who reach on April, 29, 1598 (p. 158).
1597	Akbar visits Kāshmīr for the third and last time (p. 153).
1597-1620	Mahārānā Amar Singh of Mewār (p. 340).
1597-1689	Sundaradāsa (p. 654).
1598, February	'Abdullāh Khān, the Uzbeg ruler, passes away (p. 158).
1598, November	Minuchihr Beg, envoy of Shāh 'Abbās, arrives at Akbar's Court (p. 155).
1598	Mughul forces take Gawil, Narnala, Kherta and a few other forts in Berār (p. 164).
1598	The King of Spain instructs the viceroy of Goa to maintain the Jesuit Mission at Akbar's Court, although Akbar could not be converted to Christianity (p. 159).
1598-1650	Santa Tukārāma (p. 581). Some assign to him the date 1608-49 (p. 650).
1599, March 11	Mīrzā 'Alī Beg, envoy of Shah 'Abbās, arrives at Akbar's Court (p. 155).
1599, May 12	Prince Murād passes away (pp. 164, 434).
1599, May	Abu-'l-Fazl at the head of the Mughul army reaches Burhānpur but fails to win over Rājā 'Alī Khān to Mughul side (p. 164).

1599, September 29	Akbar leaves for the Deccan with a mighty force (p. 164).
1599, December	Captain Lancaster leads the first voyage of the East India Co. to the East (p. 510).
1599	The Synod of Diamper (Udayampura) tries to suppress completely the Syrian Christianity of Malabar (p. 509).
1599	An influential body of London merchants plan the formation of a company to monopolise the eastern trade (p. 511).
1599	The English declare that they have a right to trade in all places where the Portuguese and the Spaniards have not established any fort, settlement or factory (p. 510).
1599	'Usmān Khan rises in rebellion in Bengal against Jahāngīr (p. 183).
1599-1606	John Mildenhall tours India (p. 20).
1600, January 1	Prince Dāniyāl, who is appointed to the Deccan command, reaches Burhānpur (p. 164).
1600, March	Akbar sends an embassy to viceroy of Goa purely with a view to gaining political alliance (p. 159).
1600, April 8	Akbar reaches Burhānpur on the Deccan expedition (p. 164).
1600, April 21	Mughuls besiege Ahmadnagar (p. 165).
1600, April	Chānd Sultān is put to death (p. 165). Some give the date as July 1600 (cf. p. 435).
1600, June 21	Mughuls capture Sāpan hill (p. 165).
1600, July 23	Salīm makes an unsuccessful attempt to seize Agra (p. 166).
1600, August 28	Mughuls capture Ahmadnagar (p. 165).
1600, December 9	Mughuls capture Mālīgarh near Asīrgarh (p. 165).
1600, December 21	Bahādur Shāh of Khāndesh comes to Akbar's camp for negotiations (p. 165).
1600	Jalāl-ud-dīn, leader of the Raushanāis, passes away (p. 151).
1600	Akbar makes a fresh attempt to annex Mewār (pp. 133, 340, 386).
1600	Malik 'Ambar raises Murtazā Shāh Nizām-ul-Mulk (Murtaza II) to Ahmadnagar throne and makes Parenda temporary capital (p. 436).
c.1600	Sarvajña, Kannada poet (p. 598).
1600-1632	Raghunātha Nāyaka, ruler of Tanjore (p. 595).
1601, April	Salīm rises in revolt against Akbar (p. 166).
1601, August 23	Akbar returns to Agra from his Deccan campaign (p. 166).
1601	Akbar conquers Asirgarh (p. 116).
1601-1609	Mīrzā 'Ali Barīd, Sultān of Bīdar (p. 468).
1602, May	Salīm sets up as an independent monarch at Allahabad and sends an envoy to Akbar to negotiate peace (pp. 166, 167).

1602, August 19	Bīr Singh Bundelā, an accomplice of Salīm, falls upon Abu-'l-Fazl's party and slains Abu-'l-Fazl (p. 167).
1602	Takhta Beg Mughul commander suppresses the revolt of Raushanāis, Afrīdīs, Pani, Orakzāi and the Sūrī tribes led by Ahdad (p. 151).
1602	Ma'sūm Khān Bhakkari, Akbar's envoy reaches the Court of Shāh 'Abbās, the Safavi ruler (p. 155).
1602	The Dutch gain supremacy over the Straits of Sunda, the route to the Moluccas and Spice Islands (p. 508).
1602	The Dutch combine the several Indian companies in their State under one Dutch United East India Co. (p. 510).
1602	The Dutch form a United and armed national trading company (p. 518).
1603, October	Salīm is deputed to lead an expedition against Rāṇā of Mewār but expresses his reluctance (pp. 168, 340).
1603	John Mildenhall, an English merchant, arrives at Akbar's Court with a letter from Queen Elizabeth of England and gifts (pp. 160, 512).
1603	The Persians wrest from the Mughuls Zamin Dāwar and Garmsīr which were taken earlier by Shāh Beg Khān, Akbar's general (p. 154).
1603	Shāh 'Abbās, the Safavi king of Persia, sends an embassy to Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda (p. 473).
1603	Death of Khwāja Bāqi Billāh, a Sūfī (p. 670).
c. 1603	Muhi-ud-dīn 'Abd-ur Qādir writes *An-nūr-us-Sāfir* which contains a general history of the period (p. 8).
1604, April	Prince Dāniyāl passes away (p. 168).
1604, November 16	Rapproachment between Akbar and Salīm (p. 168).
1604	Man Bāi, wife of Prince Salīm, passes away (p. 175).
1604	Gurū Arjun Dev compiles finally the *Ādi Granth* (*Granth Sāhib*) which is written in verse in Gurumukhi script (pp. 572, 664).
1604-1605	Tobacco, which was unknown in India till the last quarter of the 16th century and which was brought to Gujarāt by the Portuguese, is introduced in Akbar's Court (p. 728).
1605, October 25/26	Akbar, the great Mughul emperor, breathes his last (p. 169).
1605, November 3	Jahāngīr (Prince Salīm) ascends the Mughul throne at Agra (p. 175).

1605	Jijā Bāi is married to Shāhji Bhonsle (p. 247).
1605	Muhi-ud-dīn ‘Abd-ur-Qādir writes *Rauzat-ut-Tāhirin,* which is a general history of the period (p. 8).
1605	‘Ināyat Ullāh completes his *Takmīl-i-Akbar-nāma,* which is a continuation of Abu-’l-Fazl’s *Akbar-nāma* (p. 7).
*c.*1605	Death of Hakim ‘Alawī Khan Jīlānī, Court poet of Akbar (p. 617).
1605-1616	Yahyā-bin-‘Abdul Latif writes his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh,* which gives an account of Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar (p. 8).
1605	‘Abdus Samad writes his *Akhbār-ul-Āsfiya* (p. 14).
1605-1627	Vīrasiṁha, ruler of Orchha (p. 634).
1606, April 6	Khusrav escapes from Agra, goes to Punjab and on his way raises troops (p. 179).
1606, May 30	Arjun Dev, the Sikh Gurū, passes away (p. 309). (Sir Jadunath Sarkar gives this date as June, 1606).
1606	Qutb-ud-dīn is appointed Mughul governor of Bengal (p. 185).
1606-1607	Mulla Muhammad Qāsim Hindu Shāh writes his *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhimī* alias *Tarīkh-i-Firishta,* which is a general history of Muslim India up to Jahāngīr and history of the Deccan Sultanates (p. 7).
1606-1644	Har Govind, the Sikh Gurū (p. 310).
1607	Jahāngīr sends an embassy to Goa (p. 189).
1607	Malik ‘Ambar transfers the Nizām Shāhī capital from Parenda to Junnar (p. 437).
1608	Jahāngīr sends the second expedition under Mahabat Khān to Mewār but the expedition is a failure (pp. 180, 341).
1608	Jahāngīr sends Khān Khānān to Deccan (p. 181).
1608	Captain Hawkins arrives at Surat with a letter from James I, King of England, and a present of 25,000 gold pieces to Jahāngīr (p. 190).
1608	Captain William Hawkins goes to Mughul Court seeking permission to erect a factory at Surat for the English East India Co., but in vain (p. 511).
1608-1611	William Finch, a European traveller tours India (pp. 20, 718, 734).
1608-1613	William Hawkins travels in India (p. 20).
1608-1682	Samartha Rāmadāsa Svāmī (pp. 582, 651). (some give the date as 1608-1681).
1608-1695	Vāmana Paṇḍita, Marathi poet (p. 583).
1609	Cooch Behār becomes a vassal kingdom of the Mughul empire (p. 184).

1609	Jahāngīr replaces Mahābat Khān by ‘Abdullah Khān for Mewār campaigns, who is also subsequently replaced (pp. 180, 341).
1609	Prince Parvīz is appointed governor of Khāndesh and Berār (pp. 181, 438).
1609	Har Govind, the Sikh Gurū, constructs the *Akal Takht* (God's Throne) at Amritsar (p. 310).
1609-1615	Prince Parvīz's Deccan campaign (pp. 181, 182).
1609-1619	Amīr Barid Shāh III, Sultān of Bīdar (p. 468).
1609-1690	Mukteśvara, Marathi poet (p. 583).
1610, February	Affonso de Albuquerque conquers Goa (p. 505).
1610	The Dutch establish a fortified settlement at Pulicat (p. 512).
1610	Jahāngīr sends an embassy to Goa (p. 189).
1611	The English fleet under Captain Middleton defeats the Portuguese fleet off Bombay (p. 508).
1611	The English attempt a landing at Pulicat but fail due to the opposition of the Dutch (p. 514).
1611	The English land at Masulipatam for the first time (p. 514).
1611	Captain Middleton gets permission from the Mughul governor for the English East India Co., to trade near Surat (p. 511).
1611	Rājā Kalyān, son of Rājā Todar Mal, subdues Kharda (in Orissa) for Mughuls (p. 183).
1611	Jahāngīr marries Nūr Jahān (p. 184).
1611	Captain Hawkins, who had brought a letter from James I of England, presents it to Mughul Emperor, and returns to England without accomplishing his object (p. 190).
1611	The Shāh of Persia sends a formal embassy to Jahāngīr (p. 191).
1611	‘Abdullah Khān (Firūz-jang) is appointed Mughul governor of Gujarāt (p. 341).
1611	Eredia de Manual Godino tours Gujarāt (p. 21).
c.1611	‘Abdullāh Muhammad bin ‘Umer al-Makkī writes his *Zafar-ul-Walih bi Muzaffar wa Alih* (p. 11).
1611-1622	Nūr Jahān exercises a sobering and beneficent influence on Mughul politics (p. 186).
1612	Khān Khānān is put again in charge of the Deccan campaign (p. 182).
1612	Mughuls subdue finally the Afghāns in Bengal (p. 183).
1612	Arjumand Bānū Begam (Mumtāz Mahall), daughter of Āsaf Khān, is married to Prince Khurram (p. 186).

1612	Har Govind, the Sikh Gurū, who was held in captivity by Jahāngīr is set free (p. 311).
1612	‘Abdullah Khān, Mughul governor of Gujarāt raids Nizām Shāhī territory and penetrates up to Daulatābād but is forced to return to Gujarāt (p. 439).
1612	Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh passes away (p. 474).
1612	The English establish their first factory at Surat (p. 512).
1612	The Mausoleum of Islām Khān is built at Sīkrī (p. 766).
1612	Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa writes his *Nirṇayasindhu* (p. 637).
1612-1626	Muhammad Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda (p. 474).
1613	Mughuls conquer Kāmrūp (p. 184).
1613	Portuguese sieze four Mughul vessels near Surat, which leads to the defeat of Portuguese navy by Mughuls (p. 189).
1613	Jahāngīr sends an embassy to the Shāh of Persia (p. 191).
1613	Khān A‘zam Mīrzā ‘Aziz Koka replaces Rājā Basu, Mughul commander in Rājasthān (p. 341).
1613	Sikandar bin Muhammad writes *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī* (p. 11).
1613	Muhammad Ghausī Shattarī writes his *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (p. 14).
1613-1700	Sāmarāja, Marathi poet (p. 583).
1613-1712	Bhūshaṇa, Hindi poet (p. 568).
1614, February 18	After concluding peace with the Mughuls, Mahārāṇā Amar Singh, visits Khurram’s camp (p. 343).
1614	The English again attempt a landing at Pulicat but fail due to the opposition of the Dutch (p. 514).
1614	Muhammad Sādiq Kāshmirī Hamadānī writes his *Kalimāt-us-Sādiqīn* (p. 14).
1615	Jahāngīr sends an expedition to Kangra under Murtaza Khān and Suraj Mal (p. 183).
1615	Mughuls capture Khokhar (p. 183).
1615	Jahāngīr sends an unsuccessful expedition against Assam under the command of Sayyid Abū Bakr (p. 184).
1615	The Jesuits have reconciliation with Jahāngīr (p. 189).
1615	Paul Canning, an Englishman, arrives at the Court of Jahāngīr (p. 190).
1615-1619	Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador in India (p. 21).
*c.*1615-1674	Akho (Akha Bhagat) (*Vedāntakaviśiromani*), Gujarāti poet (p. 570).

1616	The Nizām Shāhī army led by Malik 'Ambar is defeated at Rosalgarh by the Mughul army led by Shāh Navāz Khān (p. 439).
1616	The English enter into commercial relations with the Zamorin of Calicut (p. 508).
1617	The ruler of Kharda who had accepted Mughul suzerainty in 1611 rebels, but is subdued and his territory is annexed to Mughul empire (p. 183).
1617	Prince Khurram, in charge of the Deccan campaign, reaches Burhānpur (p. 182).
1617	The rulers of Navānagar and Bahara submit to Mughuls (p. 183).
1617	Fr. Xavier passes away (p. 189).
1617	Jahāngīr forbids smoking (p. 729).
1618	The Dutch capture Amboyna island in the Southern Molucass (p. 511).
1618	Sir Thomas Roe, the royal ambassador from King James I of England, gets two *farmāns* issued by the Mughul Emperor and Prince Khurram—one for trade and the other for exemption from inland tolls (p. 511).
1618-1630	Rāmadevarāya, emperor of Vijayanagar (p. 497).
1619	Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II of Bijāpur annexes Bīdar to his kingdom (pp. 413, 455, 468).
1619	The Dutch become masters of Java and Ceylon (p. 518).
1620, January 26	Death of Mahārājā Amar Singh of Mewār (pp. 344, 387).
1620, November 16	Kangra surrenders to Jahāngīr (p. 183).
1620	Malik 'Ambar wins back all the territories lost to Mughuls (p. 182).
1620	Kishtwar submits to Mughuls (p. 183).
1620	Lādlī Begam (Nūr Jahān's daughter by her former husband) is betrothed to Prince Shahryār (p. 186).
1620-1628	Karṇa Singh, Mahārānā of Mewār (p. 344).
1620-1629	Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat (p. 21).
1621	The relations between Bijāpur and Ahmadnagar become strained and both of them seek Mughul help (p. 182).
1622	Prince Khusrav is murdered by one Raza (according to De Laet) (p. 187).
1622	Qandahār is captured by the Persians (p. 191).
1622	The English capture Ormuz and establish a factory at Gombroon (p. 508).
1623	Prince Khurram rises in rebellion against Jahāngīr but the rebel forces are defeated near Balochpur (p. 187).
1623	Prince Khurram plunders Ambar (p. 344).
1623	Death of Gosvāmī Tulsī-dāsa (p. 566).

1623	Surat starts exporting tobacco grown in India, after its introduction in India by the Portuguese (p. 729).
1623-1624	Pietro Della Valle travels in India (p. 21).
1623-1659	Tirumala Nāyaka, ruler of Madurā (p. 596).
1623-1671	Rāghavendratīrtha, Mādhva pontiff and commentator (p. 615).
1624	Malik 'Ambar inflicts a crushing defeat on the combined forces of Mughuls and Bijāpur at Bhatvadi (pp. 248, 442, 474).
1624	Shāh Jahān demolishes the fortifications of Chitor (p. 345).
1624-1720	Rūpa-bhavānī, Kāshmīrī poetesss (p. 578).
1625	Sholapur is conquered by Nizām Shāhī forces (p. 442).
1626	Malik 'Ambar passes away at the age of 80 (pp. 182, 443).
1626	Muhammad Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda, passes away (p. 475).
1626	Both the English and the Dutch advance from Surat and seize Bombay (p. 519).
1626	Muhammad Āmīn writes his *Anafāul-i-Akhbār*, a general history of the Muslim world (p. 8).
1626-1672	'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda (p. 475).
1627, April 6	Shivājī is born at Shivner (pp. 248, 278).
1627, September	Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II, Sultān of Bijāpur, passes away (p. 456).
1627, November 7	Jahāngīr passes away (p. 188).
1627	Jujhār Singh, the eldest son of Bīr Singh Bundelā, ascends the throne of Orchha (p. 377).
1627-1656	Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, Sultān of Bijāpur (p. 456).
1628, January 1	Shāh Jahān and Karṇa Singh, Mahārānā of Mewār meet at Gogunda and exchange gifts (p. 344).
1628, February 24	Shāh Jahān ascends the Mughul throne (p. 198).
1628, March	Karṇa Singh, Mahārānā of Mewār, passes away (p. 344).
1628	The Dutch abandon Masulipatam (p. 512).
1628	The English abandons Masulipatam on account of rivalry of the Dutch (p. 514).
1628-1652	Jagat Singh, Mahārānā of Mewār (p. 344).
1628-1690	Vithal Bīḍkar, Marathi writer (p. 583).
1629-1643	Sebastian Manrique travels in India (p. 21).
1630	Fath Khān places under confinement Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar (p. 207).
1630	The English return to Masulipatam (p. 514).
1630	Severe famine in Gujarāt and the Deccan (p. 735).
1630-1633	Husain Nizām Shāh III, Sultān of Ahmadnagar (p. 444).

1630-1634	Peter Mundy travels in India (p. 21).
1630-1641	Venkaṭa III, ruler of Vijayanagar (p. 498).
1631	Āsaf Khān, the Mughul commander lays an unsuccessful siege to Bijāpur (pp. 207, 456).
1631	Fath Khān, son of Malik ʻAmbar, submits to the Mughuls (p. 444).
1631	A severe famine visits Gujarāt (p. 519).
c. 1631-1632	Asad Beg writes his *Wāqaya* or *Hālāt-i-Asad Beg*, which is a memoir of the author and gives an authoritative account of the murder of Abu-'l-Fazl and the pursuit of his murderer, Bīr Singh Deva Bundelā and about the conspiracy to place Khusrav on the throne (p. 8).
1632, April 14	Shāh Jahān leaves for the Deccan campaign (p. 208).
1632	Shāh Jahān launches an expedition against the Portuguese (pp. 201, 202).
1632	Shāh Jahān completely destroys the Portuguese settlement at Hooghly (p. 508).
1633	The Mughuls secure surrender of Daulatābād by bribery; the young king Husain Shāh is condemned to life-long imprisonment at Gwālior and thus the Nizām Shāhi meets its extinction (pp. 208, 444).
1633	Shāh Jahān sends a letter of protest to Imām Qulī of Bukhārā for the invasion of Kābul by Nazr Muhammad Khān, br. of Imam Qulī (p. 205).
c. 1633	Year of writing of *Purātan Janam-Sākhi* (p. 574).
1634	Abdāl, the ruler of Little Tibet acknowledges supremacy of the Mughul emperor (p. 202).
1634-1640	Har Govind, the Sikh Gurū, repulses Mughul attacks (p. 314).
1634	Jujhār Singh raids Chaurāgarh, Gond capital, kills its ruler Prem Narāyan and seizes the treasure (p. 377).
c. 1634	Har Govind, the Sikh Gurū, is attacked by the armies of Shāh Jahān (p. 312).
1635, October	Mughuls capture Orchha, capital of Bundelās (p. 378).
1635, October	Devi Singh, the great-grandson of Rājā Rām Chandra, who helped Mughuls in liquidating Jujhār Singh, is elevated to the throne of Orchha (p. 378).
1635, December	Jujhār Singh, the Bundelā chief, and his son Bikramjit are done to death by the Gonds in the jungles (p. 378).
1635	Mughul army subdues Garhwal, but meets with a heavy disaster (p. 203).
1635	Bijāpur army raids Ikkeri (p. 457).
1635	Death of Miyān Mīr (p. 626).

1663, March 2	Shāh Jahān reaches Daulatābād in his campaign against Bijāpur and Golconda (p. 208).
1636, May	Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, Sultān of Bijāpur, on being defeated by the Mughul army accepts Mughul suzerainty (pp. 208, 457).
1636, July 21	Shāh Jahān sets out for Mandu (p. 208).
1636, July	Aurangzīb is appointed viceroy of the Deccan (p. 208).
1636	'Abdullah Qutb Shāh of Golconda accepts Mughul suzerainty (pp. 208, 475).
1636	Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar meets extinction (p. 248). (Under 1633 it is said that Nizam Shāhi meets its extinction).
1636	Shāhji Bhonsle, father of Shivājī, enters the service of Bijāpur Sultān as a general (pp. 242, 248).
1636	An abortive attempt is made by Shāhjī with the assistance of Bijāpur to revive Ahmadnagar kingdom (p. 445).
1636	Shāhjī Bhonsle leaves to the care and guardianship of Dādāji Kondadev, his *jāgir* of Poona, Jijā Bāi and Shivājī (p. 249).
1636	Muhammad Amīn Qazvīnī alias Amināi Qazvīnī completes his *Pādshāh-nāma*, a Court chronicle written at the instance of Shāh Jahān, which contains the history of the reign (first ten years) of Shāh Jahān (p. 9).
1636-1724	Premanand (p. 511).
1637	Bijāpur army under Randaulah Khān raids Ikkeri (p. 457).
1637-1648	Manaveda Zamorin, king of Kozhikode (pp. 307, 608).
1638	'Alī Mardān, the deposed governor of Qandahār, surrenders Qandahār to Mughuls (p. 204).
1638	Peace treaty is concluded between the Mughuls and the Ahom King (p. 227).
1638	Shāh Jahān begins construction of a new capital city Shāhjahānābād at Delhi (p. 787).
1638-1658	The Portuguese are driven out from Ceylon (p. 508).
1638-1678	Bāz Bahādur of Almora (p. 634).
1639	Shāh Jahān suppresses the rebellion of Jujhār Singh, Bundelā chief (p. 199).
1639	A treaty of friendship is concluded between the ruler of Cooch Behār and Shāh Jahān (pp. 202, 203).
1640, January 21	Dārā Shukoh completes writing of his *Safināt-ul-Aulīyā*, containing the biographical notes of orthodox Caliphs, Imāms, Sūfīs etc. (p. 14).
1640, April	The Mughuls capture Pṛithvīrāj, the boy-king of Orchha and lodge him in prison (p. 378).

1640	Shivājī marries Saibai of Nimbālkar family (p. 253).
1640	Francis Day, a member of the Council of Masulipatam, builds Fort St. George (p. 515).
1640	A fierce fighting ensues between Vairāgīs and the Nāgā Sannyāsīs at Hardwar, probably at the time of Kumbha Melā, wherein a large number of Vairāgīs are killed (p. 655).
1640-1667	Jean Baptist Tavernier travels in India (p. 22).
1641	Jagat Singh of Man Nurpur rises against Shāh Jahān but is subdued and forced to submit (p. 199).
1641	The Dutch capture the port of Malacca (p. 508).
1641	Zahūr bin Zahūrī writes his *Muhammad-nāma* (p. 11).
1641	Aparāo Bholanath writes his *Sāhibiyā* (p. 14).
1642, May	Rājā Pahār Singh Bundelā, the younger brother of Jujhār Singh, is appointed by the Mughuls as the ruler of Orchha (p. 378).
1642	‘Abdullah Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda captures some territories of Venkaṭa III, the Vijayanagar ruler (p. 475).
1642-1643	Shivājī and Jijā Bāi meet Shāhjī at Bangalore (p. 253).
1642-1649	Śrīraṅga III, ruler of Vijayanagar (p. 498).
1643	Shāhjī Bhonsle is summoned to Bijāpur Court for Shivājī’s (mis) conduct (p. 253).
1643	*Ardhakathānak* is written by Banārasī Dās (p. 16).
1644, March 3	Har Govind, the Sikh Gurū, passes away (pp. 314, 325).
1644, May	Aurangzīb is dismissed as viceroy of the Deccan and deprived of his *jāgīrs* by Shāh Jahān (p. 209).
1644-1658	Construction of the grand Jāmī‘ Masjid at Delhi (p. 792).
1644-1661	Har Rai, the Sikh Gurū (p. 315).
1645	Shāh Jahān captures Kahmard (p. 206).
1645, March	Mustafā Khān, the Bijāpur general, gains possession of Udayagiri (p. 499).
1645, December	Śrīraṅga III, ruler of Vijayanagara, suffers defeat at the hands of the Nāyaks (p. 500).
1646, April 4	Śrīraṅga III is defeated by Mustafā Khān, the Bijāpur general near Vellore (p. 500).
1646, June	An expedition under Prince Murād leaves for Balkh to the help of Nazr Muhammad and on way captures Qunduz. Nazr Muhammad flees to Persia and Balkh falls into the hands of Mughuls (p. 206).

1646, October	Rājā Pratāp, ruler of Palamau, submits to Mughuls (p. 203).
1646-1647	A severe famine visits South India (p. 515).
1646-1656	Illness of Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, Sultān of Bijāpur (p. 242).
1647, October	Mughul forces retire to India from Balkh after Aurangzīb concludes peace with Nazr Muhammad (p. 206).
1647	Dādāji Kondadev, Shivājī's guardian, passes away (p. 255).
1647	Bijāpur army, under Mustafā Khān, marches against Śrīraṅga III, and conquers territories of Vijayanagar (p. 458).
1648, November	Mustafā Khān, the Bijāpur general, passes away (p. 458).
1648	The Shāh of Persia starts on an expedition of Qandahār (p. 204).
1648	Shivājī starts stamping papers with his own seal (p. 255).
1648	Shivājī restores Siṁhagaṙh to Bijāpur (p. 256).
1648	Shāhjī Bhonsle is taken a captive to Bijāpur (p. 256).
1648	Sāh Jahān ceremoniously enters the newly constructed capital city—Sāhjahānābād and formally inaugurates it (p. 787).
1648	Death of Muḥibbullāh Illāhābādī, a Sūfī writer (p. 618).
1648-1674	Satyanāthayati, Mādhva scholar (p. 615).
1649, December	Bijāpur army conquers Gingee (p. 458).
1649	The Persians wrest Qandāhar from Mughuls (p. 205).
1649	Mughul expedition to capture Qandāhar fails (p. 205).
1649	The Nāyak of Tanjore submits to Bijāpur Sultan (p. 501).
1651	The English establish their factory at Hooghly (p. 517).
1651	Death of Mullā Maḥmūd Jaunpūrī, Arabic writer (p. 617).
1652, April 10	Jagat Singh, Rānā of Mewār, passes away (p. 345).
1652	Mughul expedition to capture Qandāhar fails (p. 205).
1652	The Dutch get possession of Cape of Good Hope (p. 508).
1652	Madras is raised to the rank of a Presidency (p. 515).
1652	Śivaprakāsar composes *Prabhulinga-lile* (Tamil) (p. 587).
1652	*Makalma Bābā Lāl wa Dara Shukoh* (Dialogues of Bābā Lāl and Dārā Shukoh) is compiled (p. 15).

1652-1680	Mahārānā Rāj Singh of Mewār (p. 345).
1653	Mughul expedition to capture Qandāhar fails (p. 205).
1653	Aurangzīb is sent again to the Deccan as *Subādār* (p. 209).
1653	The English factors at Surat propose to the Directors at London to persuade the Portuguese to take over Bombay and Bassein for a consideration (p. 519).
c. 1653	Shivājī carves his independent kingdom with ministers and officials; completion of first phase of Shivājī's *Swarājya* (pp. 255, 257).
1653-1708	Manucci travels in India (p. 22).
1654	Rājā of Kumaun submits to Mughuls (p. 203).
1654	Pahār Singh, Bundelā, passes away (p. 378).
1654	The Portuguese recognise the right of the English to reside and trade in all their eastern possessions (p. 508).
1654	Madras is reduced to the status of a subordinate agency (p. 515).
1654	Moti Masjid at Agra is completed (p. 786).
1654	'Abd-ur-Rasul Chishtī writes his *Mīrat-ul-Asrar* (p. 15).
1655-1656	'Alā-ud-dīn Muhammad Chishtī Barnavī writes his *Chishtiya-i-Bihishtiya* (p. 15).
1656, January	Mughul forces under Prince Muhammad Sultān raid Hyderabad while Aurangzīb lays siege to Golconda (p. 210).
1656, April 9	Aurangzīb raises siege of Golconda on instructions from Shāh Jahān (p. 210).
1656,	Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh, Sultān of Bijāpur, passes away (pp. 211, 258, 458).
1656	Shivājī conquers Jāvlī (pp. 242, 256).
1656	Death of Mullā 'Abdul Hakīm Siālkūtī, theological commentator (p. 617).
1656-1672	'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II, Sultān of Bijāpur (p. 459).
1656-1688	Francois Bernier travels in the Mughul empire (p. 22).
1657, April	Bidar surrenders to Mughuls (pp. 211, 459).
1657, May	Kalyāni surrenders to Mughuls (p. 211).
1657, November	Rāj Singh, the Mewār Rānā, wrests from the Mughuls lost territories (p. 346).
1657	Shāh Jahān concludes peace with the Sultān of Bijāpur (p. 211).
1657	Shāh Jāhan is indisposed (p. 214).
1657	Aurangzīb attacks Bijāpur (p. 258).
1657	Shivājī raids Mughul territories in Ahmadnagar district and plunders Junnar (p. 243).
1657	Birth of Shambhūjī, son of Shivājī (p. 273).
1657	Dilras Bānu, Queen of Aurangzīb, passes away (p. 300).
1657	Surat is constituted the sole Presidency of the English in India (p. 519).

1658, February 14	Sulaimān Shukoh defeats his uncle Shujā‘ at Bahādurpur near Banaras and proceeds towards Āgra (p. 220).
1658, May 5	Aurangzīb wins a victory over Jasvant Singh who had been deputed by Shāh Jahān and Dārā at Dharmat (pp. 215). (On p. 220 J. N. Sarkar gives this date as April 15, 1658).
1658, June 8	The armies of Dārā and Aurangzīb fight a battle at Samogarh (near Agra) and Dārā's army is defeated and Dārā escapes to Agra (p. 215). (This date is given as 29-5-58 on p. 220).
1658, June 18	Shāh Jahān is imprisoned by Aurangzīb at Agra (p. 225).
1658, June 25	Prince Murād is arrested and made a State prisoner (p. 220).
1658, July 31	Aurangzīb is formally crowned as the Mughul emperor at Delhi (p. 216).
1658, August 18	Dārā flees Lahore when Bahādur Khān takes him by surprise at Rupar (p. 221).
1658, November	Shujā‘ with a view to release his father, from imprisonment, sets out from Patna and conquers territories up to Khajuhā which he reaches on Dec. 30, 1958 (p. 221).
1658	The Ahoms capture the whole of Western Brahmaputra valley (p. 227).
1658-1729	Śrīdhara, Marathi poet (p. 583).
1659, January 5	In an encounter between Shujā‘ and Aurangzīb Shujā‘ is defeated and Shujā‘ flees (pp. 221, 222).
1659, February	Aurangzīb sends an expedition under Subhakaran Bundelā against Champat Rāi (p. 379).
1659, March	Aurangzīb defeats Dārā at Deorāi (p. 222).
1659, June 5	Aurangzīb has his coronation for the second time (p. 223).
1659, August 30	Dārā is tried by the court theologians on a charge of apostasy from Islām, is found guilty and executed (p. 223).
1659, September	Afzal Khān leaves Bijāpur to capture Shivājī dead or alive (pp. 258, 459).
1659, November 10	Shivājī and Afzal Khān meet below the fort of Pratāpgarh and Afzal Khan is slain (p. 258).
1659	Aurangzīb issues a number of ordinances for restoring Muslim Law of conduct (p. 234).
1659	Medhi Singh, son of Rājā of Śrīnagar (Dist. Dehradun), submits to Mughuls (p. 203).
1659	Bijāpur army captures Tanjore (p. 460).
1659-1682	Chokkanātha Nāyaka, Ruler of Madurā (p. 596).
1660, June	Mīr Jumla is appointed Mughul viceroy of Bengal (p. 227).

1660	Sīdī Jauhar, Bijapur general, besieges Panhāla and Shivājī is forced to evacuate it (p. 243).
1660	Shāyista Khān, Mughul viceroy of the Deccan, launches campaign against Shivājī (p. 243).
1660	Death of Sarmad, the heterodox Sūfī and Persian writer (p. 626).
1660	Gopījanavallabha writes his *Rasika-maṅgala* (p. 646).
1661, February	Shujā‘ tries to seize the throne of his benefactor Magh Rājā of Arakan, but the conspiracy leaks out and Shujā‘ is slain while on the run (p. 222).
1661, October	Champat Rāi Bundelā, hounded by Mughuls and his own kith and kin, commits suicide (pp. 226, 379).
1661, December 4	Murād is beheaded at Gwalior (p. 223).
1661	Dāūd Khān, Governor of Bihār, invades Palāmau in South Bihār and conquers it (p. 226).
1661	Charles II, King of England, marries Princess Catherine of Braganza and gets Bombay island as part of dowry (p. 513).
1661-1667	Aurangzīb receives embassies from several Muslim countries of the west (pp. 224, 225).
1661-1664	Har Kishan, the Sikh Gurū (p. 315).
1662, March 17	Mīr Jumla, Mughul viceroy of Bengal, invades the Āhom capital Garhgāon and the ruler Jayadhwaj flees (p. 227).
1662, May	Sulaimān Shukoh, Dara's son, is put to death by overdoses of opium (p. 223).
1662, September	An English fleet of five ships reaches Bombay to take possession of the island given over as part of the dowry to Charles II (p. 513).
1662	The raja of Cooch Behār wrests his kingdom from the Mughuls (p. 229).
1662	Death of Shaikh Nūr al-Ḥaqq, jurist and historian (p. 617).
1662-1664	Bhadrappa Nāyaka, Ikkeri chief (p. 460).
1662-1665	Sir Edward Winter, English President of Madras (p. 516).
1662-1668	Sir George Oxenden, English governor of Surat.
1663, March 31	Mīr Jumla, Mughul viceroy of Bengal, passes away (p. 229).
1663, April 5	Shivājī attacks Shāyistā Khān at night at Poona in which Shayista Khan escapes (p. 243).
1663	Rājā Chhatra Sāl, Jām of Navānagar, is restored to his kingdom which was usurped by Rāi Singh (p. 226).
1663	Bijāpur army besieges Trichinopoly and plunders surrounding regions (p. 460).
1663	Nawab Shāyista Khān is appointed Mughul governor of Bengal (p. 517).

1664, January 1	Shivājī starts on his Surat campaign (p. 260).
1664, January 9	Shivājī leaves Surat after its plunder (pp. 243, 260).
1664, December	Mughul expedition under Mirzā Rājā Jay Singh and Dilir Khān leaves to subdue Shivājī (p. 261).
1664	The Rājā of Cooch Behār submits to Mughuls (p. 229).
1664	Aurangzīb prohibits repairs to old Hindu shrines and temples (p. 234).
1664	Shāhjī Bhonsle, father of Shivājī, passes away while on a hunting expedition (p. 248).
1664-1675	Tegh Bahādur, the Sikh Gurū (p. 315).
1665, April	By an edict Aurangzīb levies discriminatory customs duty on Hindus (p. 235).
1665, June 12	Shivājī concludes peace with the Mughuls at Purandar (pp. 244, 262).
1665, November	Shivājī joins Mughuls in a campaign against Bijāpur (p. 262).
1665, November	Shāyista Khān, Mughul governor of Bengal captures Sandwip (p. 230).
1665	The ruler of Little Tibet acknowledges the suzerainty of the Mughuls (p. 226).
1665	Shivājī sends a naval expedition to Malabar coast (p. 261).
1665	Mughuls raid Purandar (p. 379).
1665	The Mughul viceroy of Bengal completely annihilates the *Feringhis* from Eastern Bengal coast (p. 508).
1665	An English settlement grows up in Bombay (p. 512).
1665-1666	Mughul forces led by Jay Singh raid Bijāpur (p. 460).
1665-1668	Foxcroft, English governor of Madras (p. 516).
1666, January 22	Shāh Jahān passes away (p. 226).
1666, January 26	The Mughul expeditionary force under Buzurg Ummed Khān and Admiral Ibn Husain capture Chittagong (p. 230).
1666, March 5	Shivājī leaves Rāigarh for Agra to meet Aurangzīb (p. 263).
1666, May 12	Aurangzīb celebrates his accession at Agra (p. 263).
1666, May 12	Shivājī pays a visit to Aurangzīb's court at Agra (p. 244).
1666, May 12 to August 18	Shivājī remains in confinement at Agra (p. 264).
1666, August 19	Shivājī escapes with his son Shambhūjī from Agra (pp. 244, 264).
1666, September 12	Shivājī reaches Rāigarh after his escape from Agra (pp. 244, 264, 279, 280).

1666-1709	Gurū Govind Singh, the last Sikh Gurū (p. 568).
1667, April	The Yūsufzāīs of N. W. frontier attack Mughul territories under their leader Bhāgū but Kāmil Khān, Mughul commandant of Attock beats them back (p. 231).
1667, August 28	Death of Jay Singh, general of Aurangzīb, at Burhānpur (p. 244).
1667	Chakradhwaj, the Āhom king, captures a few Mughul forts and the Mughul forces are driven back (p. 229).
1667	Aurangzīb abolishes customs duty in the case of Muslim traders but retains it in the case of Hindu traders (p. 235).
1667	Rājā Jay Singh of Ambar passes away (p. 238).
1667	Mughuls raid Deogarh (p. 379).
1667	M. de Thevenot travels in India (p. 22).
1668, September	Bombay island is transferred to the English East India Co. by a royal charter (p. 513).
1668	Aurangzīb pensions off the Court musicians (p. 234).
1668	Aurangzīb prohibits all Hindu religious fairs (p. 235).
1668	Shivājī concludes peace with Aurangzīb who confers the title of *Rājā* on Shivājī (p. 245).
c. 1668	Bijāpur forces raid Ikkeri kingdom and occupy 3 forts (p. 460).
1668-1672	John Marshall travels in India (p. 22).
1669, April 9	Aurangzīb issues orders to his provincial governors to demolish schools and temples of the Hindus and put down their teaching and religious practices (pp. 235, 265).
1669	The Jāts under their leader Goklā rise in rebellion against religious persecution of the Hindus by Aurangzīb (pp. 236, 373).
1669	Aurangzīb pulls down the famous Kāśi Viśveśvar temple (p. 265).
1669-1677	Gerald Aungier, English governor of Bombay and president of Surat (p. 514).
1670, February	Shivājī wrests Sinhgarh from the Mughuls (pp. 245, 265).
1670, March	Aurangzīb puts a stop to the custom of the Mughul Emperor being weighed against precious metals on his birthdays (p. 689).
1670, April	Shivājī plunders many important Mughul towns (p. 265).
1670, October	Shivājī plunders Surat for a second time (p. 245).
1670	Aurangzīb pulls down the famous temple of Keshab Rāi (p. 265).
1670	Chhatra Sāl Bundela offers his services to Shivājī (p. 379).

1670-1678	Sir William Langhorne, English governor of Madras (p. 516).
1670-1720	Upendra Bhanja, Oriya poet (p. 564).
1671	Aurangzīb orders dismissal of all Hindu head-clerks and accountants from his service (p. 235).
1671	Shivājī captures Salher from the Mughuls (p. 266).
1672	Akmal Khān, the Afridi chieftain, rises in rebellion against Mughuls (p. 231).
1672	The Satnamis rise in revolt against the religious persecution under Aurangzīb's rule (p. 236).
1672, December	Death of Bijāpur Sultān 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II (pp. 245, 461).
1672	Bahādur Khān replaces Shāh 'Ālam as Mughul governor of the Deccan (p. 245).
1672	'Abdullah Qutb Shāh, the Sultān of Golconda, passes away (p. 477).
1672	Death of 'Abdur Rashīd, Arabic writer (p. 617).
1672-1681	John Fryer travels through India and Persia (pp. 22, 514).
1672-1686	Sikandar 'Adil Shāh, Sultān of Bijāpur (p. 461).
1672-1687	Abu-'l Hasan Qutb Shāh, Sultān of Golconda (pp. 286, 477).
1672	On the death of Sultāns of Golconda and Bijapur, anarchy prevails in these two kingdoms (p. 270).
1672-1686	Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, Bijāpur Sultān (pp. 283, 461).
1672-1704	Chikkadeva Rāya, ruler of Mysore (pp. 598, 709).
1673	Shivājī captures Panhāla (p. 266).
1673	Dr. Fryer visits Madras (p. 516).
1673	Death of 'Abdul Bāqi, Arabic writer (p. 617).
1674, February 22	Shujā'at Khān, who had been specially deputed to suppress the rebellion in the N.W. frontier, is defeated and killed in the Karpa pass (p. 232).
1674, June 6	Shivājī has his formal coronation at Raigarh with great pomp and grandeur (p. 245).
1674, June	Jijā Bāi, Shivājī's mother, passes away (p. 267).
1674	Mahārānā Rāj Singh closes the Deobari pass with huge walls and portals, fearing invasion by the Mughuls (p. 348).
1674	The Jāmī (Bādshāhī) Masjid at Lahore is built (p. 801).
1674-1687	Ekoji, ruler of Tanjore (p. 610).
1675.	Tegh Bahādur, the Sikh Gurū is beheaded

November 11	under orders of Aurangzīb (p. 316). According to some (p. 237) this date is Dec. 1675).
1675	The Mughul authority reestablished in the N. W. frontier region (p. 232).
1675-1708	Govind Singh, the Sikh Gurū (pp. 316, 665). (On p. 568 this date is wrongly given as 1666-1709).
1676, February	'Abdullah Qutb Shāh of Golconda and Shivājī enter into a treaty (p. 271).
1676, November 16	Shivājī's forces defeat Ekoji at Valigandapuram (p. 272).
1677, July	The French envoy Germain visits Shivājī near Tanjore (p. 277).
1677, December 23	Buhlūl Khān, prime minister of Bijāpur, passes away (p. 283).
1677	Aurangzīb appoints Amīr Khān as governor of Kābul (p. 232).
1677	Shivājī concludes alliance with Golconda and conquers Gingee, Vellore and parts of Madras, Carnatic and Mysore territories (pp. 245, 478).
1677	The Mughuls take up the cause of the Deccani party and occupy Naldurg and Gulburga (pp. 283, 461).
1677-1682	Rolt, English governor of Bombay (p. 514).
1678, December 10	Maharaja Jasovant Singh Rāthor of Mārwār passes away at Jamrud (pp. 238, 346).
1678, December 13	Shambhūjī escapes from Panhala along with his wife and joins Mughul camp near Pandharpur (p. 273).
1678-1681	Streynsham Master, the English governor of Madras (p. 516).
1679, January 9	Aurangzīb sets out for Ajmer to supervise the annexation of Mārwār (p. 346).
1679, March 23	Aurangzīb issues a *farmān* asking Rāj Singh, Rānā of Jodhpur, to send his son to the Court of the emperor (p. 348).
1679, April 2	Aurangzīb re-imposes *jizya* on the Hindus with the object of spreading *Islām* and uprooting infidel practices (pp. 235, 273).
1679, April 11	Aurangzīb receives Prince Jay Singh, son of Rāj Singh Mahārānā (p. 348).
1679, April	Dilir Khān and Shambhūjī together capture Bhupalgarh, east of Satara (p. 273).
1679, April	Aurangzīb annexes Mārwār to his kingdom (p. 238).
1679, May 26	Aurangzīb installs Indra Singh, a grandnephew of Mahārājā Jasovant Singh, as the Rājā of Jodhpur (p. 347).

1679, July 15	Aurangzīb sends a detachment to seize the queen of Jasovant Singh and his infant son Ajit, who had come to Delhi to plead their case, but Durgā Dās foils their attempt and takes the royal party to Jodhpur (p. 348).
1679, July	Prince A'zam marries Shahr Banu Begam, sister of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, Sultān of Bijāpur (p. 462).
1679, August 19	Mairta Rāthors fight to the last man to bar the advance of the Mughul army and save the Varāha temple near Lake Pushkar (p. 349).
1679, September 25	Aurangzīb personally goes to Ajmer to suppress the rebellion in Mārwār (p. 239).
1679, November 30	Aurangzīb leaves for Rājasthān to subdue the Rāthors (p. 351).
1679, December 4	Shambhūjī returns to Panhāla after an year's absence after flirting with Dilīr Khān (p. 273).
1679	Shivājī defeats the combined English and Sīdī fleet in a naval engagement (p. 362).
1679	The Mughuls recover Gauhati by bribery (p. 229).
1679	The tomb of Aurangzīb's Queen Rābi'a-ud-Daurāni is built at Aurangabad (p. 801).
1679-80	Muhammad Baqa Saharānpurī writes his *Riyāz-ul-Auliyā*, which contains biographical notes of the first four Caliphs, Imāms and Sūfīs (p. 15).
1680, January 4	Mughuls occupy Deobari pass (p. 350).
1680, January 22	Mughul army under Hasan 'Āli Khān capture Udaipur and Chitor and defeats Mahārānā Rāj Singh (p. 239).
1680, April 4	Death of Shivājī (pp. 245, 270).
1680, April 21	Rājārām is proclaimed king and crowned at Rāigarh (p. 359).
1680, June 18	Shambhūjī wrests the Maratha throne from Rājārām, his younger brother (p. 281). Some give this date as July 20, 1680 (p. 360).
1680-1689	Shambhūjī, Maratha ruler (p. 359).
1680, October 22	Death of Mahārānā Rāj Singh of Mewār (p. 240).
1680-81	Shambhūjī plunders Khāndesh (p. 281).
1680-1698	Mahārānā Jay Singh (p. 352).
1681, January 1	Prince Akbar (s. of Aurangzīb) proclaims himself emperor of Delhi and marches against Aurangzīb, who is at Ajmer (p. 240).
1681, January 16	Shambhūjī's coronation takes place at Rāigarh (p. 360).
1681, January	Shambhūjī makes a lightening raid on Burhānpur (p. 361).

1681, February	Mewār army under Dayāl Dās is defeated by Prince A'zam (p. 353).
1681, June 14	The Rānā of Mewār, Jay Singh, concludes peace with Prince Muhammad A'zam and Mewār is restored to Jay Singh, who cedes some territories to the Mughuls (pp. 241, 353).
1681. November 13	Aurangzīb reaches Burhānpur in pursuit of his son, Prince Akbar (p. 241).
1681	Gadādhar Singh, the Āhom king, wrests Gauhati from the Mughuls and thus Kāmrup is finally lost to the Mughuls (p. 229).
1681	Shambhūjī attempts seizure of Ahmadnagar (p. 281).
1681	Shambhūjī arrives with a large force opposite Janjira of Siddis (p. 362).
1681	The conspirators on the life of Shambhūjī are put to death by Shambhūjī (p. 360).
1681	Prince Akbar (s. of Aurangzīb) seeks asylum with Shambhūjī (p. 362).
1681	William Hedges is appointed director for Hooghly Agency of East India Co. (p. 517).
1681	Jahanārā Begam writes *Munīs-ul-Arwāh* (p. 14).
1681-1707	Mārwār asserts independence and fights Mughul imperalism (pp. 290, 355).
1682, January	The Mughuls capture Kalian (p. 362).
1682, March 22	Aurangzīb arrives at Aurangābād in pursuit of his son Prince Akbar (p. 241).
1682, October 4	Shambhūjī's fleet is defeated by the Siddis of Janjirā (p. 363).
1682, November 14	Shambhūji captures the Portuguese island of Santo Estevao near Goa (p. 363).
1682	Aurangzīb sends an expeditionary force against the Marāthās under the command of Prince A'zam (p. 284).
1682	The English get permission from the ruler of Gingee to settle and trade at Port Novo and Cuddalore (p. 520).
1682-1690	Sir John Child, governor of Bombay (p. 514).
1683, June	Aurangzīb recalls his son A'zam from his Deccan campaign (p. 284).
1683, November	Prince Akbar is dissuaded from leaving for Persia by Durgā Dās and Kavi Kalash on behalf of Shambhūjī with promise of help in securing Delhi throne to Prince Akbar (p. 282).
1683	Aurangzīb launches fresh campaign against Shambhūjī (p. 282).
1684, January 5	Mughul forces under Prince Shah 'Ālam join the Portuguese near Goa to oust Shambhūjī's forces (p. 363).

1684, January 20	Peace is concluded between the Portuguese and the Marāthās (p. 363).
1684, May 18	Prince Akbar reaches Ahmadnagar after a fruitless campaign on the west coast (pp. 282, 283).
1684, May	Mughuls capture Mangalvide and Sangola (pp. 284, 462).
1684	Gangā Rām Nāgar rises in rebellion against the Mughuls in Bihar (pp. 292, 293).
1685, April 1	The Mughuls besiege Bijāpur (pp. 284, 462).
1685, June 14	Prince A‘zam reaches Bijāpur with a large army and takes over Mughul command (p. 284).
1685, July	Aurangzīb sends an army under Shah ‘Ālam to attack Hyderabad (pp. 286, 478).
1685	Pahār Singh, a Gaur Rajput, rises in rebellion against the Mughuls (p. 292).
1686, September 12	Sikandar Sultān of Bijapur submits to Aurangzīb at Rasulpur (pp. 285, 463).
1686, October	The English East India Co. rises in arms against the Mughuls (p. 293).
1686	The local agency at Hooghly gets permission from the East India Co., to wage war against the Mughuls (p. 517).
1686	A severe famine visits the Deccan (p. 735)
1687, February 7	The Mughul army lays siege to Golconda (p. 286).
1687, February	Frustrated Prince Akbar, son of Aurangzīb, leaves for Persia (p. 355).
1687,	Golconda is annexed to Mughul empire and Abu-'l Hasan, the last Qutb Shāhī ruler, becomes a captive (pp. 287, 479).
1687	Rājārām, the Jāt leader, kills Uighur Khān, the Mughul commander, in an engagement (p. 291).
1687	Durgā Dās returns to Mārwār from the Deccan (pp. 290, 355).
1687	Rājārām, the Jāt leader, sacks the tomb of Emperor Akbar at Sikandrā and makes a bonfire of his bones (p. 291).
1687	Raghunātha Tarkavāgīśa writes his *Āgamatattvavilāsa* (p. 639).
1688, July	Rājārām, the Jāt leader, is killed in an encounter with the Shekhavat and Chauhan clans of Rajputs (pp. 29, 374).
1689, February, 1	Shambhūjī is captured at Sangameshwar by a Mughul officer, Muqarrab Khān (p. 288).
1689, February 8	Rājārām, younger brother of Shambhūjī, is raised to the Marāthā throne after capture of Shambhūjī (p. 289).

1689, March 11	Shambhūjī and Kavi Kalash, under orders of Aurangzīb, are put to a painful and cruel death (p. 289).
1689, October 19	Rāigarh is captured by the Mughuls and Shambhūjī’s son Shāhū, is taken a prisoner (p. 289).
1689, November 1	Rājārām, the Marāthā king, reaches Gingee (p. 289).
1689	Aurangzīb becomes the unrivalled lord paramount of Northern India and the Deccan (p. 289).
1690, May 25	The Marāthās capture Mughul general Sharza Khān near Sātāra (p. 295).
1690, August 24	Job Charnock, the English Agent settles at a place now known as Calcutta (p. 293).
1690, September	Zu-’l-Fiqār Khān, a Mughul commander besieges Gingee (p. 294).
1690	Aurangzīb receives embassy from Constantinople (p. 225).
1690	The Jāt’s stronghold Sinsanī submits to Mughuls (pp. 291, 375).
1690	The Mughuls and the East India Co. come to terms (p. 293).
1690	The Marāthās wrest from the Mughuls Pratāpgarh, Rohirā, Rājgarh and Tornā (p. 295).
1690	Mahārānā Jay Singh enters into a new arrangement with the Mughuls (p. 354).
1690	Durgā Dās inflicts defeat on the Mughul governor of Ajmer (p. 356).
1692	The Gaur Rajputs accept service under Mughuls and thus the risings in western Bundelkhand are subdued (p. 292).
1692	The Marathas wrest Panhālā from the Mughuls (p. 295).
1693	Ajit Singh, aided by Durgā Dās, creates disturbance for Mughuls in Mārwār (p. 356).
1695, March	Aurangzīb deprives Hindus of the use of palanquins, elephants, good horses and arms (pp. 235, 236).
1695, May	Aurangzīb establishes his headquarters at Brahmapuri to deal with the Marāthās (p. 296).
1695	Santā, the Marāthā general, defeats the Mughul general Qāsim Khān and puts the Mughul army to rout (p. 295).
1695	Gemelli Careri, the Italian physician, calls on Aurangzīb (p. 300).
1695	Thevenot and Careri travel in India (p. 22).
1695-1721	Churāman, the Jāt leader (p. 375).

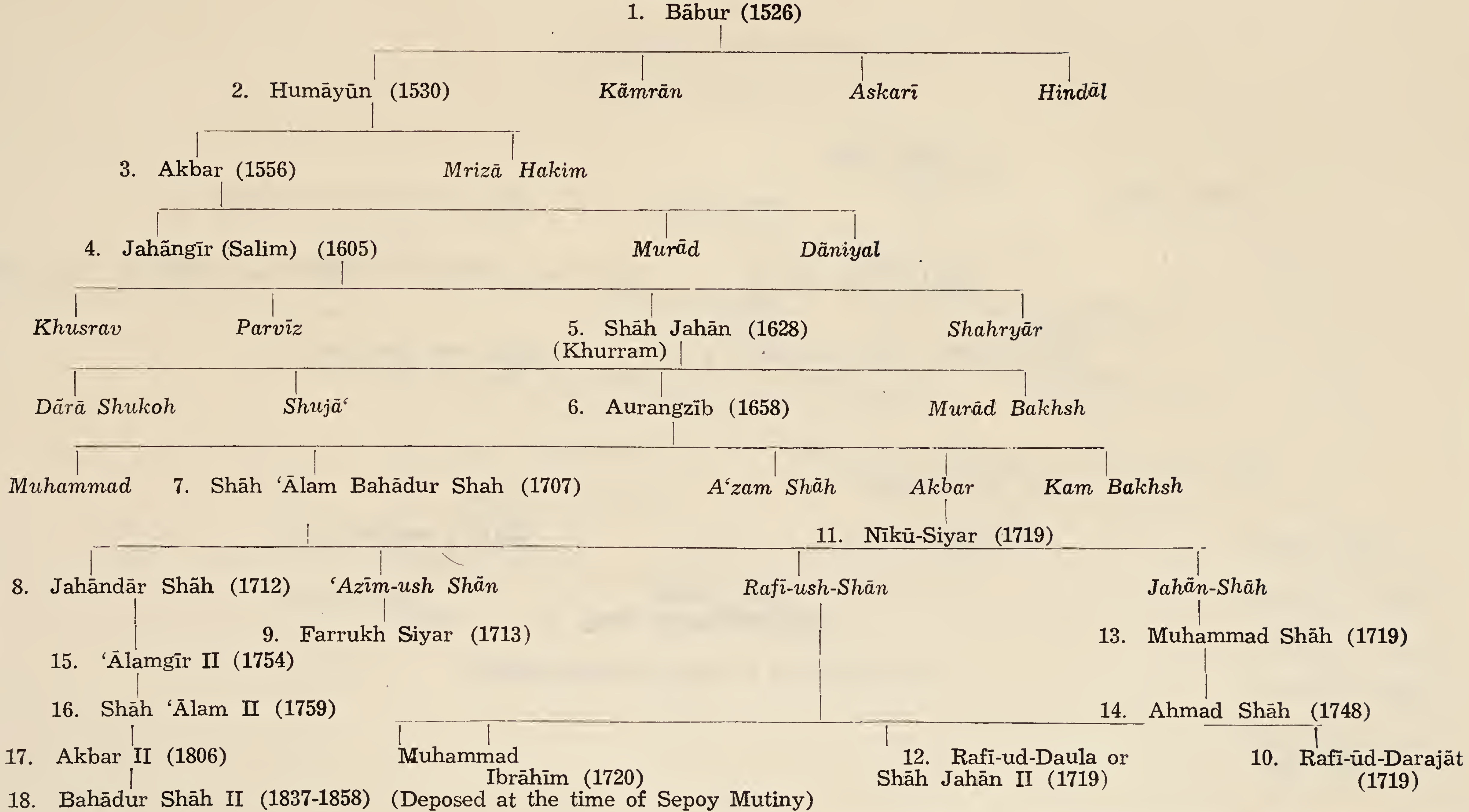
1696, May	Rājārām and Dhanā attack Santā near Conjeevaram in which the ruler and his general are defeated (p. 296).
1696	Safīyat-un-nisā, grand-daughter of Aurangzīb, is delivered to the Emperor (p. 290).
1696	The Marāthā general Santā defeats and slays Mughul general Himmat Khān and plunders his baggage (p. 295).
1696	Dhanā(jī), the Marāthā commander, is wounded in a fight between him and Santā(jī) (p. 369)
1696-1714	Rājā Rudra Simha of Heramba principality (Kachār) (p. 643).
1697, March	Santā and Dhanā, the two Maratha rival generals, fight with each other and Santa is defeated and flees (p. 296).
1697, June	Santā, the Marāthā general is murdered while taking his bath (p. 296).
1697	The Mughul governor of Bengal permits the European settlers to defend themselves against any aggression by the rebellious Afghāns (p. 517).
1698, January	The Mughuls capture Gingee (p. 295).
1698, October 9	Mahārānā Jay Singh passes away (p. 354).
1698	Durgā Dās agrees to surrender Prince Akbar's son Buland Akhtar to Aurangzīb in consideration of restoring the *paraganās* of Jhālor, Sānchor and Siwānā to Ajit Singh, Mahārānā, and restoration of his own *jāgīr* and a *manṣab* in the imperial army (pp. 290, 357).
1698	Rājārām shifts his seat of government from Rāigarh to Sātārā (p. 369).
1698-1709	Thomas Pitt, governor of Madras (p. 521).
1699, March 30	Govind Singh, the Sikh Guru makes a stimulating oration and creates Khalsa (pp. 318, 319).
1699	Rājārām, the Marāthā ruler, is attacked by Bīdar Bakht, a Mughul general, and Rājārām is defeated near Parenda (p. 296).
1699	Chhatra Sāl Bundelā receives temporary setback in his raids on Mughul territories (p. 380).
1700, March 2	Rājārām, the Marāthā ruler, passes away (pp. 296, 370).
1700, April 3	Sikandar Sultān, the ex-ruler of Bijāpur, dies in captivity of the Mughuls (pp. 285, 463).
1700, April 21	Sātārā falls to Aurangzīb (p. 297).

1700, June	Mughuls capture Parlī (p. 297).
1700	The Director of the East India Co. constitutes Bengal into a separate Presidency and appoint Sir Charles Eyre as the first President (p. 517).
1701, May	Panhālā is captured by Mughuls (by bribery) (p. 297).
1701	The Rājā of Deogarh in Gondwana rises in rebellion against the Mughuls (p. 293).
1702, June	Khelnā (Vishālgarh) is captured by the Mughuls (p. 296).
1702-1704	Plague visits the Deccan (p. 298).
1703, April	Kondhānā falls to Mughuls (p. 297).
1704, December 22	The Mughul army besieges the camp of Gurū Govind Singh but the Gurū escapes (p. 321).
1704, December 27	The two sons of Gurū Govind Singh, Zorāwar Singh and Fateh Singh, are bricked up alive in the fort wall and then beheaded under orders of Aurangzīb (p. 321).
1704	The Mughul army, under orders from Aurangzīb, raids Ānandpur (p. 320).
1704	Aurangzīb concludes peace with Ajit Singh of Mārwār (p. 290).
1704	Churāman, a Jāt leader, wrests Sinsanī from Mughuls only to lose again in October 1705 (p. 292).
1705	Durgā Dās submits to Aurangzīb and is granted his old *mansab* and post in Gujarāt (p. 291, 358).
1705	Mughuls wrest Sinsānī (p. 292).
1705	Aurangzib returns to Ahmadnagar from his Deccan campaign (p. 297).
1706, January 21	Aurangzīb and Chhatra Sāl Bundelā come to terms (p. 380).
1706	Mārwār raises the standard of rebellion against Aurangzīb (p. 291).
1706	The Marāthās raid Gurajāt but are driven back (p. 298).
1706-1732	Vijayaranga Chokkanātha Nāyaka, ruler of Madurā (p. 597).
1707, March 3	Aurangzīb, the Mughul Emperor, breathes his last at Ahmadnagar (pp. 298, 358).
1707, August	Govind Singh, the Sikh Gurū, comes to Nander(d) (p. 322).
1707	Ajit Singh captures Jodhpur (p. 291).

1707	Chhatra Sāl of Bundelkhand resumes activities for the establishment of an independent kingdom after severing connections with the Mughuls (p. 292).
1707	Lāl Kavi writes his *Chhatraprakāśa* (an epic biography of Chhatrasāl, Rājā of Bundelkhand) (p. 568).
1708, August	Govind Singh, the Sikh Gurū, is stabbed by two Pathan boys (pp. 237, 322, 323).
1708, October 7	Govind Singh, the Sikh Gurū, immolates himself before a congregation (p. 323, 326).
1710, May 12	Vazīr Khān of Sirhind passes away; the Khālsā set themselves as rulers. (p. 324).
1739	The Marāthās wrest Bassein from the Portuguese. (p. 509).
1740-1756	Ālivardi Khān of Bengal. (p. 362).
1746	The French, under La Bourdonnais, capture Madras. (p. 516).
1754	The tomb of Safdar Jang is built at Delhi. (p. 801).
1780	Shāh Nawāz Khān completes his *Maāsir-ul-Umrā* (p. 12).
1787-88	Gulām Husain Salīm wrties his *Riyāz-us-Salātīn*. (p. 11).

Genealogy

Mughul Dynasty

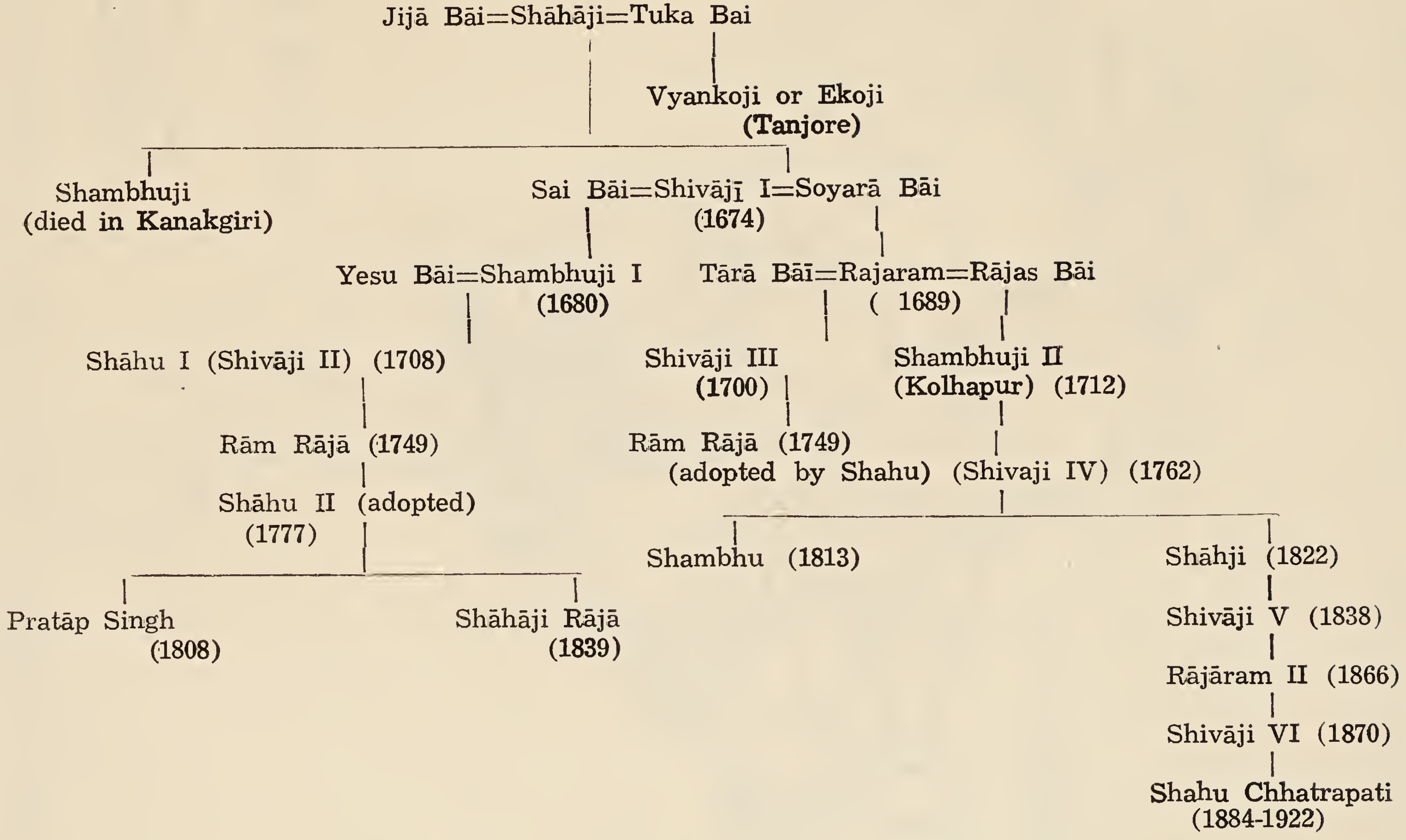

1. Bābur (1526)
2. Humāyūn (1530)
Kāmrān
Askarī
Hindāl
3. Akbar (1556)
Mrizā Hakim
4. Jahāngīr (Salim) (1605)
Murād
Dāniyal
Khusrav
Parvīz
5. Shāh Jahān (1628) (Khurram)
Shahryār
Dārā Shukoh
Shujā‘
6. Aurangzīb (1658)
Murād Bakhsh
Muhammad
7. Shāh ‘Ālam Bahādur Shah (1707)
A‘zam Shāh
Akbar
Kam Bakhsh
11. Nīkū-Siyar (1719)
8. Jahāndār Shāh (1712)
‘Azīm-ush Shān
Rafī-ush-Shān
Jahān-Shāh
9. Farrukh Siyar (1713)
13. Muhammad Shāh (1719)
15. ‘Ālamgīr II (1754)
16. Shāh ‘Ālam II (1759)
14. Ahmad Shāh (1748)
17. Akbar II (1806)
18. Bahādur Shāh II (1837-1858) (Deposed at the time of Sepoy Mutiny)
Muhammad
Ibrāhīm (1720)
12. Rafī-ud-Daula or Shāh Jahān II (1719)
10. Rafī-ūd-Darajāt (1719)

11. Nīkūsiyar son of Akbar, was declared Emperor, but did not reign.

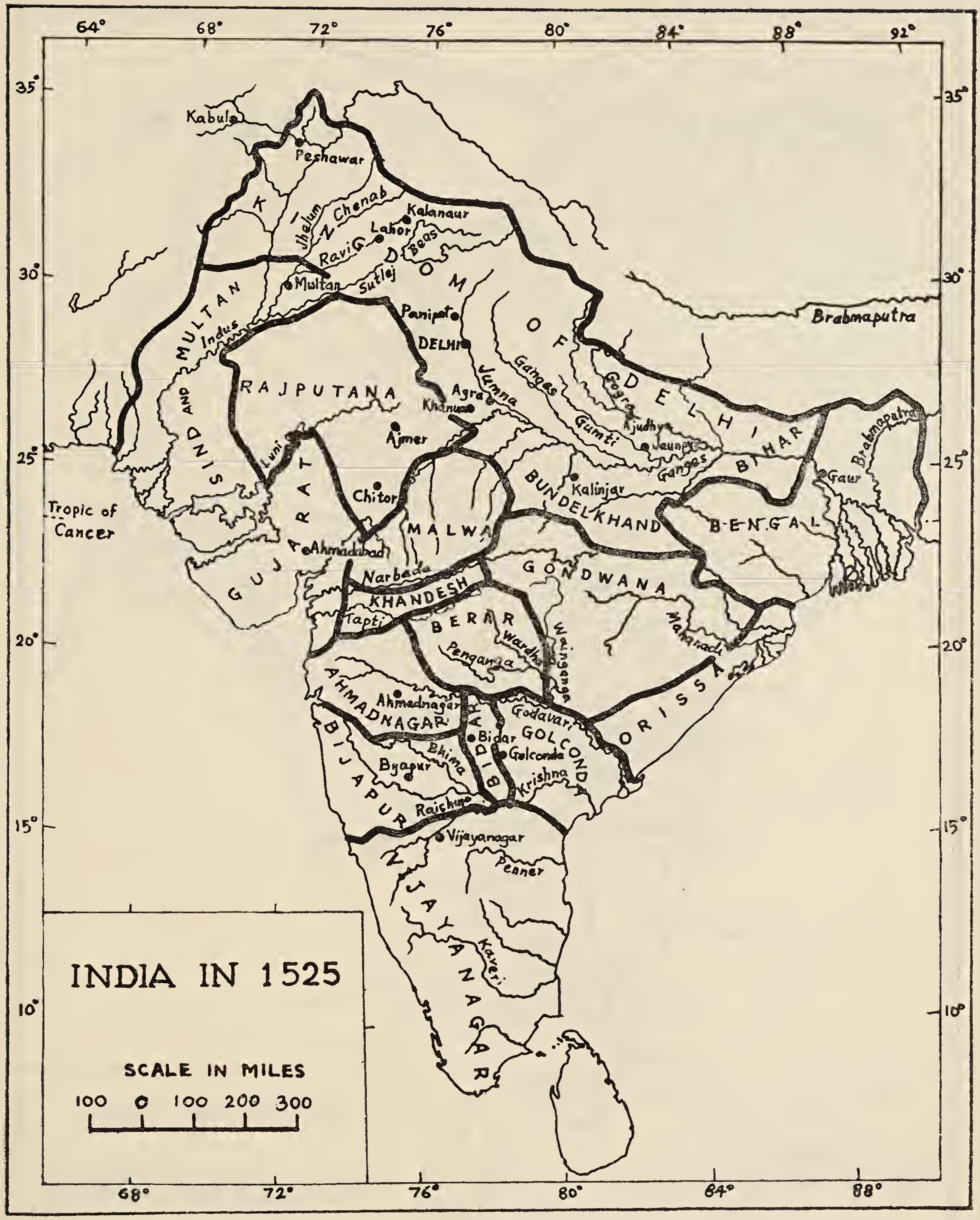
Genealogical Table of the Peshwas

- **1. Balaji Vishvanath (1713)**
  - 2. Baji Rao I (1720)
    - 3. Balaji Baji Rao (1740)
      - *Visvas Rao*
      - 4. Madhav Rao (1761)
      - 5. Narayan Rao (1772)
        - 7. Madhav Rao Narayan (1774)
    - 6. Raghunath Rao (Raghoba 1773)
      - *Amrit Rao*
      - 8. Baji Rao II (1796)
        - *Nana Sahib*
      - *Chimaji Appa*
  - *Chimaji Appa*
    - *Sadashiv Rao Bhao*

BHOSLES (CHHATRAPATI)


Jijā Bāi=Shāhāji=Tuka Bai
Vyankoji or Ekoji
(Tanjore)
Shambhuji
(died in Kanakgiri)
Sai Bāi=Shivājī I=Soyarā Bāi
(1674)
Yesu Bāi=Shambhuji I
(1680)
Tārā Bāī=Rajaram=Rājas Bāi
(1689)
Shāhu I (Shivāji II) (1708)
Shivāji III
(1700)
Shambhuji II
(Kolhapur) (1712)
Rām Rājā (1749)
Rām Rājā (1749)
(adopted by Shahu)
(Shivaji IV) (1762)
Shāhu II (adopted)
(1777)
Shambhu (1813)
Shāhji (1822)
Pratāp Singh
(1808)
Shāhāji Rājā
(1839)
Shivāji V (1838)
Rājāram II (1866)
Shivāji VI (1870)
Shahu Chhatrapati
(1884-1922)

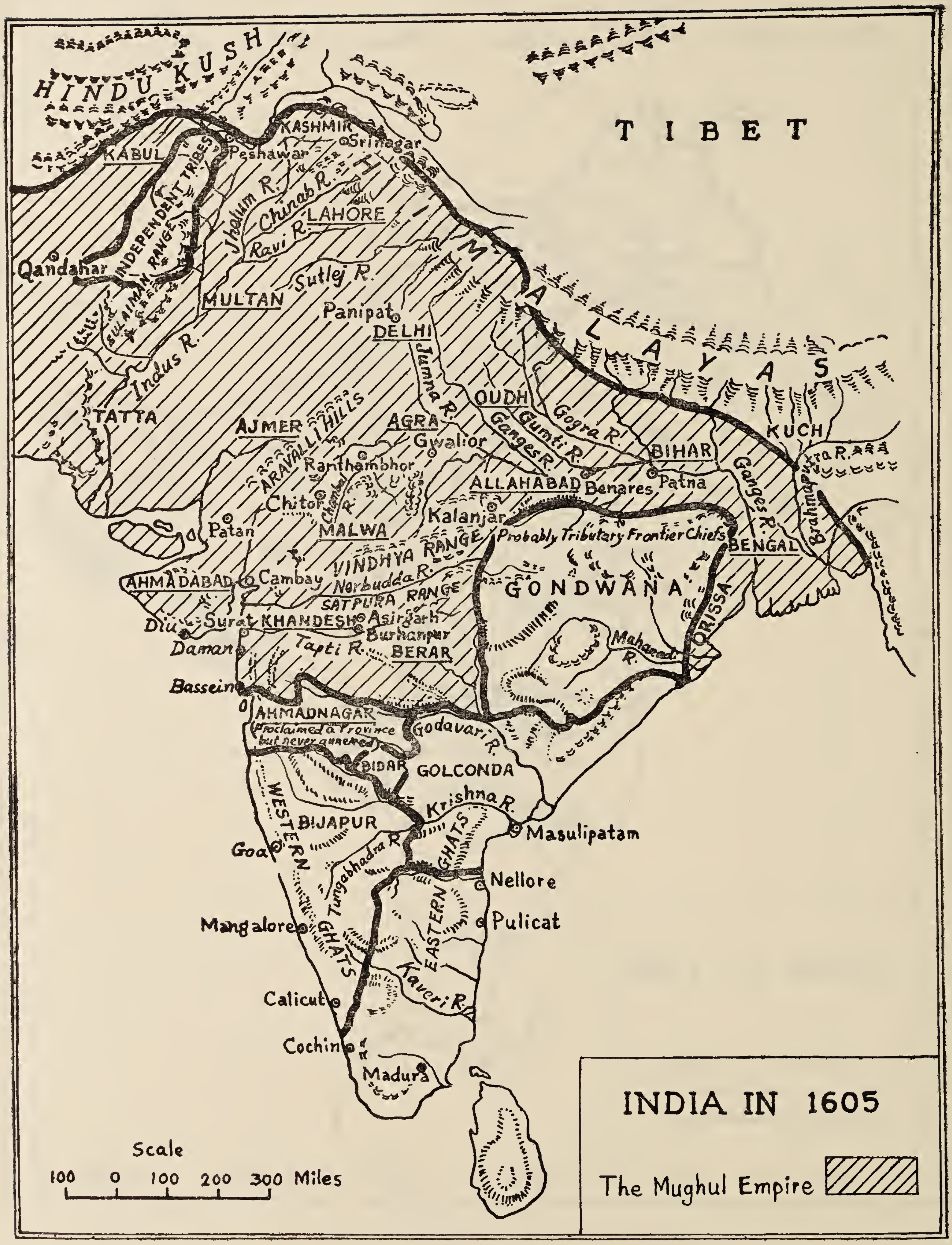
MAP I



INDIA IN 1525

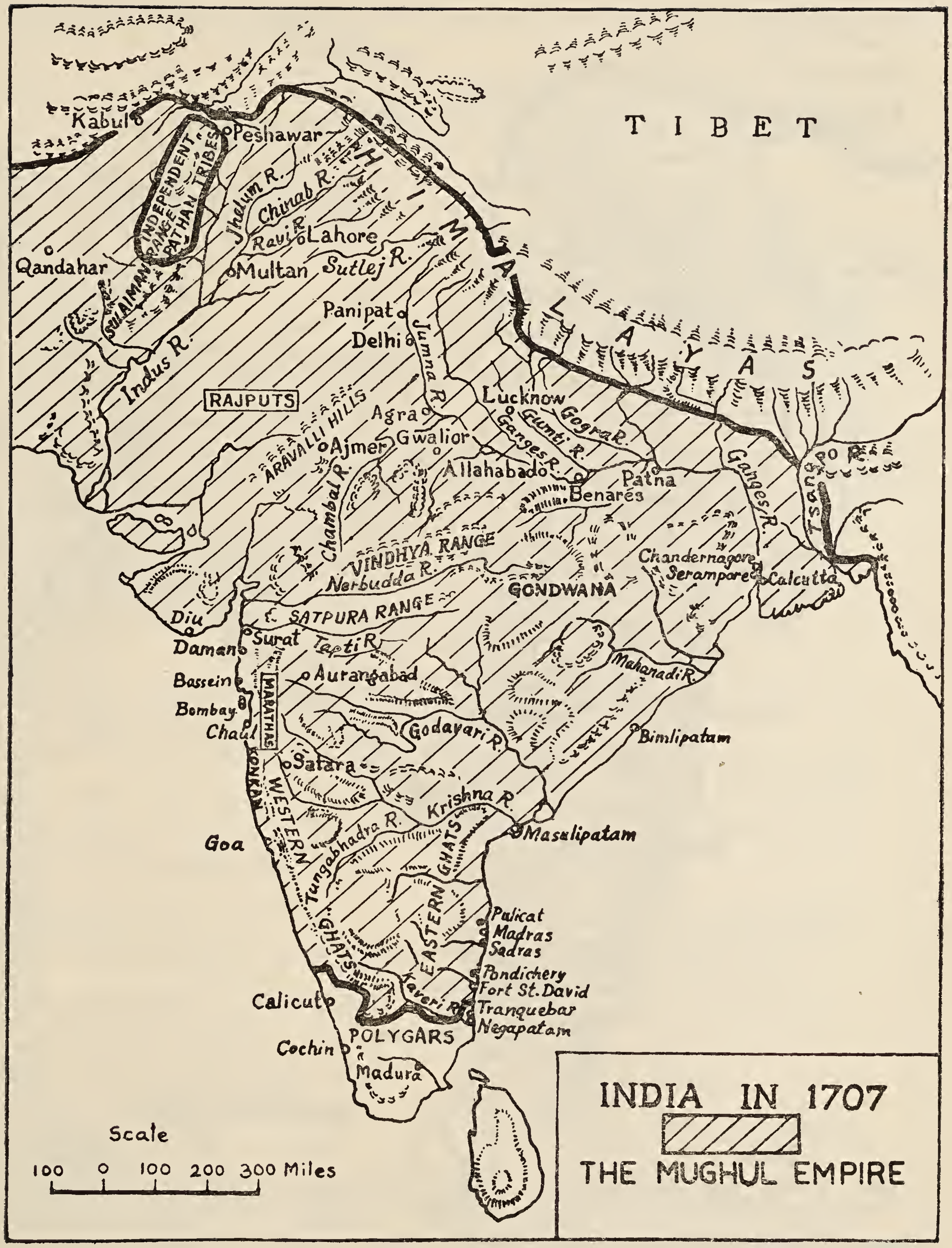
SCALE IN MILES
100 0 100 200 300
64°
68°
72°
76°
80°
84°
88°
92°
35°
30°
25°
20°
15°
10°
Kabul
Peshawar
K
I
N
G
D
O
M
O
F
D
E
L
H
I
Jhelum
Chenab
Kalanaur
Lahor
Beas
Ravi
Sutlej
Multan
MULTAN
Indus
Panipat
DELHI
SIND AND SIND
RAJPUTANA
Agra
Khanua
Jumna
Ganges
Gogra
Gumti
Ajudhya
Jaunpur
Ganges
BIHAR
Brahmaputra
Brahmaputra
Gaur
BENGAL
Ajmer
Luni
GUJARAT
Chitor
Ahmadabad
Tropic of Cancer
MALWA
Kalinjar
BUNDELKHAND
GONDWANA
Narbada
KHANDESH
Tapti
BERAR
Wardha
Wainganga
Penganga
Mahanadi
ORISSA
Ahmadnagar
AHMADNAGAR
Godavari
BIDAR
Bidar
GOLCONDA
Golconda
Bhima
Byapur
BIJAPUR
Krishna
Raichur
Vijayanagar
Penner
VIJAYANAGAR
Kaveri

MAP II

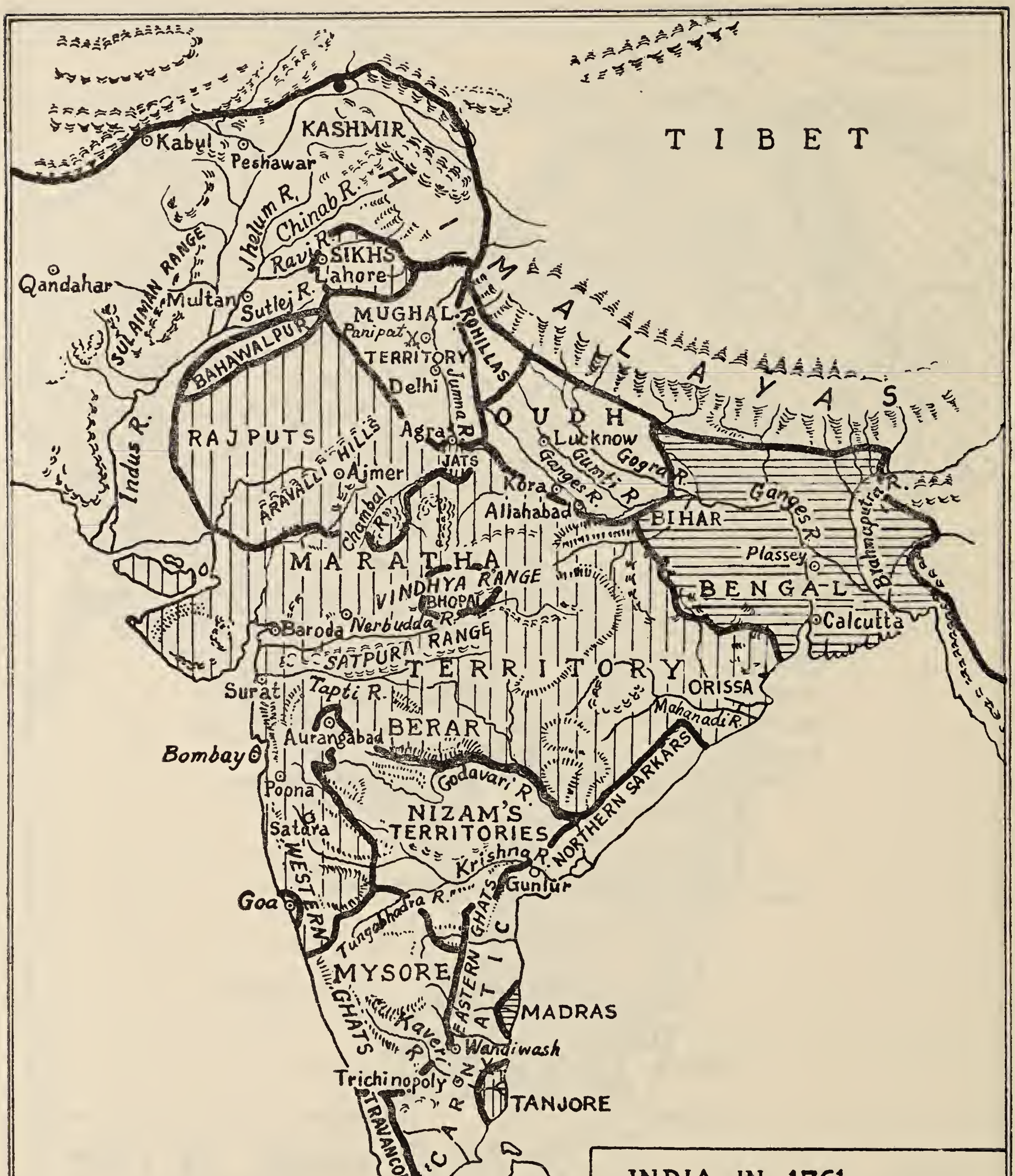

INDIA IN 1605

HINDU KUSH
TIBET
HIMALAYAS
KASHMIR
Srinagar
KABUL
Peshawar
INDEPENDENT TRIBES
Jhelum R.
Chinab R.
LAHORE
Ravi R.
Qandahar
SULAIMAN RANGE
MULTAN
Sutlej R.
Panipat
DELHI
Indus R.
TATTA
Jumna R.
OUDH
Gumti R.
Gogra R.
Ganges R.
AJMER
ARAVALLI HILLS
AGRA
Gwalior
Ranthambhor
Chambal R.
Chitor
ALLAHABAD
Benares
Patna
BIHAR
KUCH
Brahmaputra R.
Ganges R.
BENGAL
Kalanjar
Probably Tributary Frontier Chiefs
Patan
MALWA
VINDHYA RANGE
GONDWANA
ORISSA
AHMADABAD
Cambay
Norbudda R.
SATPURA RANGE
Diu
Surat
KHANDESH
Asirgarh
Burhanpur
Daman
Tapti R.
BERAR
Mahanadi R.
Bassein
AHMADNAGAR
Proclaimed a Province but never annexed
Godavari R.
BIDAR
GOLCONDA
WESTERN GHATS
Krishna R.
BIJAPUR
Masulipatam
Goa
Tungabhadra R.
EASTERN GHATS
Nellore
Mangalore
Pulicat
Kaveri R.
Calicut
Cochin
Madura
Scale
100 0 100 200 300 Miles
The Mughul Empire

MAP III


TIBET
HIMALAYAS
Kabul
Peshawar
INDEPENDENT PATHAN TRIBES
RANGE
SULAIMAN
Qandahar
Jhelum R.
Chinab R.
Ravi R.
Lahore
Multan
Sutlej R.
Indus R.
Panipat
Delhi
Jumna R.
RAJPUTS
ARAVALLI HILLS
Agra
Ajmer
Gwalior
Lucknow
Gumti R.
Gogra R.
Ganges R.
Allahabad
Benares
Patna
Ganges R.
Tsang Po R.
Chambal R.
VINDHYA RANGE
Nerbudda R.
GONDWANA
Chandernagore
Serampore
Calcutta
SATPURA RANGE
Diu
Daman
Surat
Tapti R.
Aurangabad
Bassein
Bombay
Chaul
MARATHAS
KONKAN
Mahanadi R.
Bimlipatam
Godavari R.
Satara
Krishna R.
Tungabhadra R.
WESTERN GHATS
EASTERN GHATS
Goa
Masulipatam
Pulicat
Madras
Sadras
Pondichery
Fort St. David
Tranquebar
Negapatam
Kaveri R.
Calicut
Cochin
POLYGARS
Madura
Scale
100 0 100 200 300 Miles
INDIA IN 1707
▨ THE MUGHUL EMPIRE

MAP IV


TIBET
KASHMIR
Kabul
Peshawar
HIMALAYAS
Jhelum R.
Chinab R.
Ravi R.
SIKHS
Lahore
Qandahar
SULAIMAN RANGE
Multan
Sutlej R.
BAHAWALPUR
MUGHAL TERRITORY
Panipat
ROHILLAS
Delhi
Jumna R.
OUDH
Lucknow
Gumti R.
Gogra R.
Ganges R.
Kora
Allahabad
Indus R.
RAJPUTS
ARAVALLI HILLS
Ajmer
Agra
JATS
Chambal R.
MARATHA TERRITORY
VINDHYA RANGE
BHOPAL
Nerbudda R.
Baroda
SATPURA RANGE
Surat
Tapti R.
BIHAR
Ganges R.
Plassey
BENGAL
Brahmaputra R.
Calcutta
ORISSA
Mahanadi R.
Aurangabad
BERAR
Bombay
Godavari R.
Poona
NIZAM'S TERRITORIES
Satara
NORTHERN SARKARS
Krishna R.
WESTERN GHATS
Goa
Guntur
Tungabhadra R.
EASTERN GHATS
CARNATIC
MYSORE
MADRAS
Kaveri R.
Wandiwash
Trichinopoly
TANJORE
TRAVANCORE
Scale
100 0 100 200 300 Miles
INDIA IN 1761
British
Hindu
Muslim

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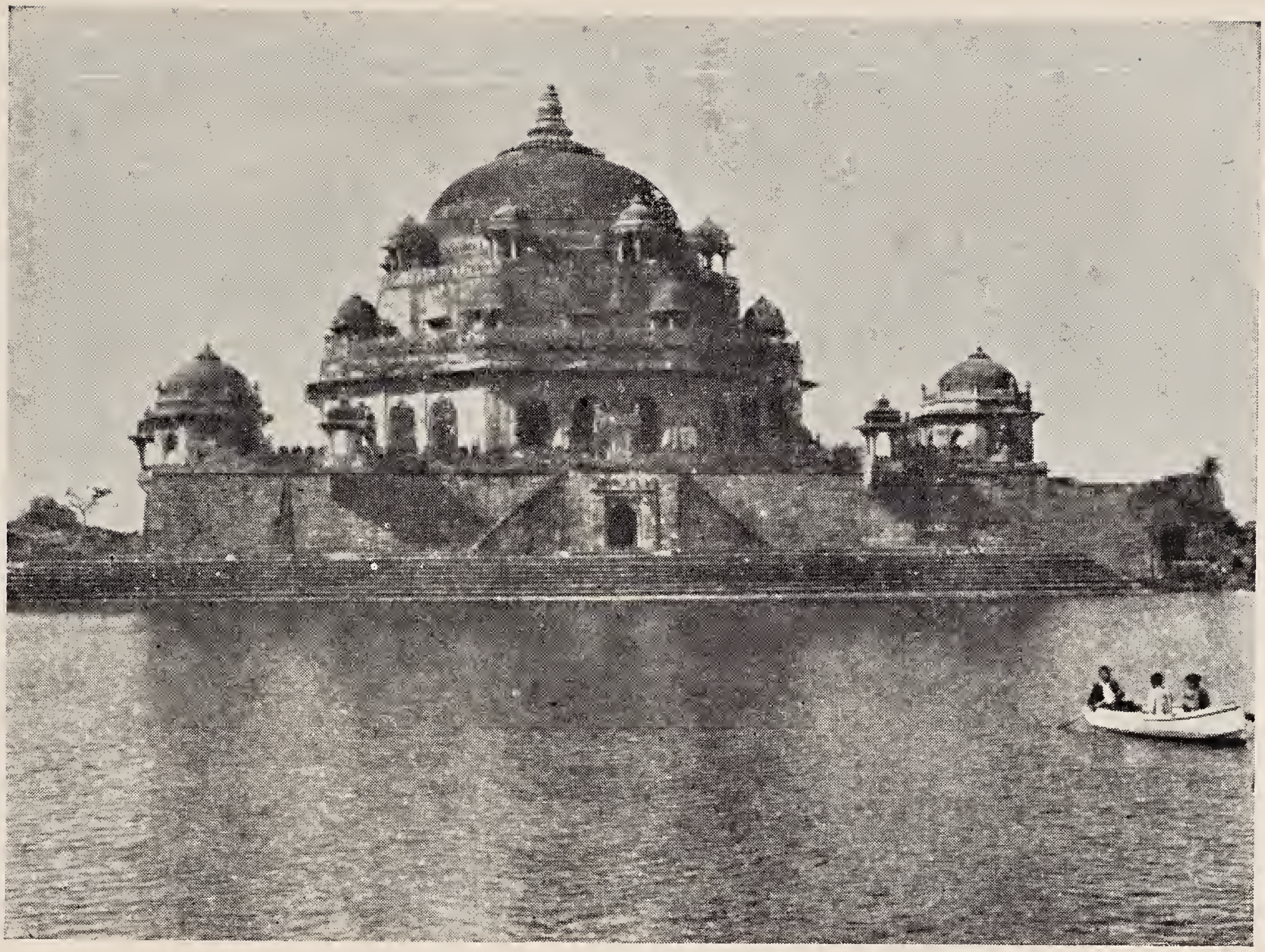


Plate 1. *Sasaram: Tomb of Sher Shah.* (pp. 744-45)

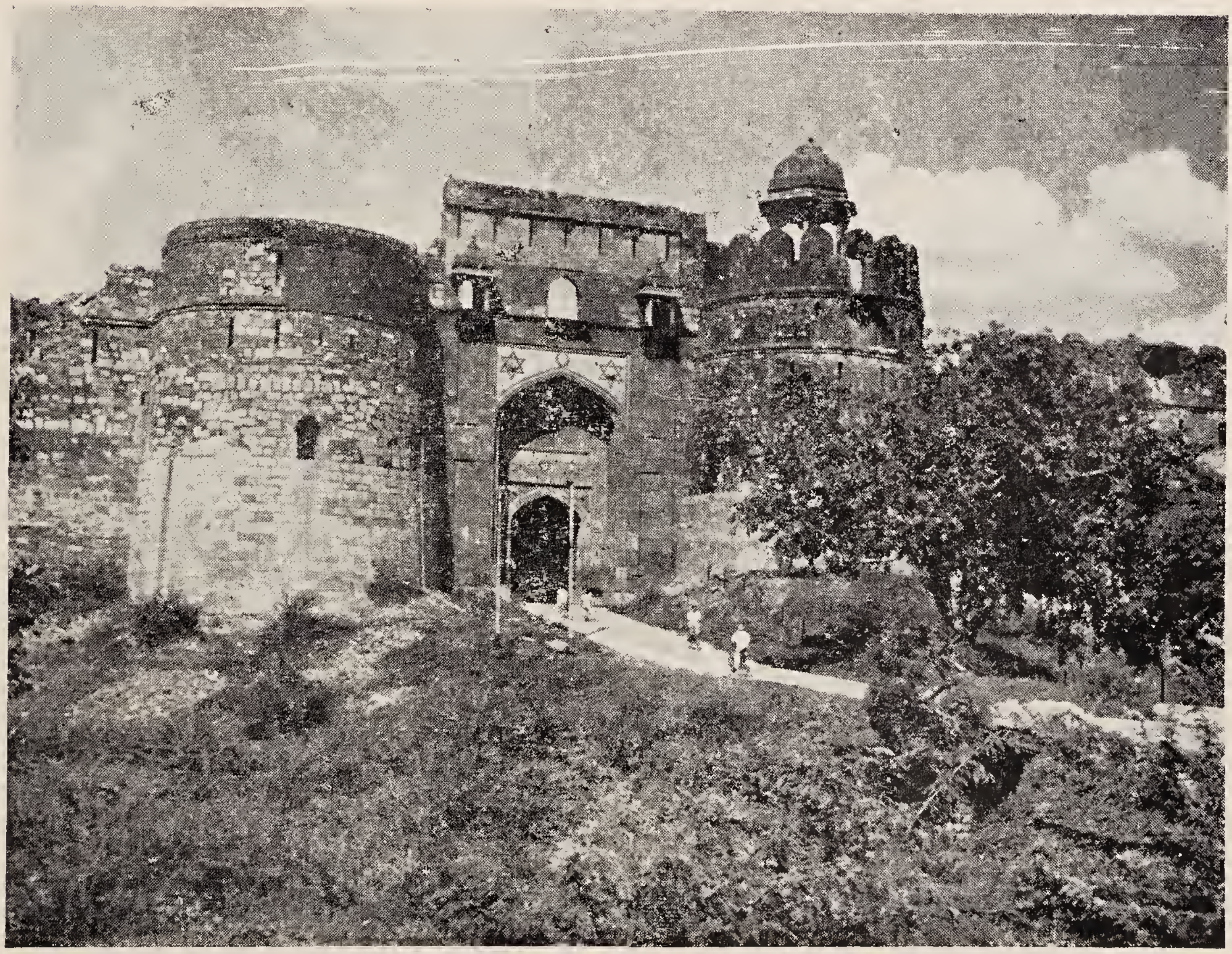
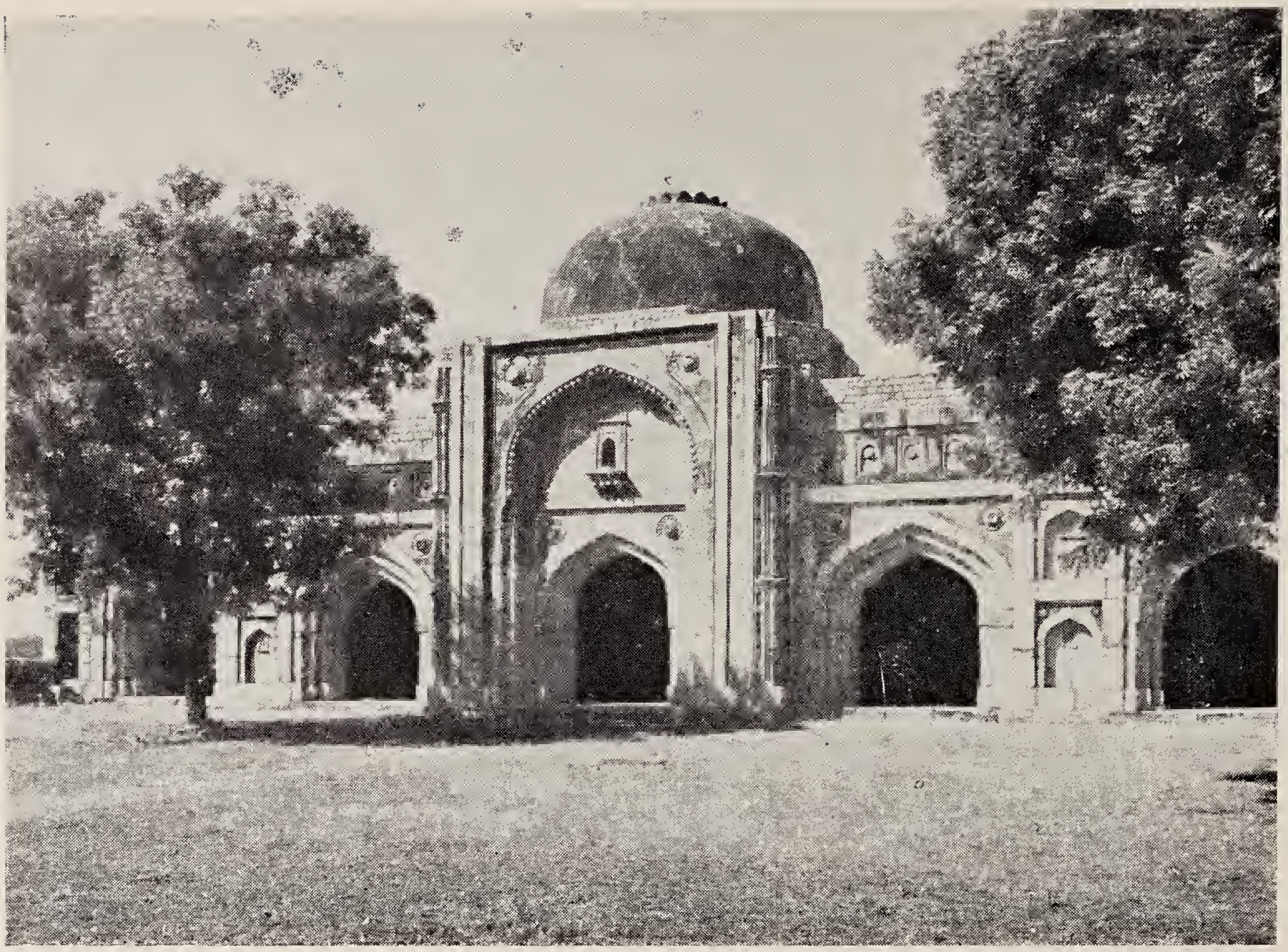


Plate 2. *Delhi, Purana Quila: Gateway.* (p. 746)



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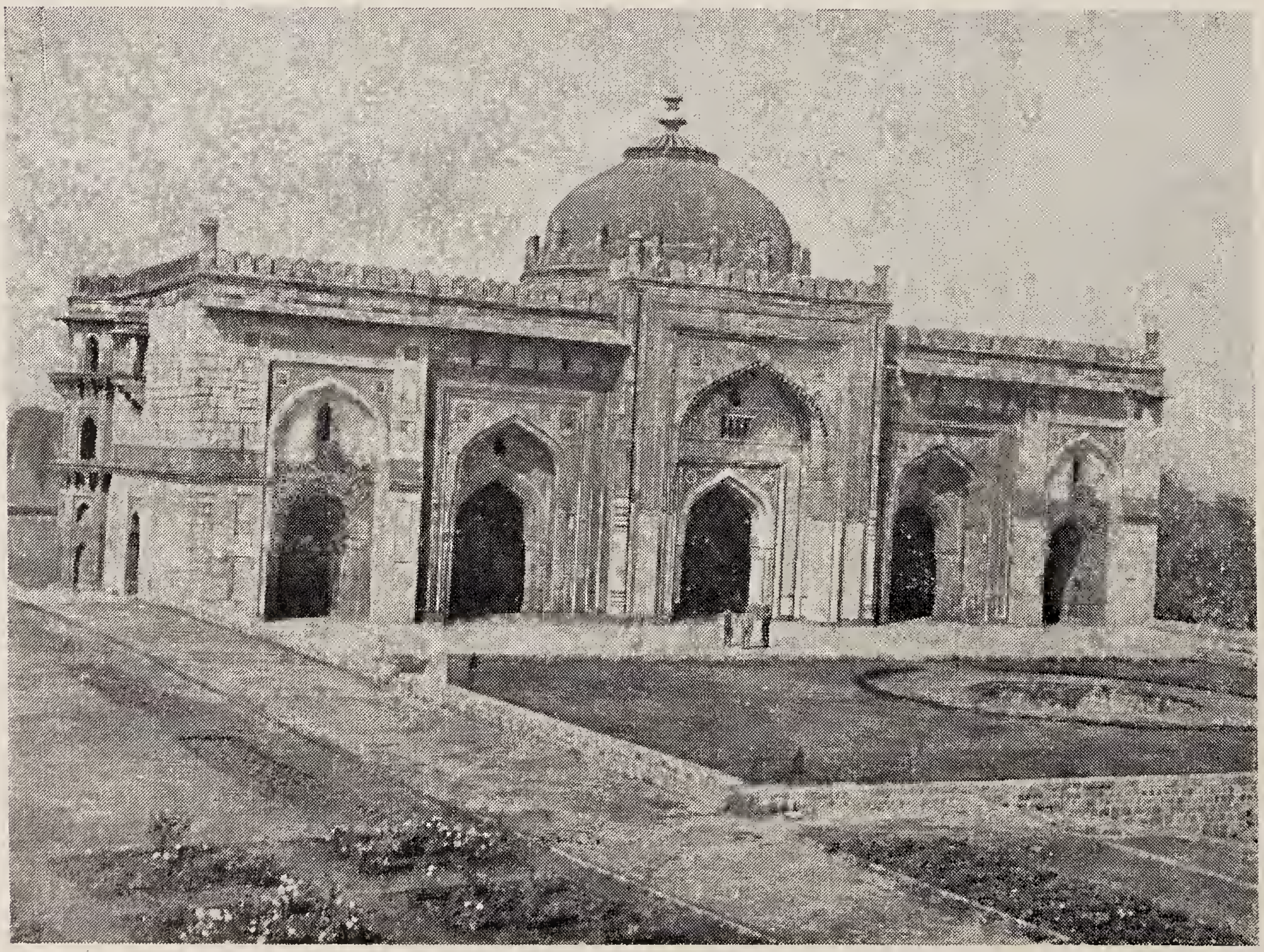

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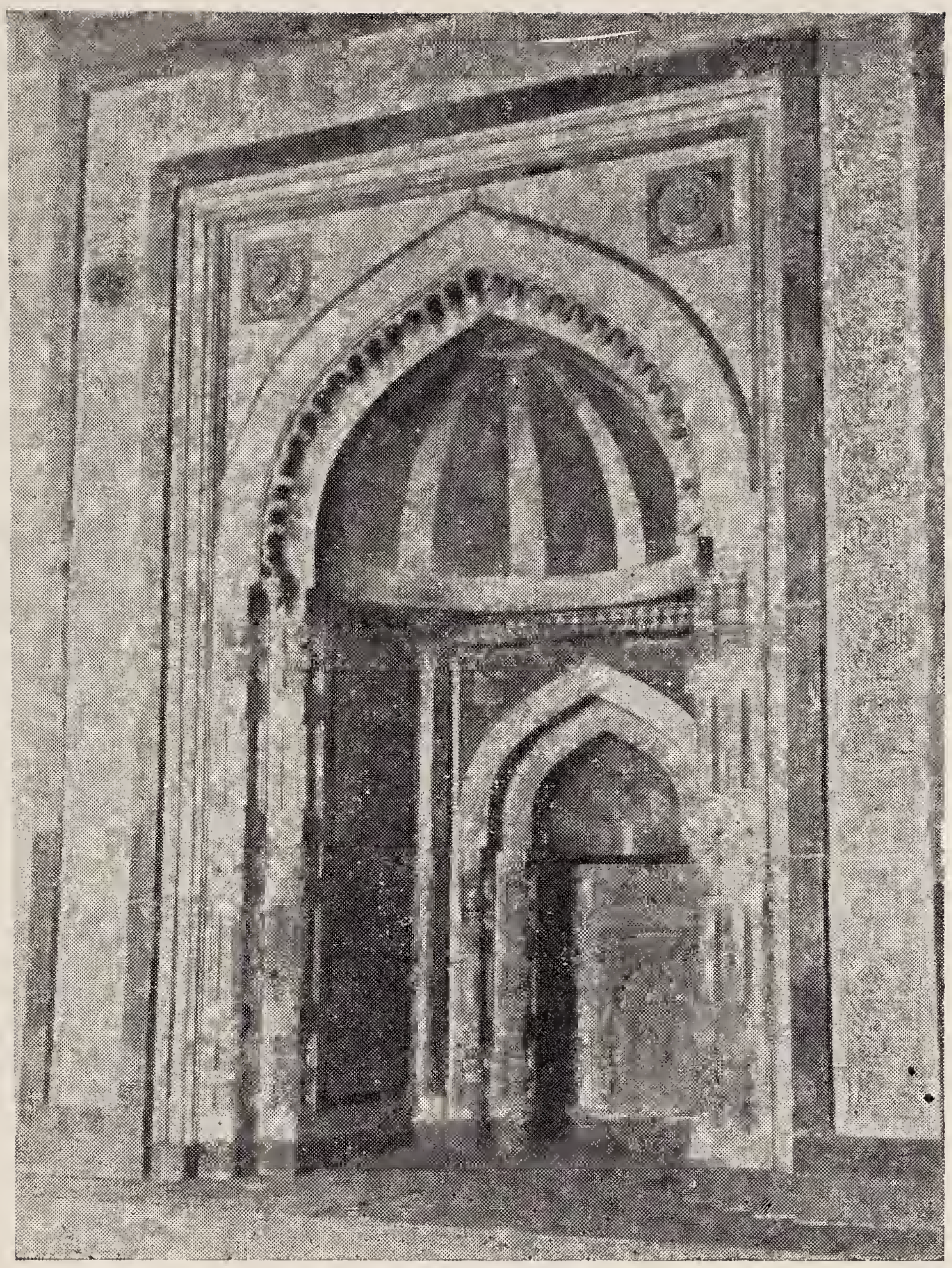

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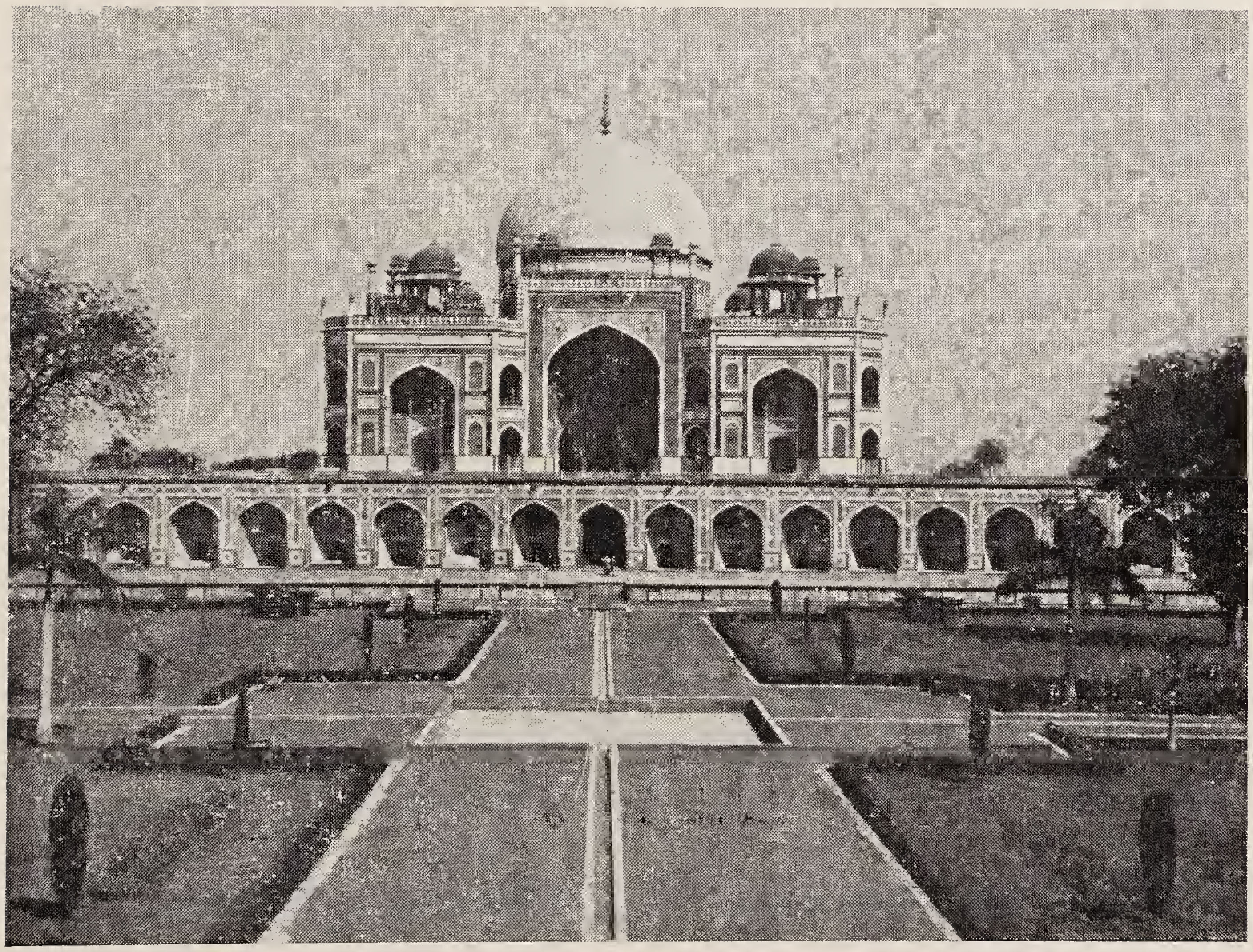

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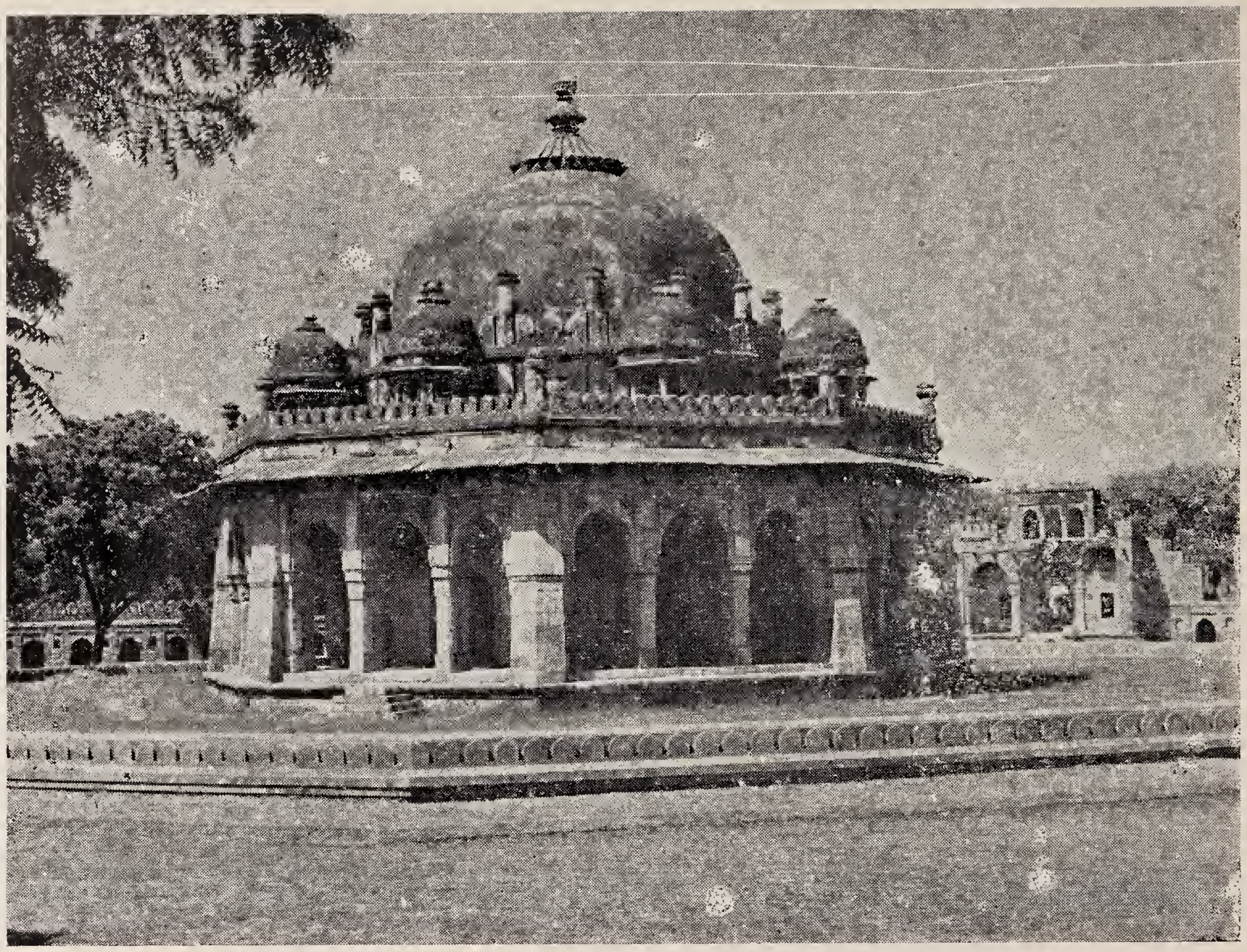

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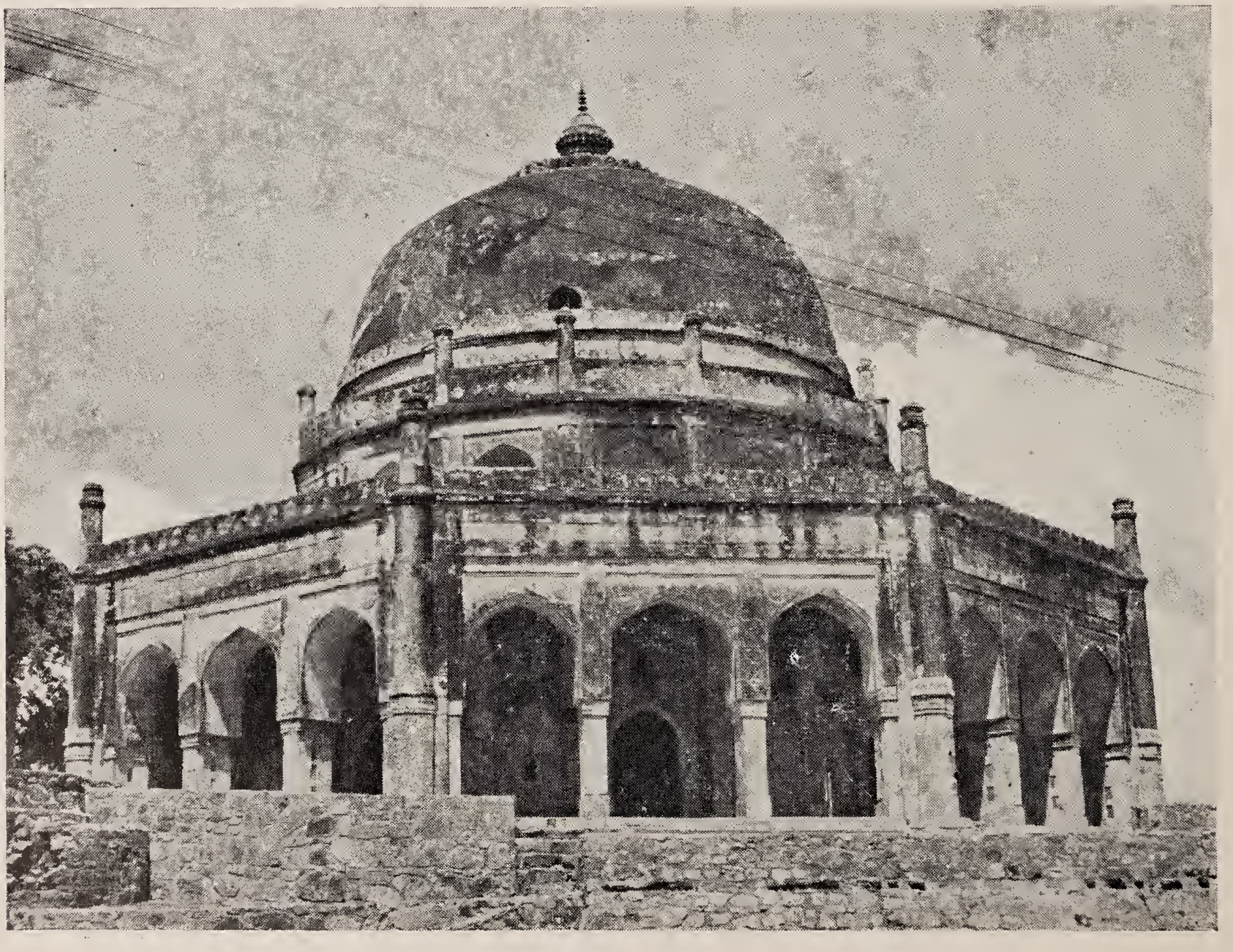

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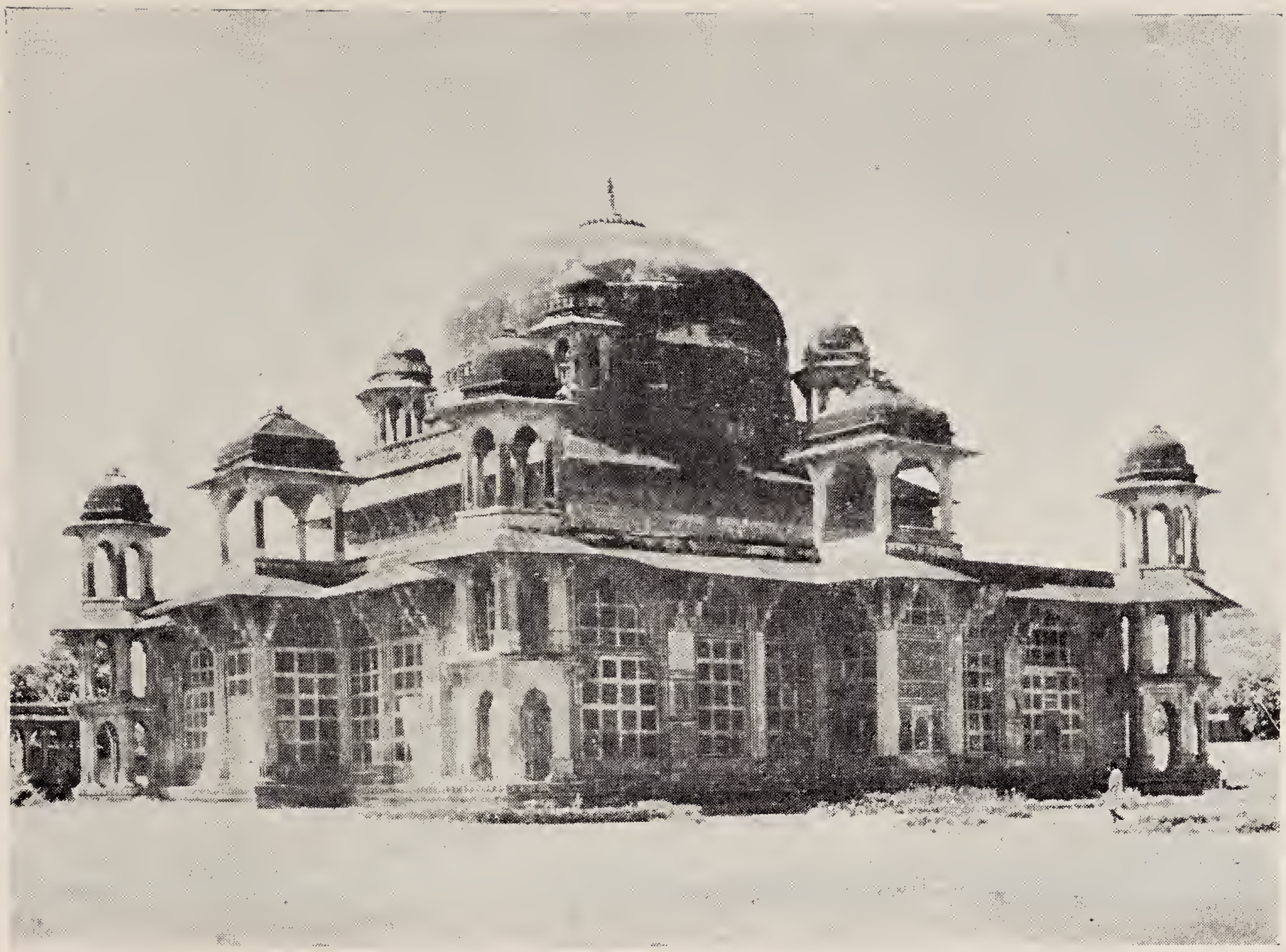

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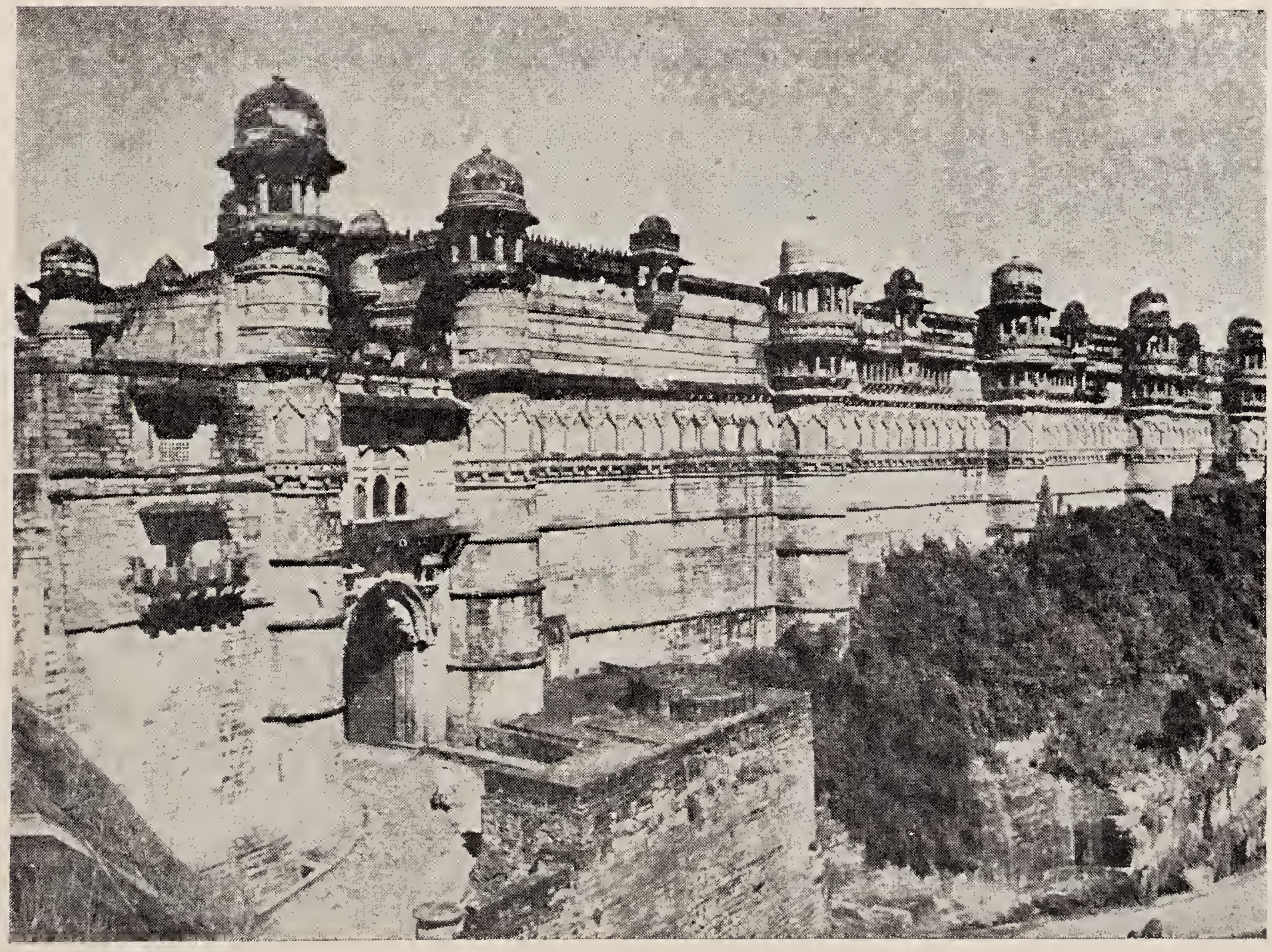

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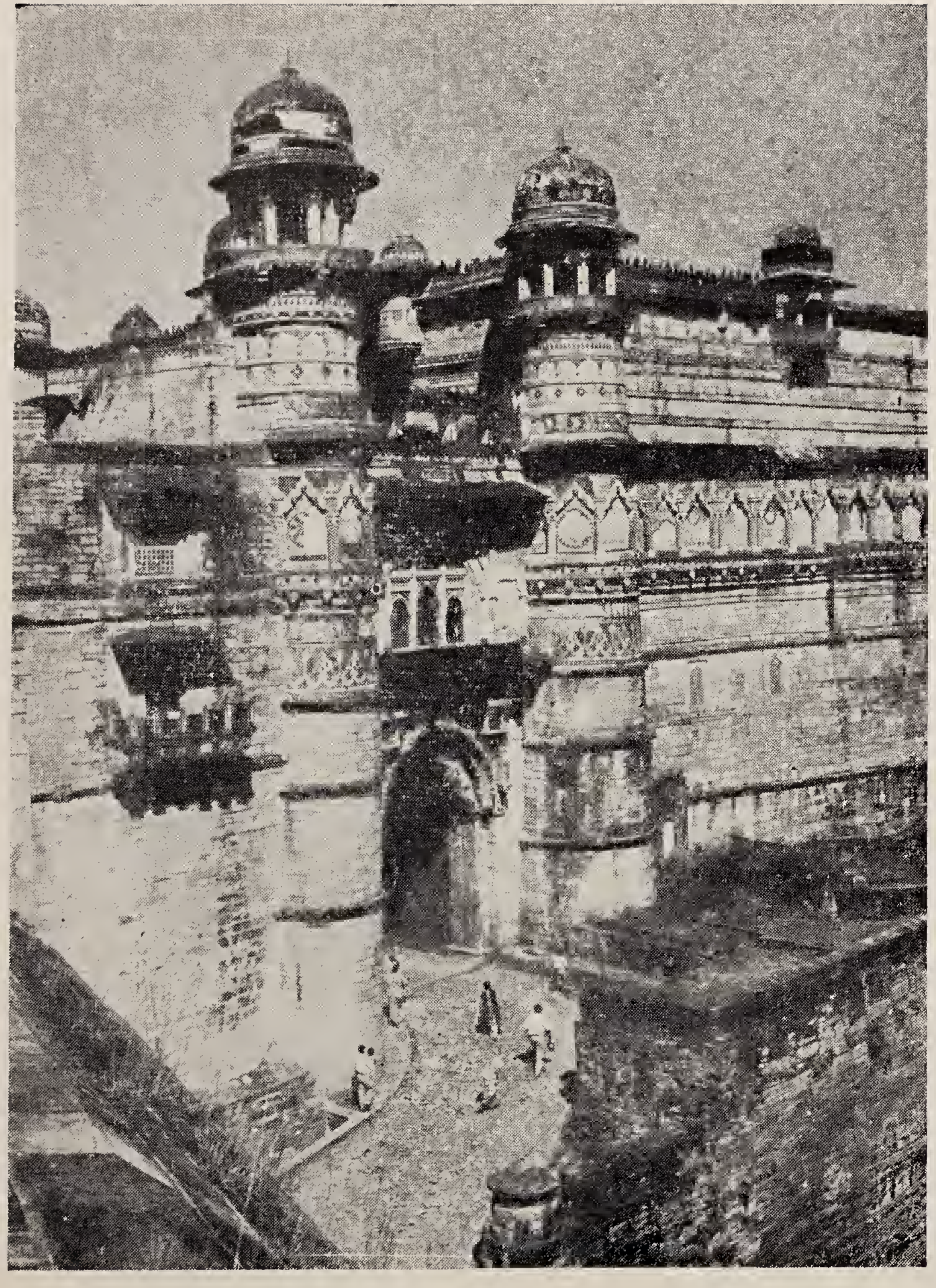

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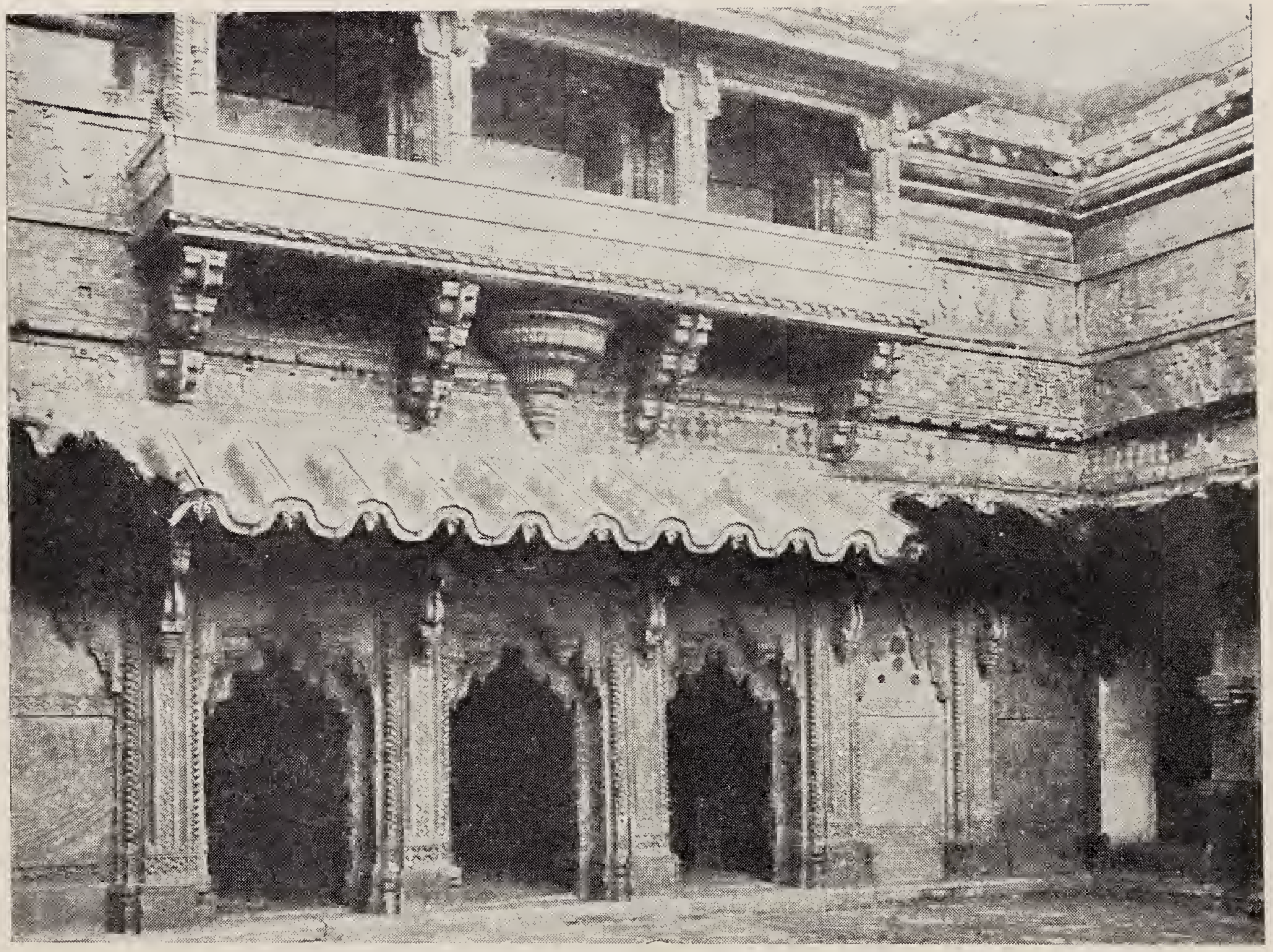

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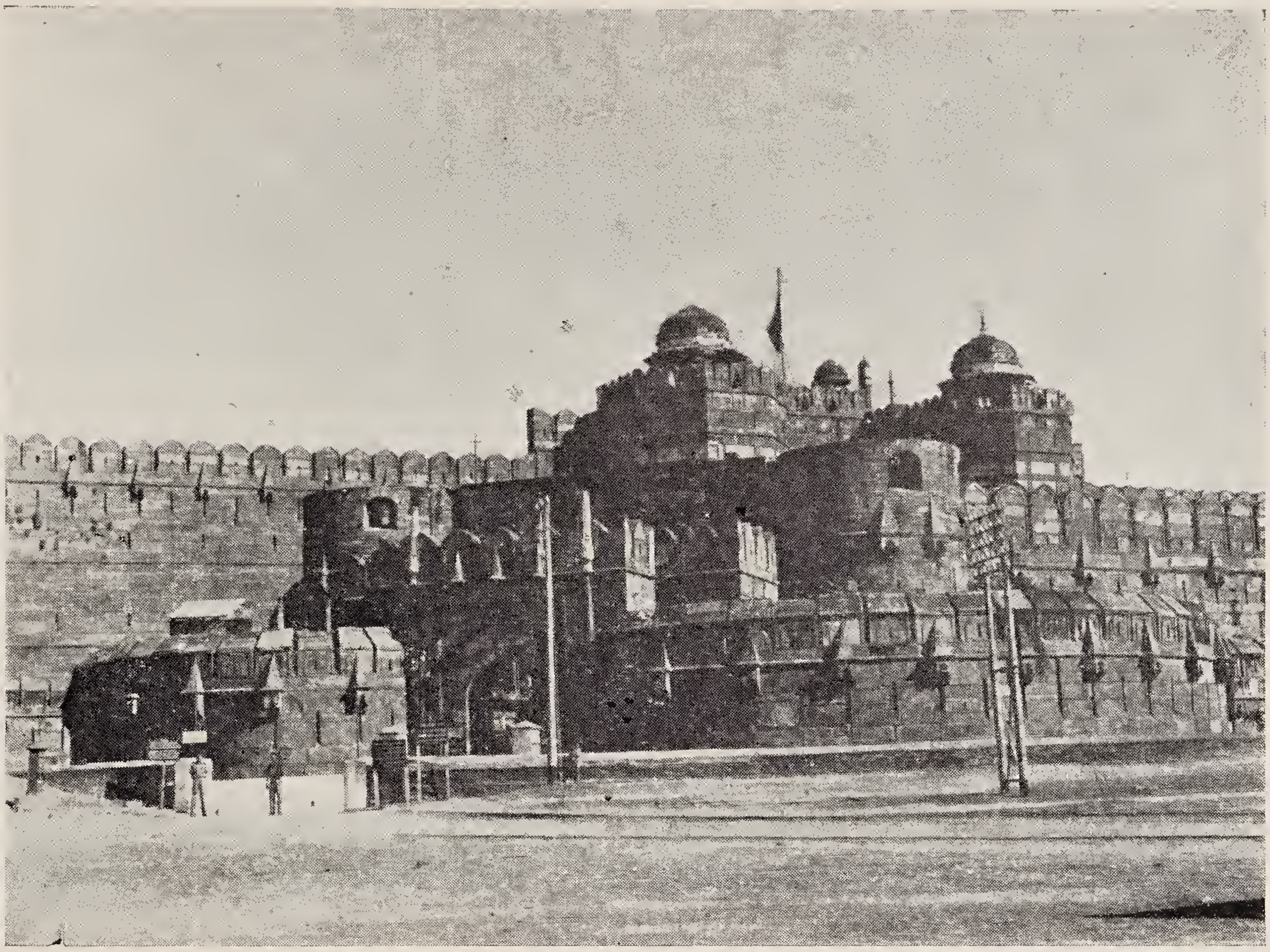

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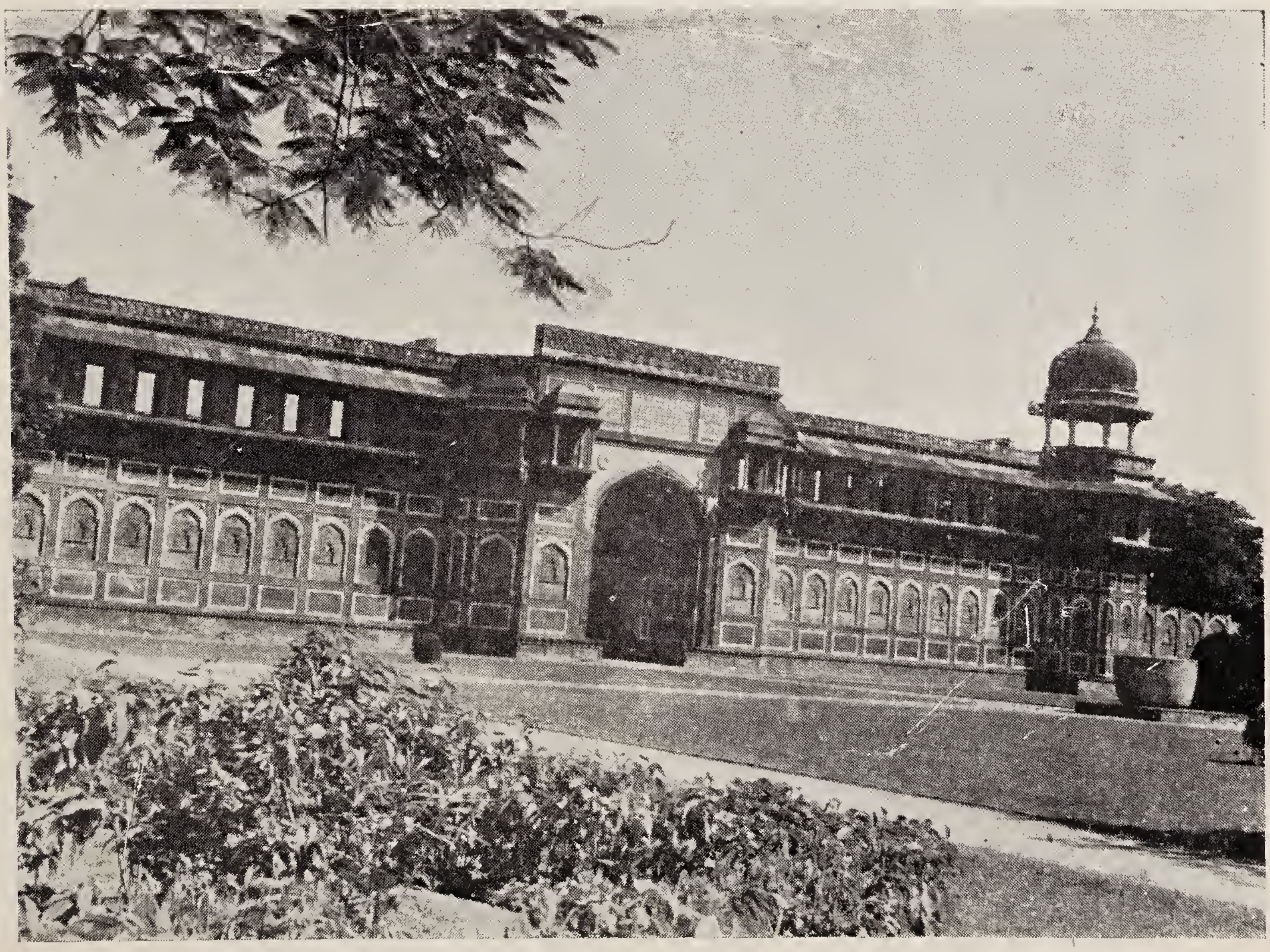

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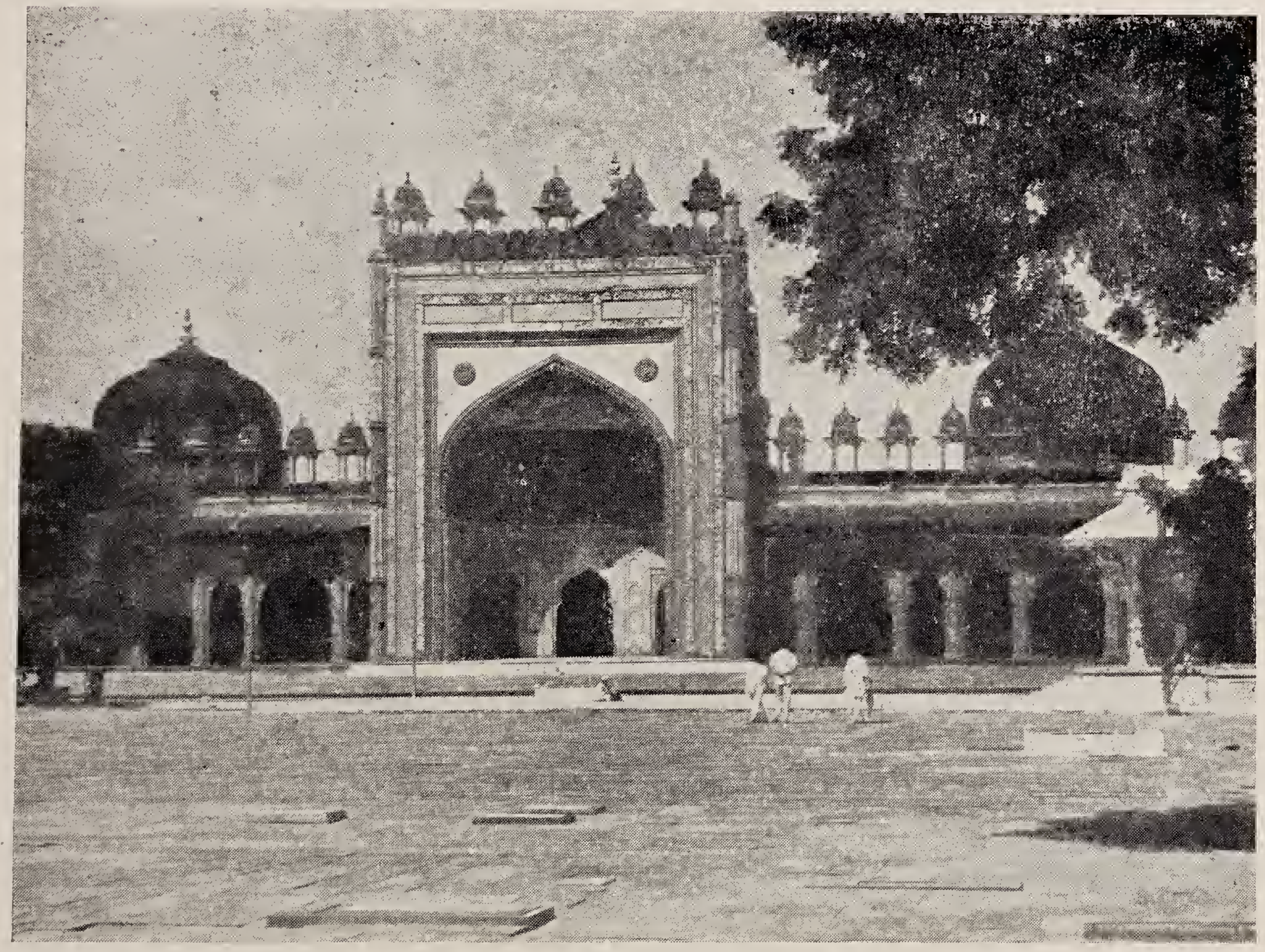
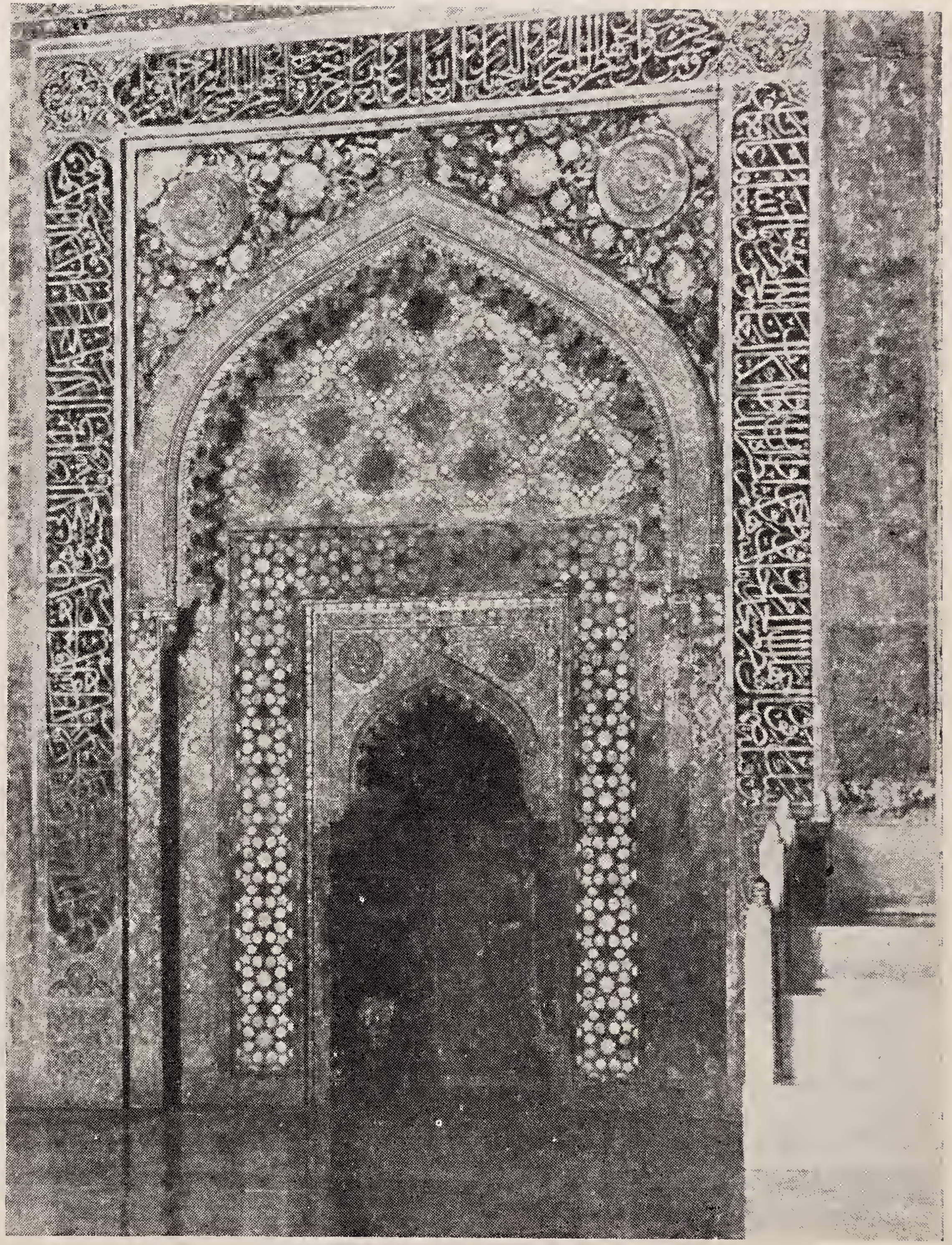


Plate 15. *Fathpur Sikri: Jami Masjid, View of Facade.* (p. 762)



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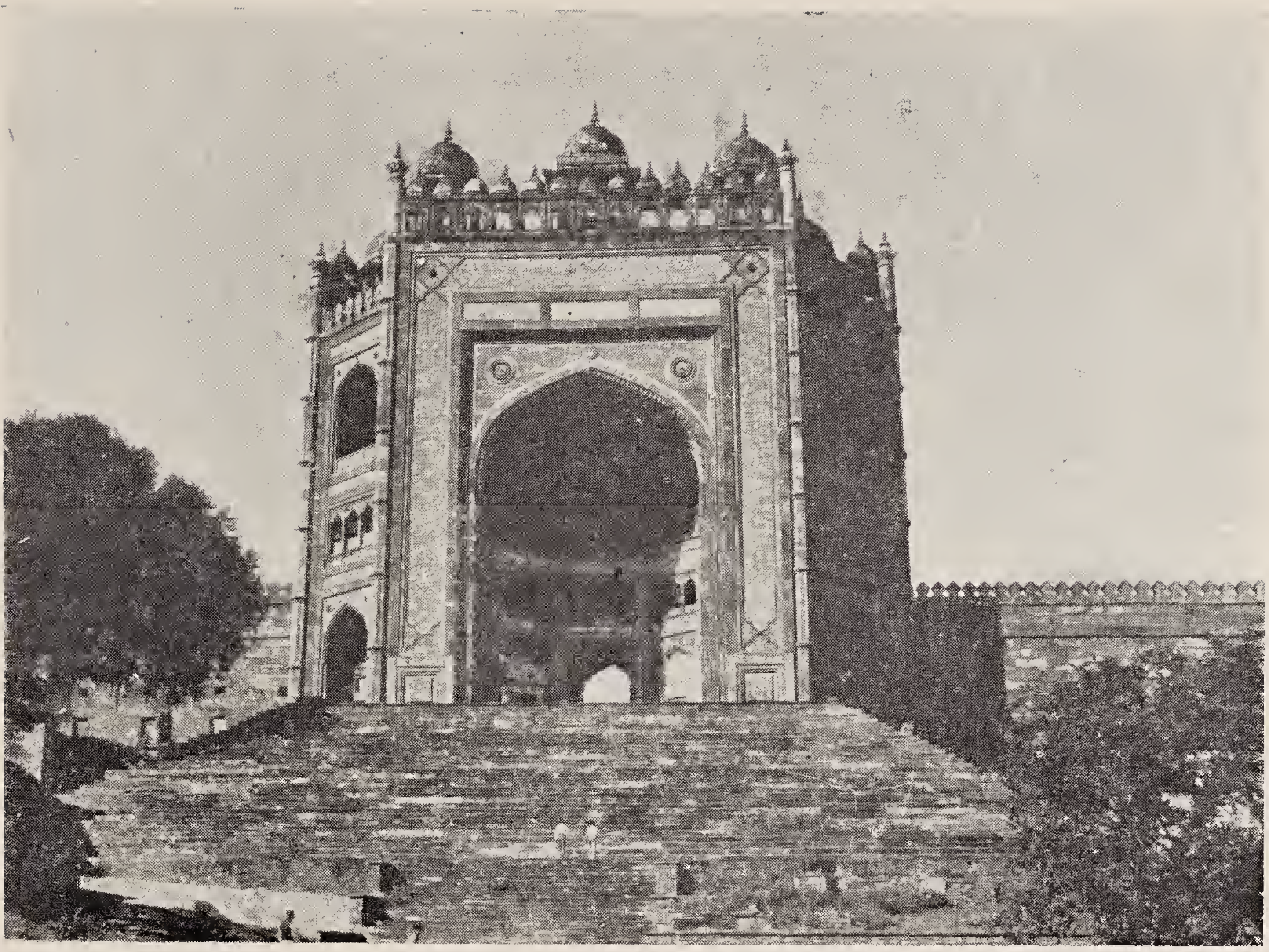

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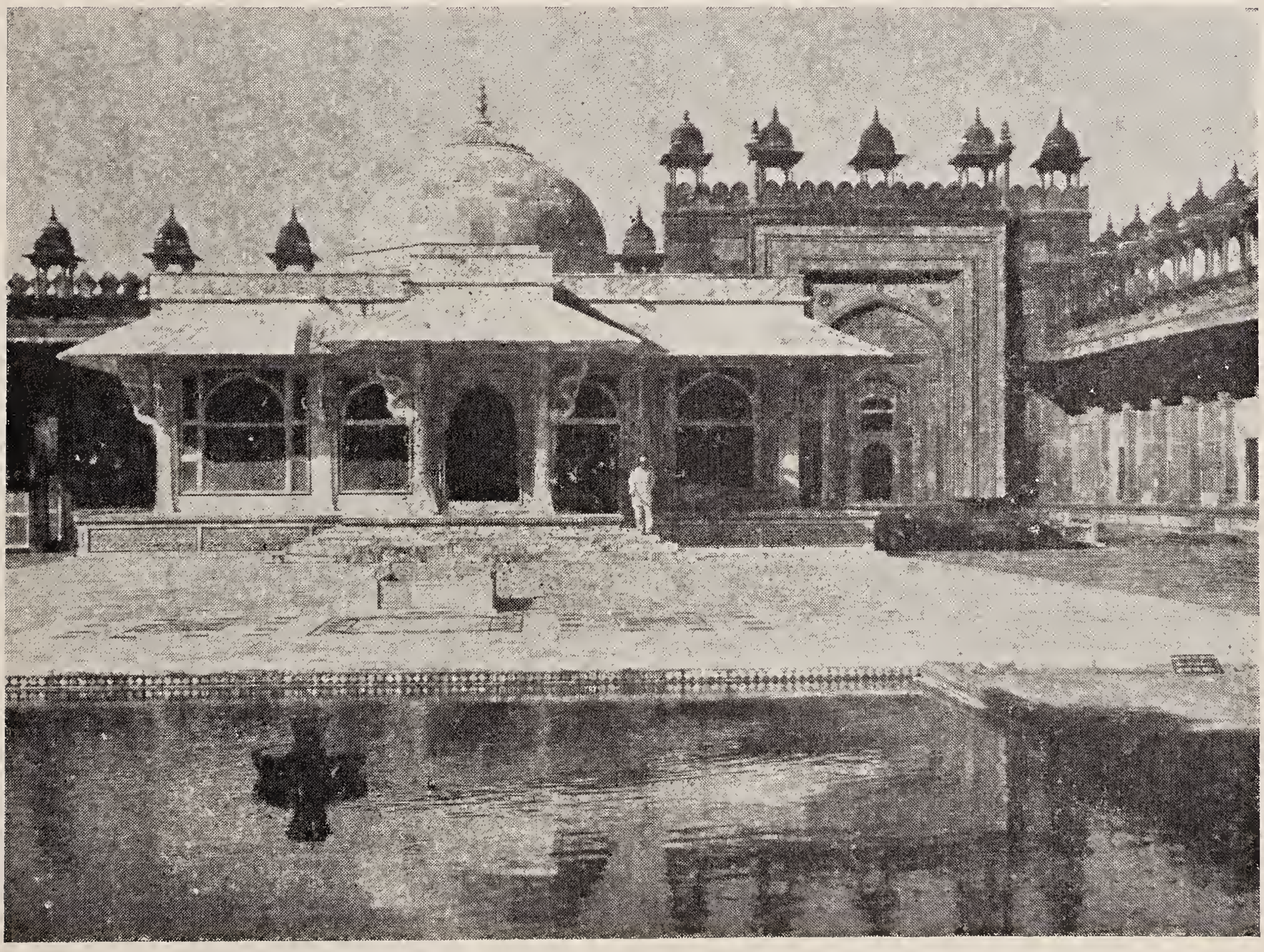


Plate 18. *Fathpur Sikri: Tomb of Shaikh Salim Chisti.* (pp. 765-66)

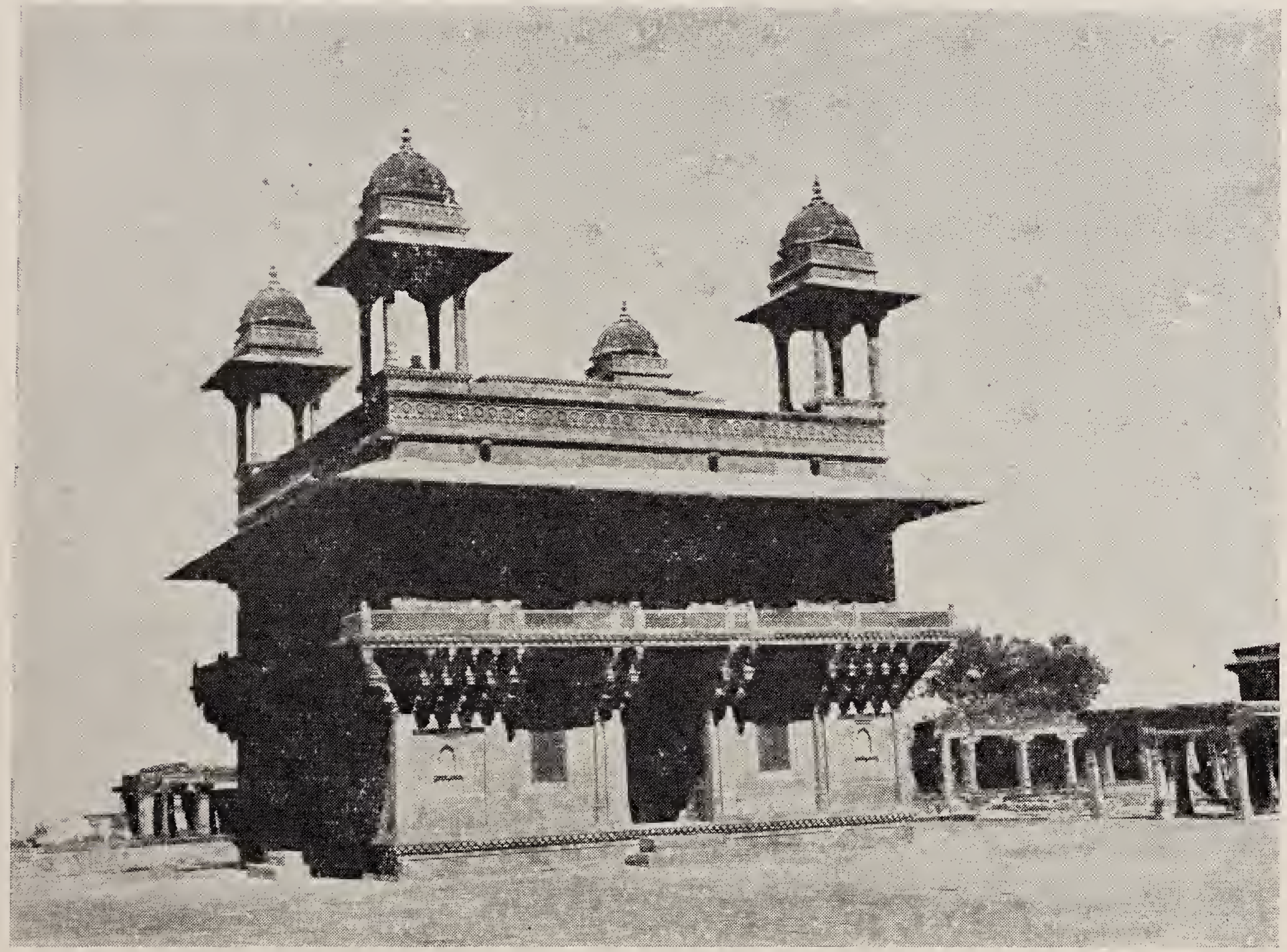


Plate 19. *Fathpur Sikri: Diwan-i-Khas, General view.* (pp. 766-67)

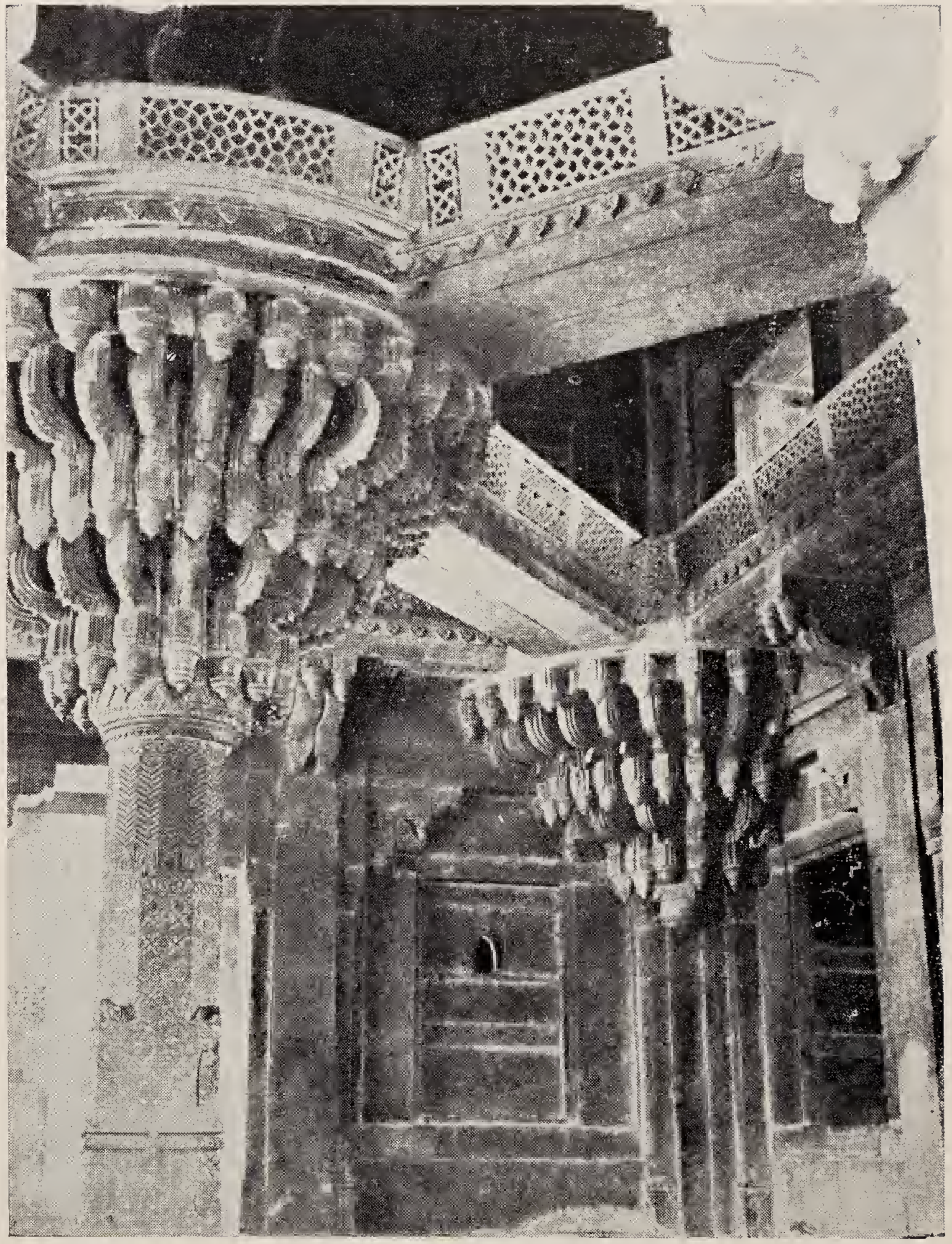
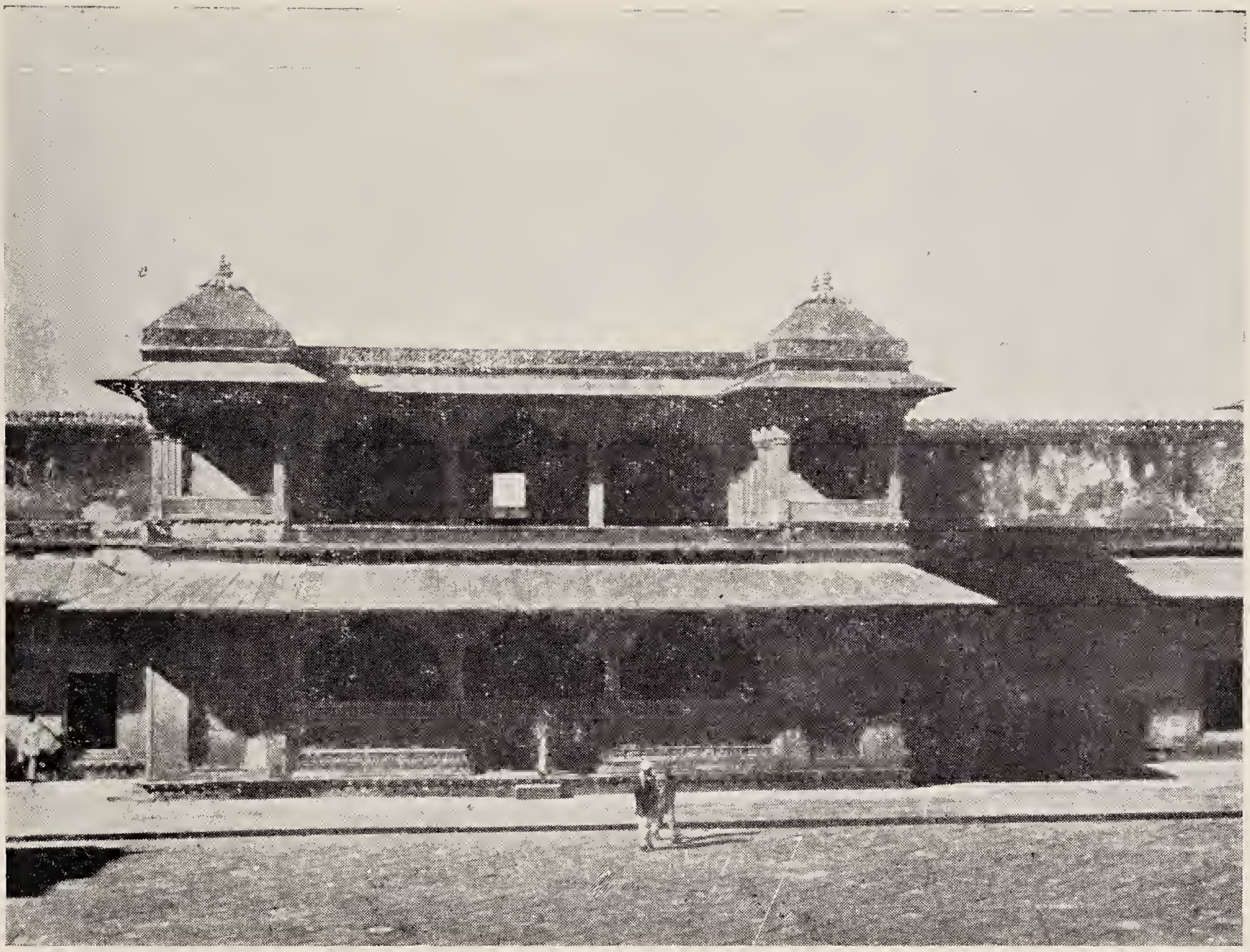


Plate 20. *Fathpur Sikri: Diwan-i-Khas, Interior.* (p. 767)



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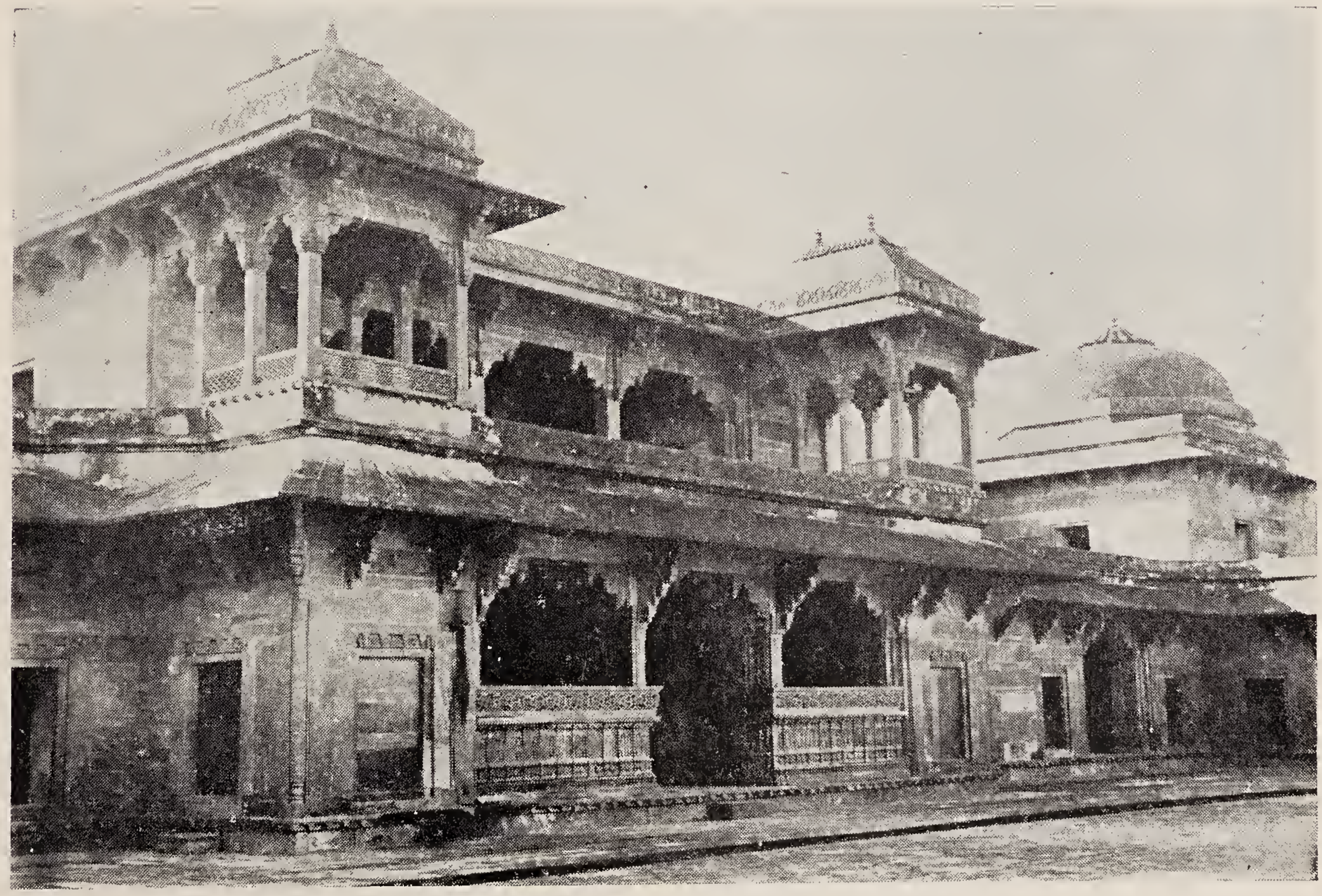

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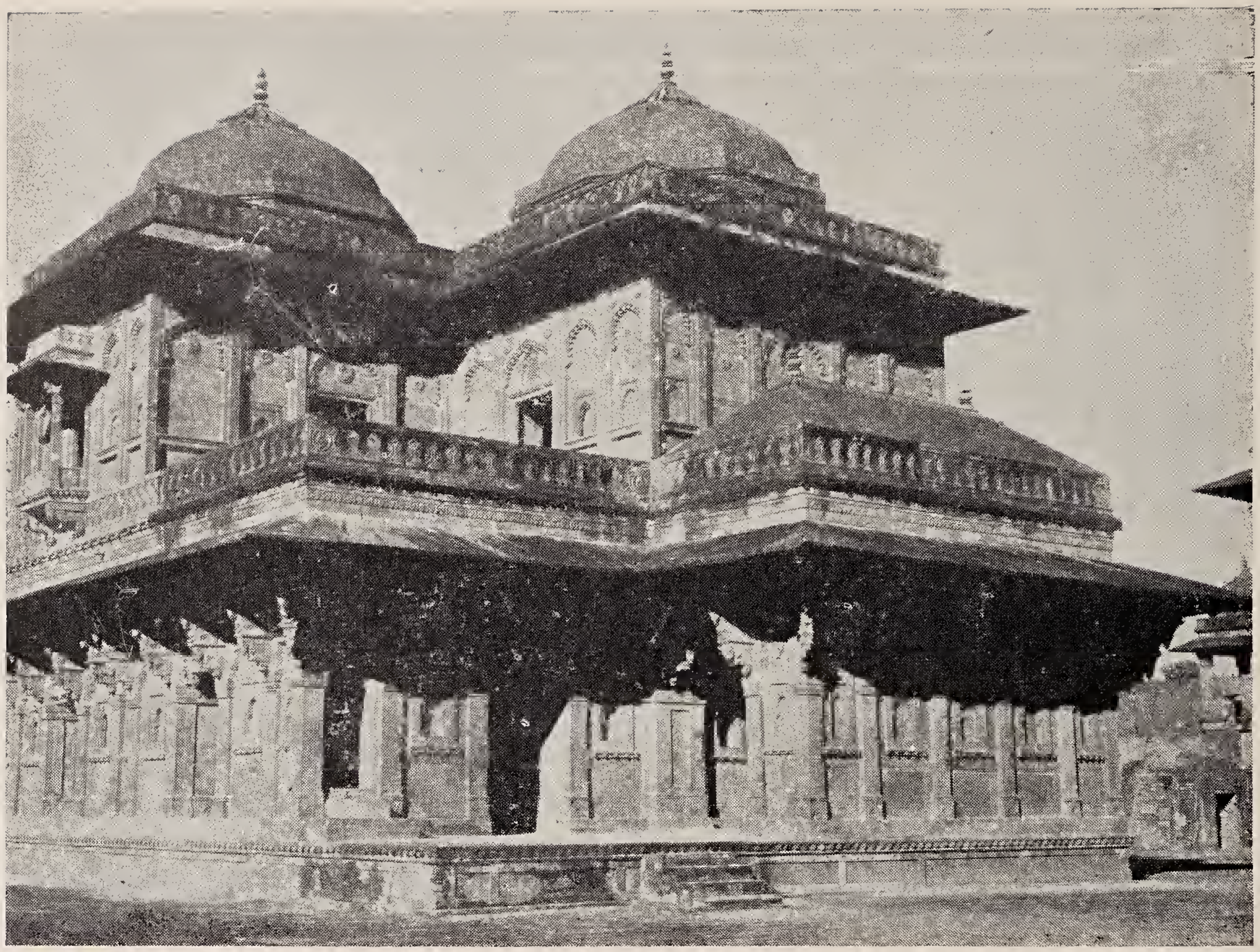

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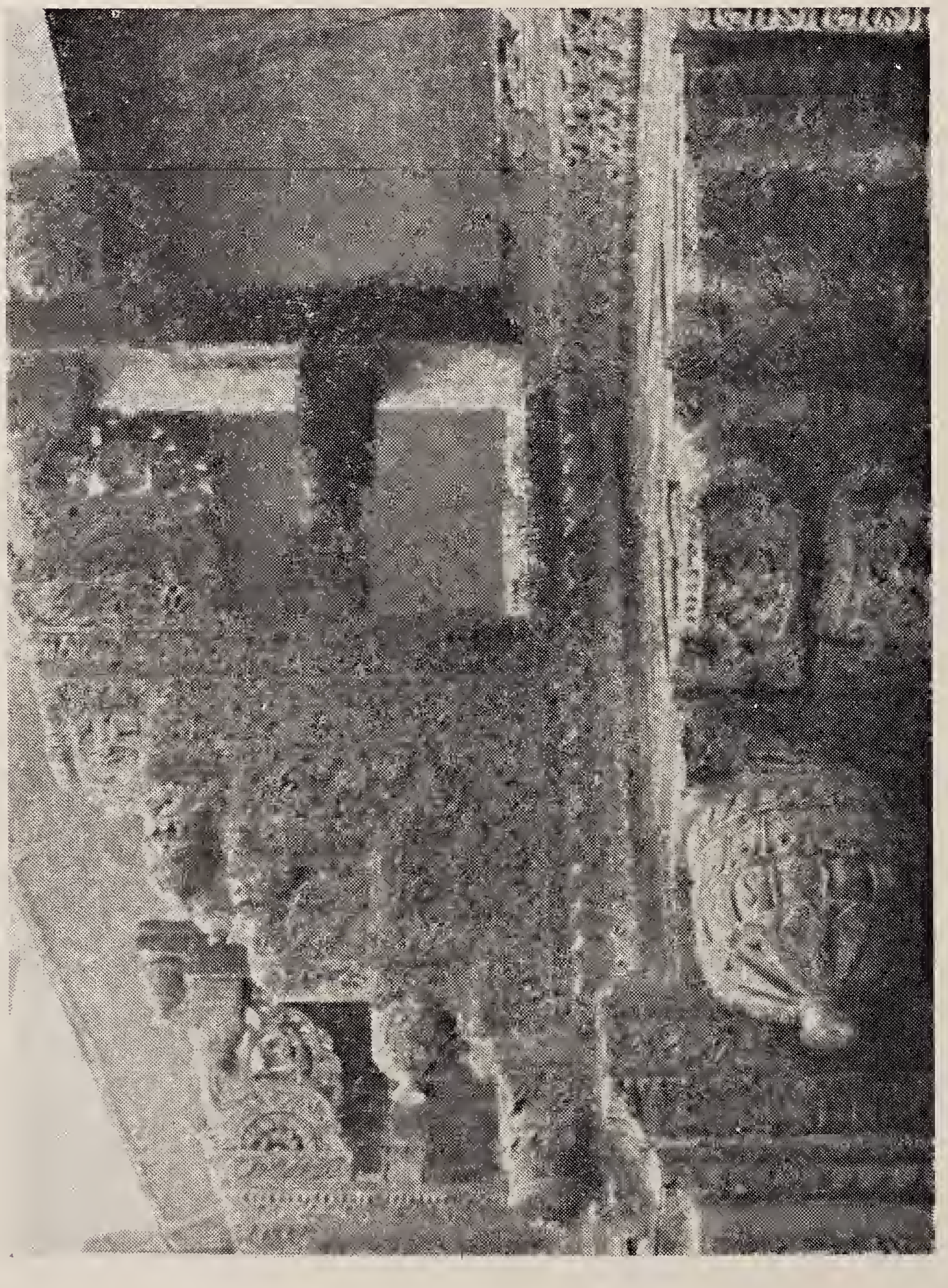

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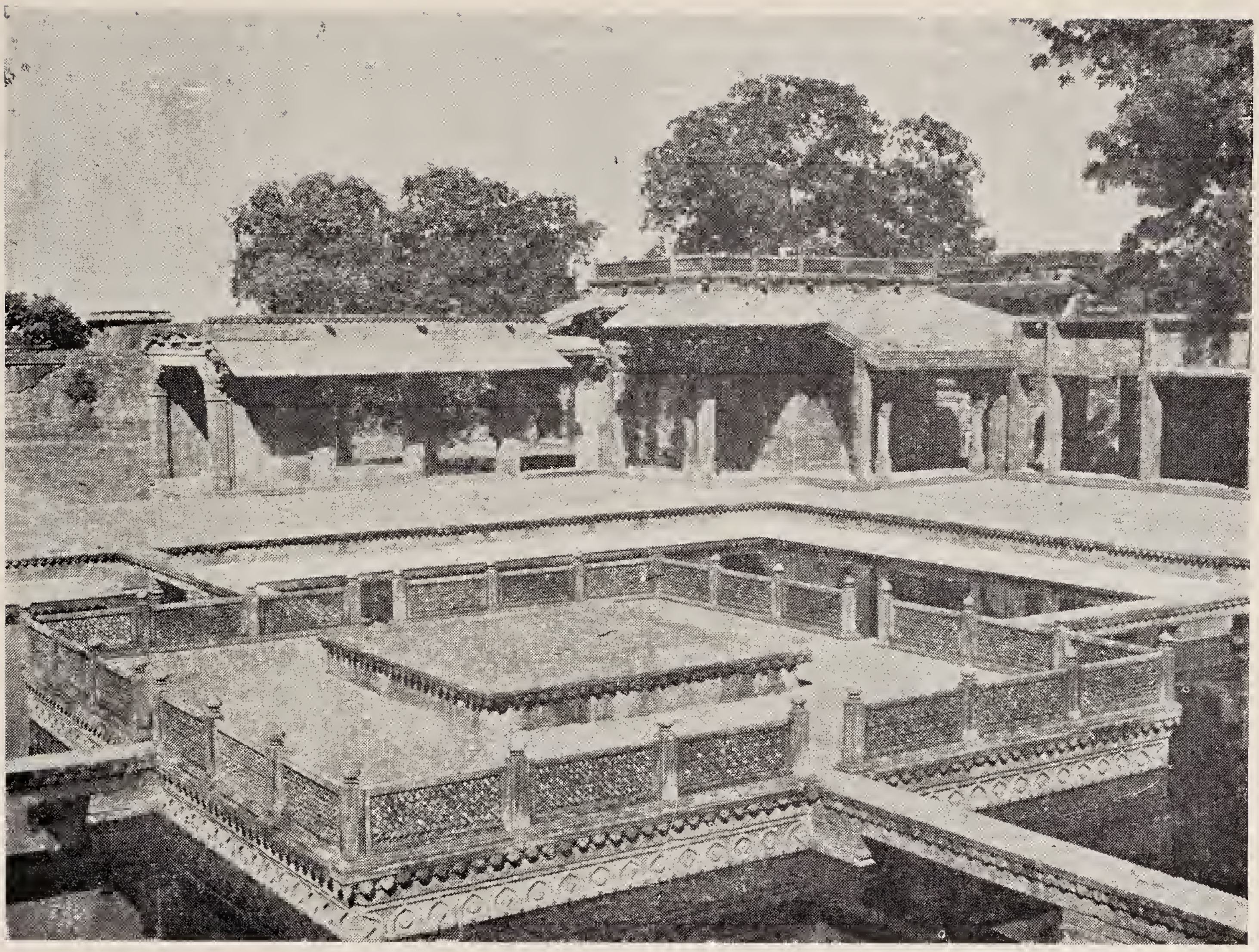

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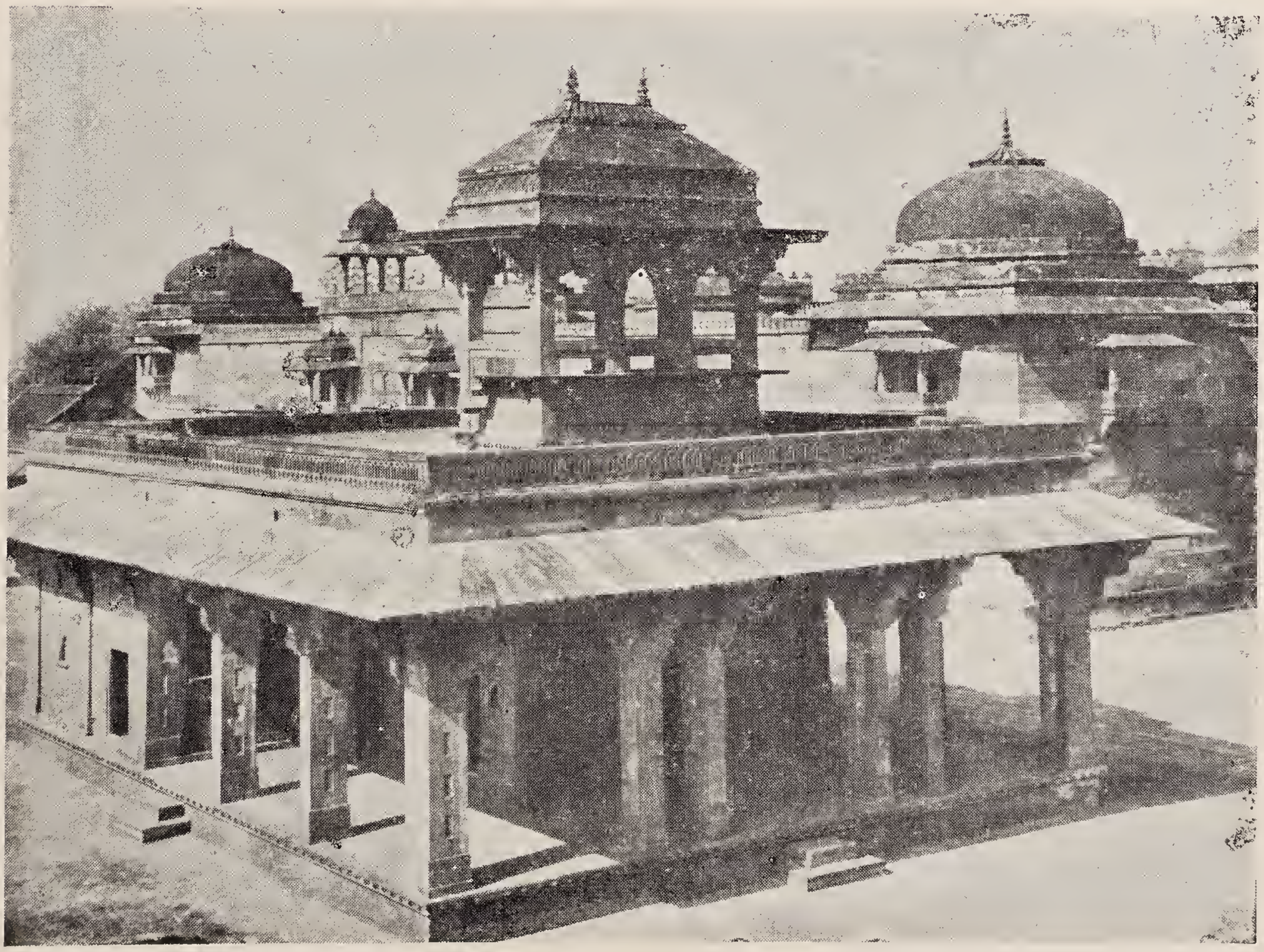

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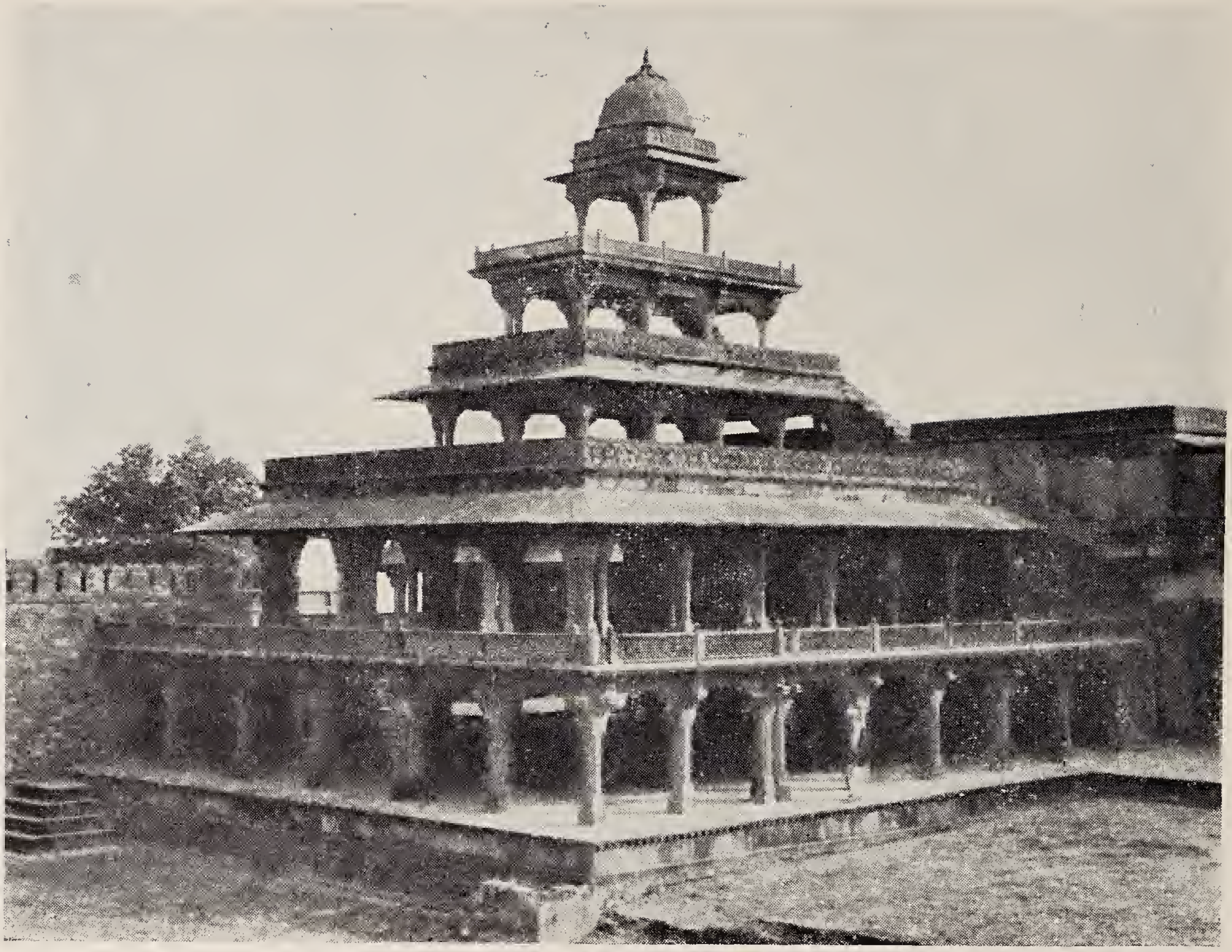

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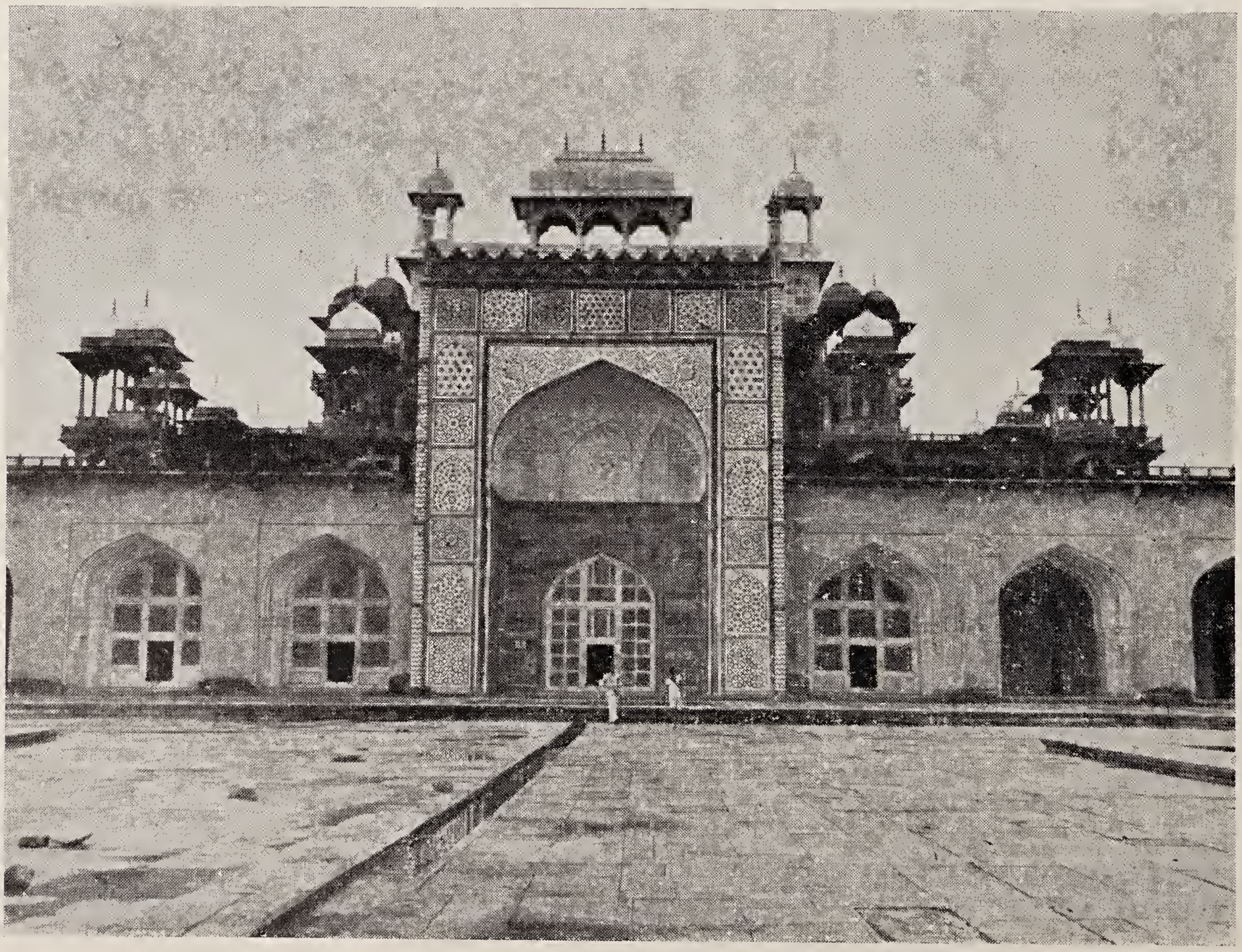
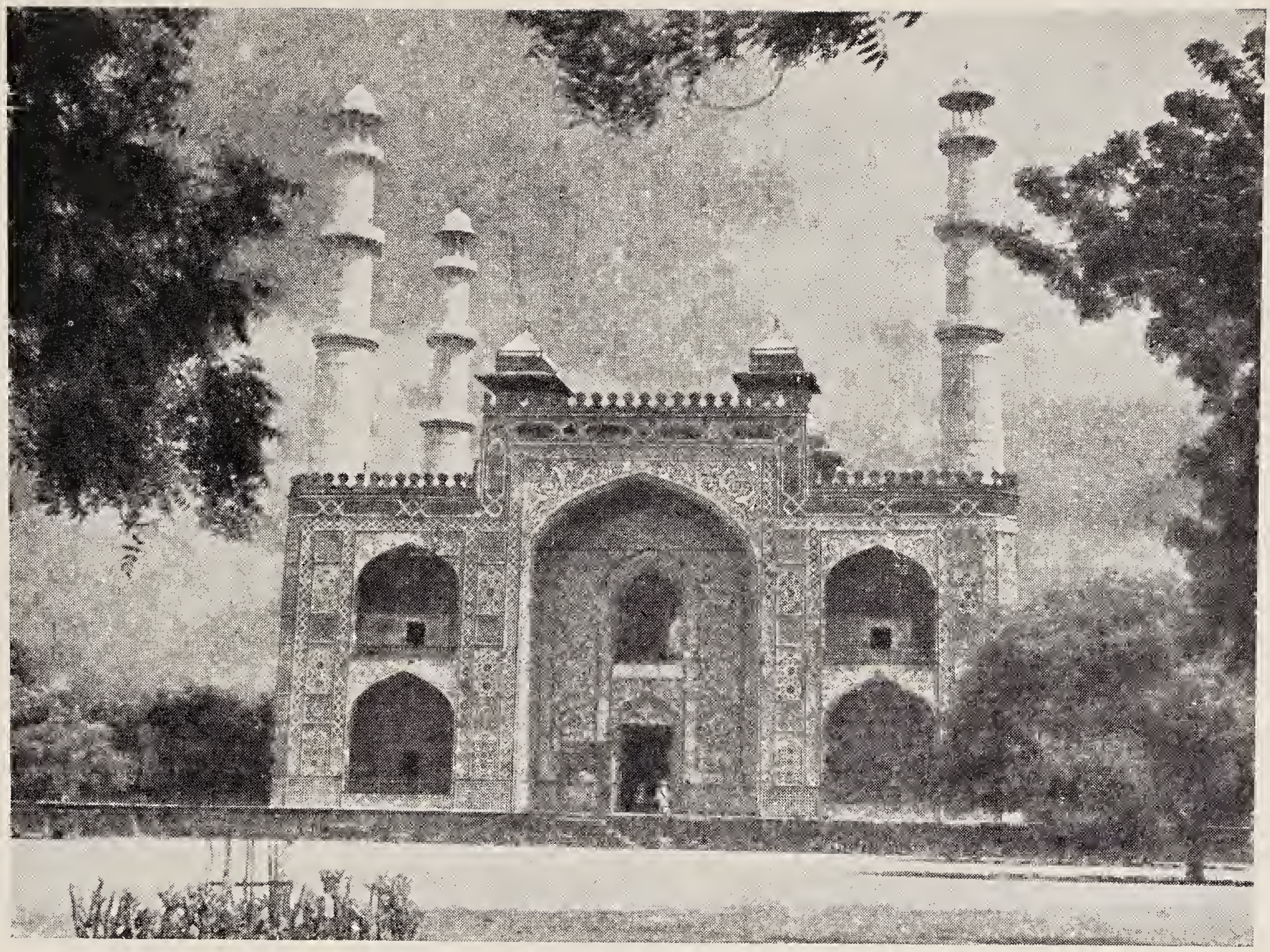


Plate 28. *Agra, Sikandra: Mausoleum of Akbar, Facade.* (pp. 772-74)



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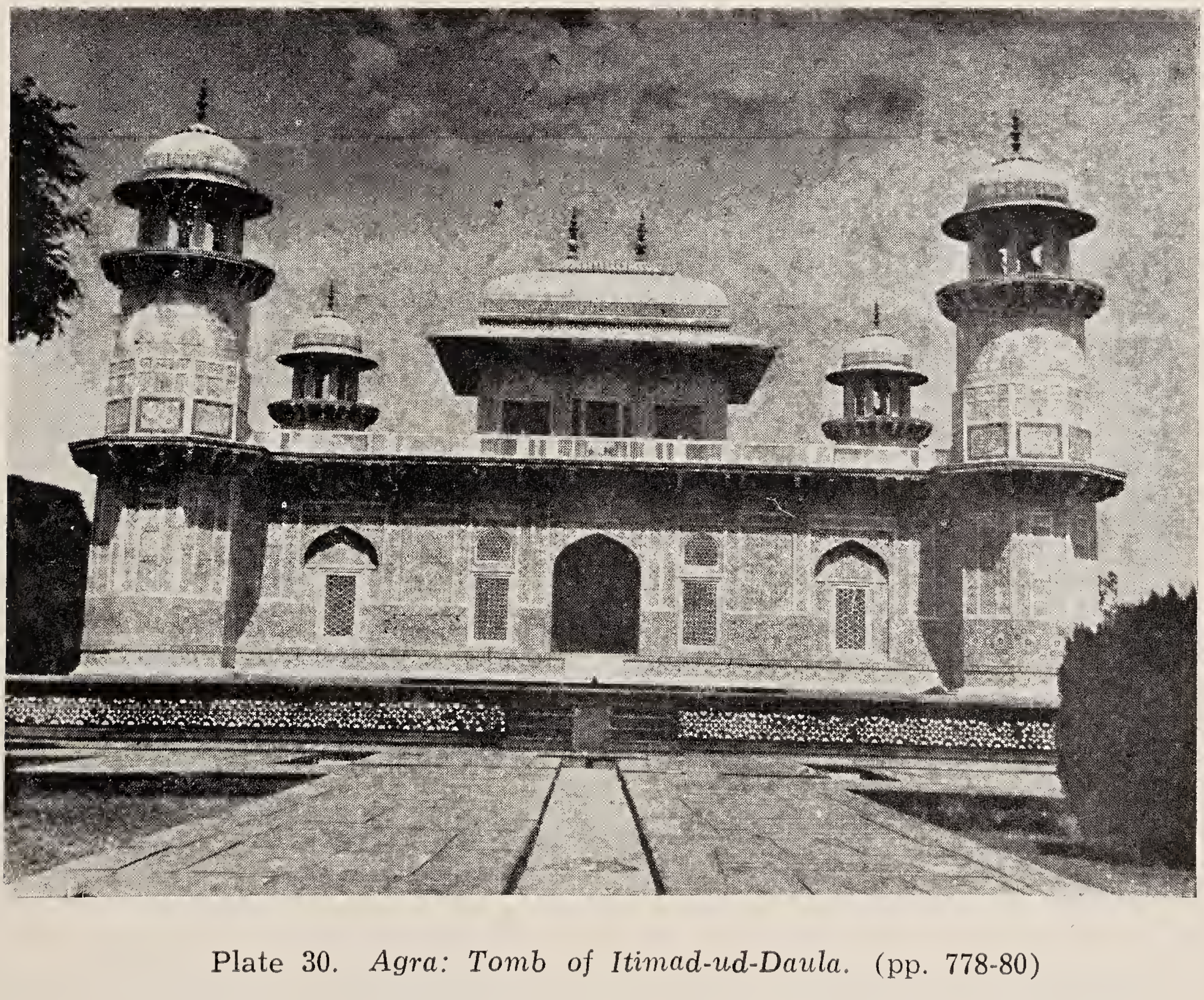

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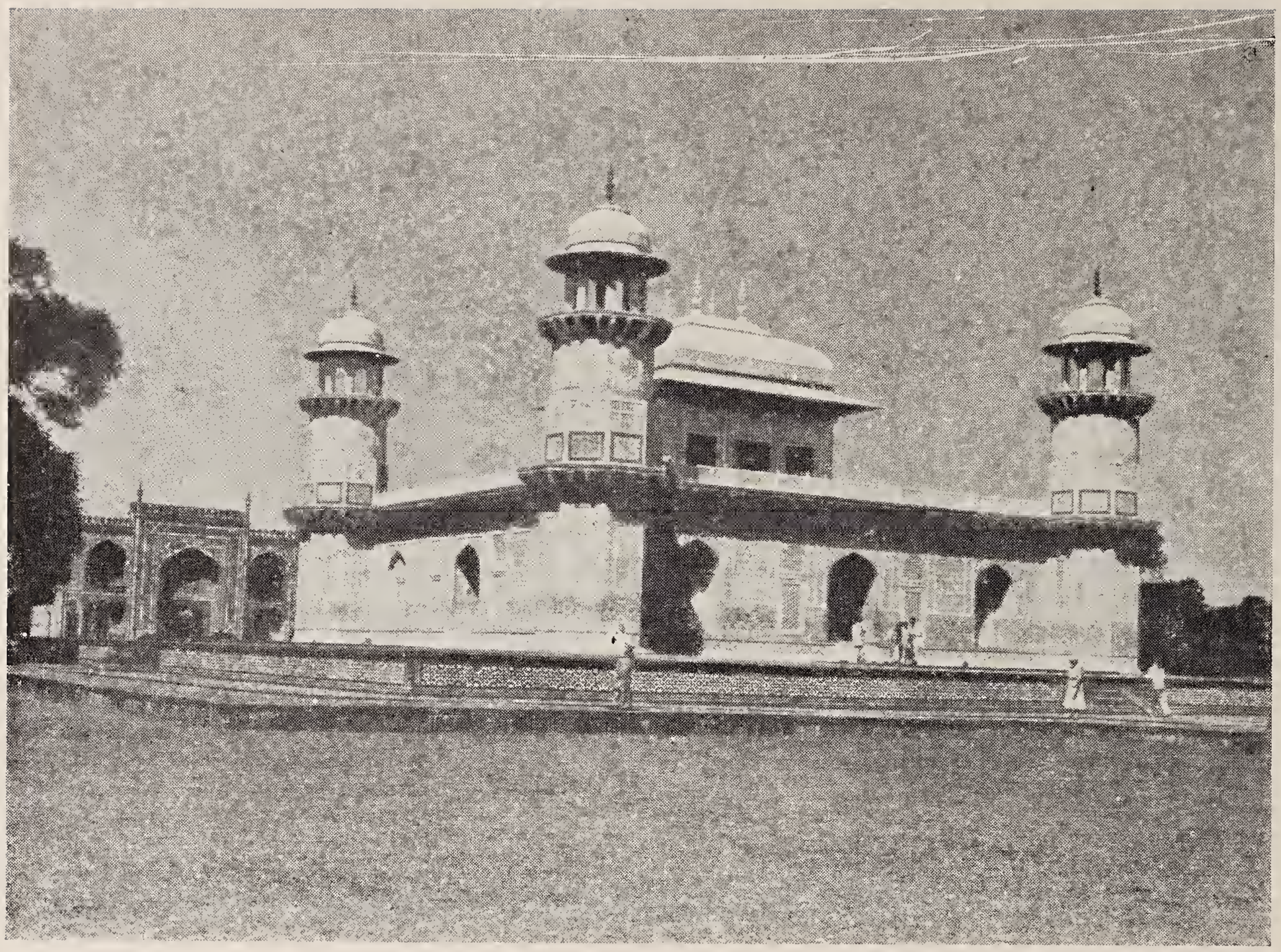
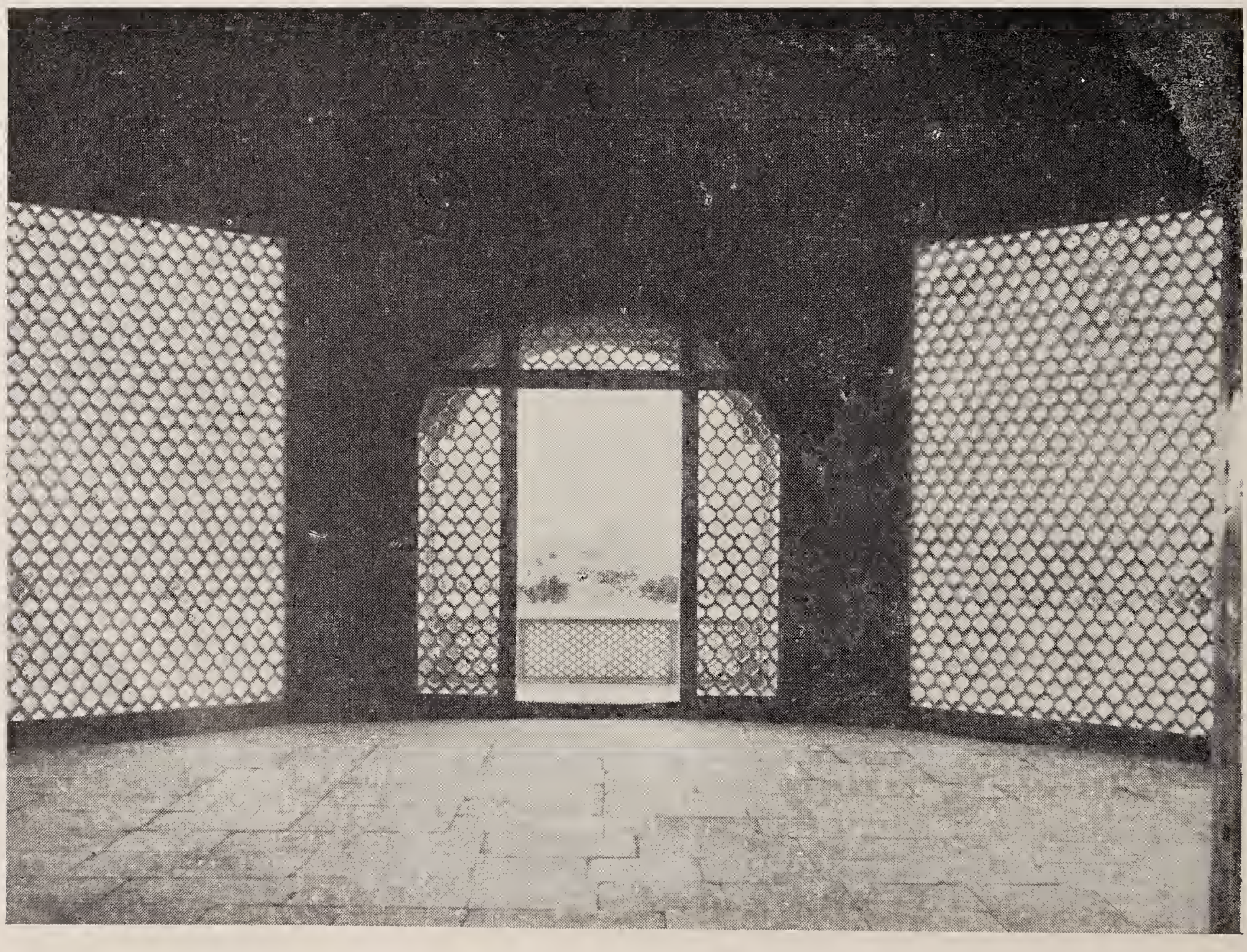


Plate 31. *Agra: Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula, General view.* (pp. 778-80)



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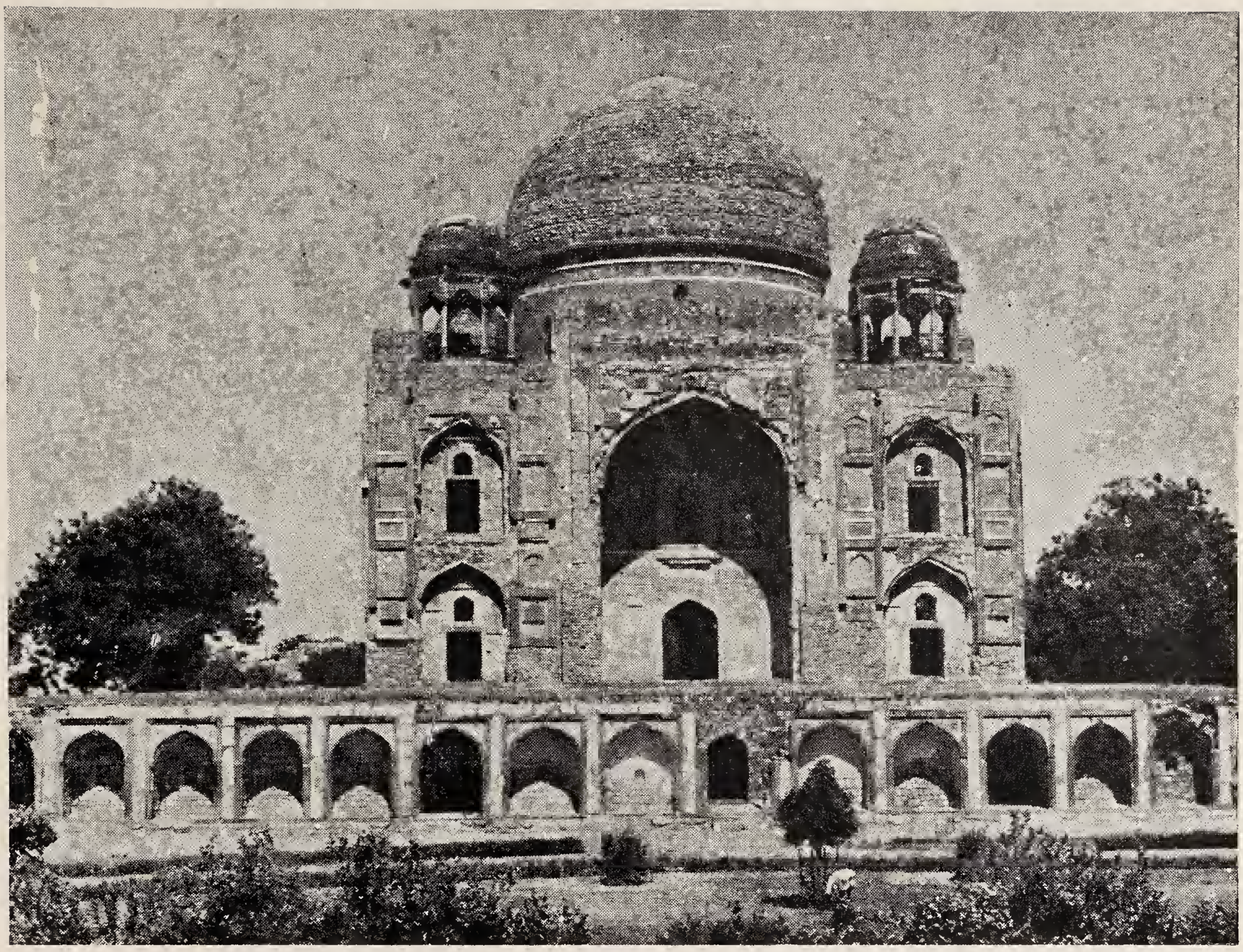


Plate 33. *Delhi: Tomb of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.* (p. 780)

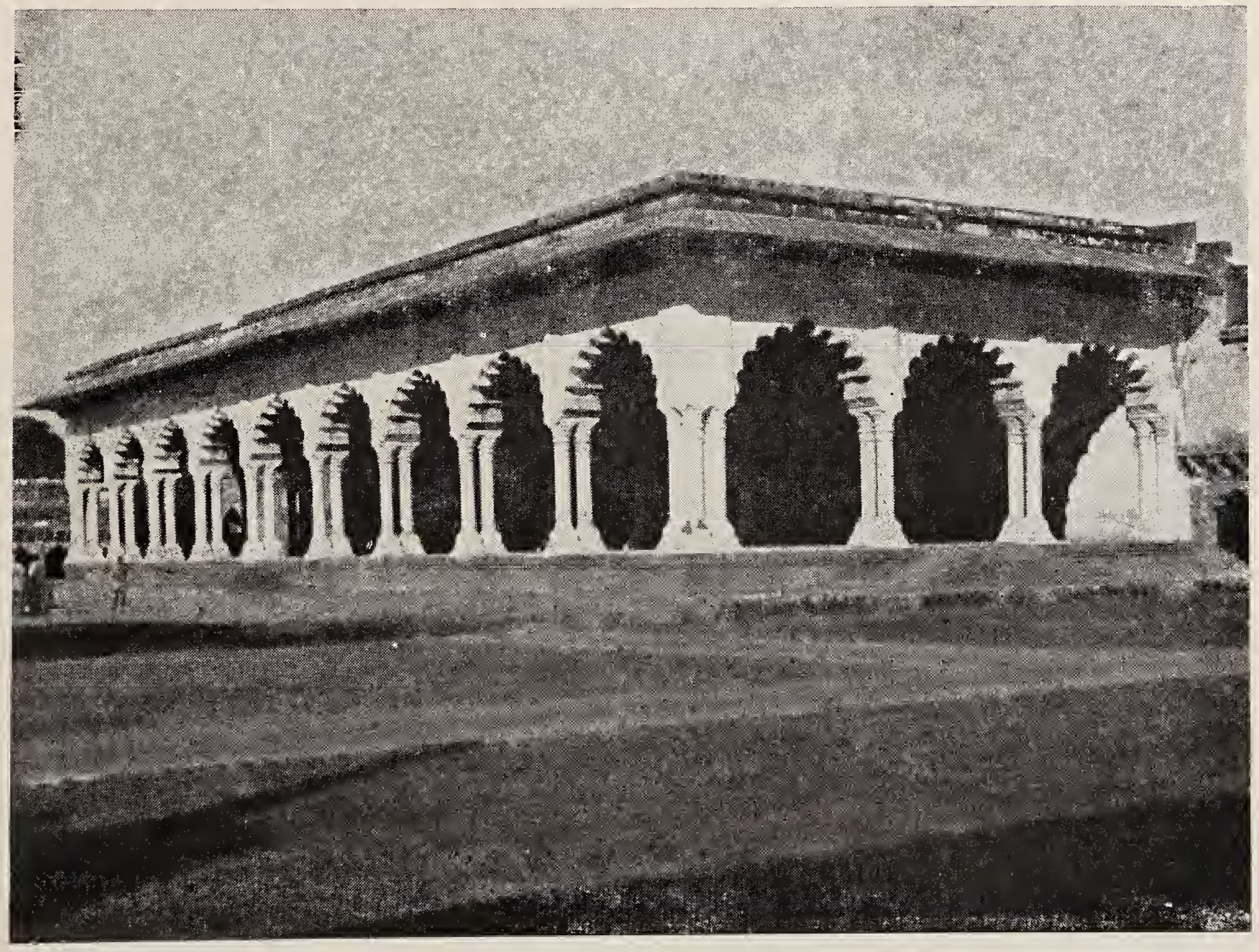


Plate 34. *Agra Fort: Diwan-i-Am, General view.* (p. 784)

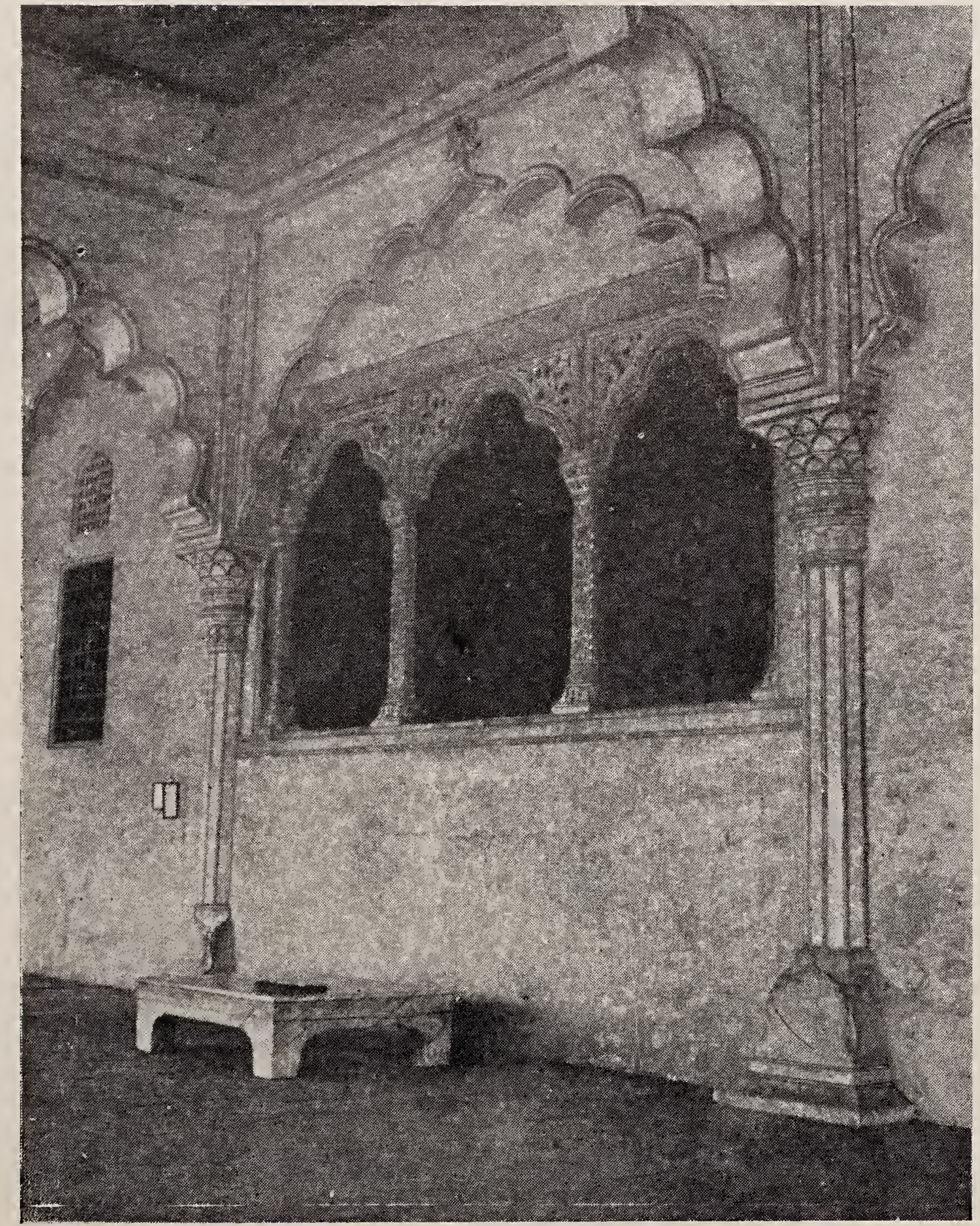
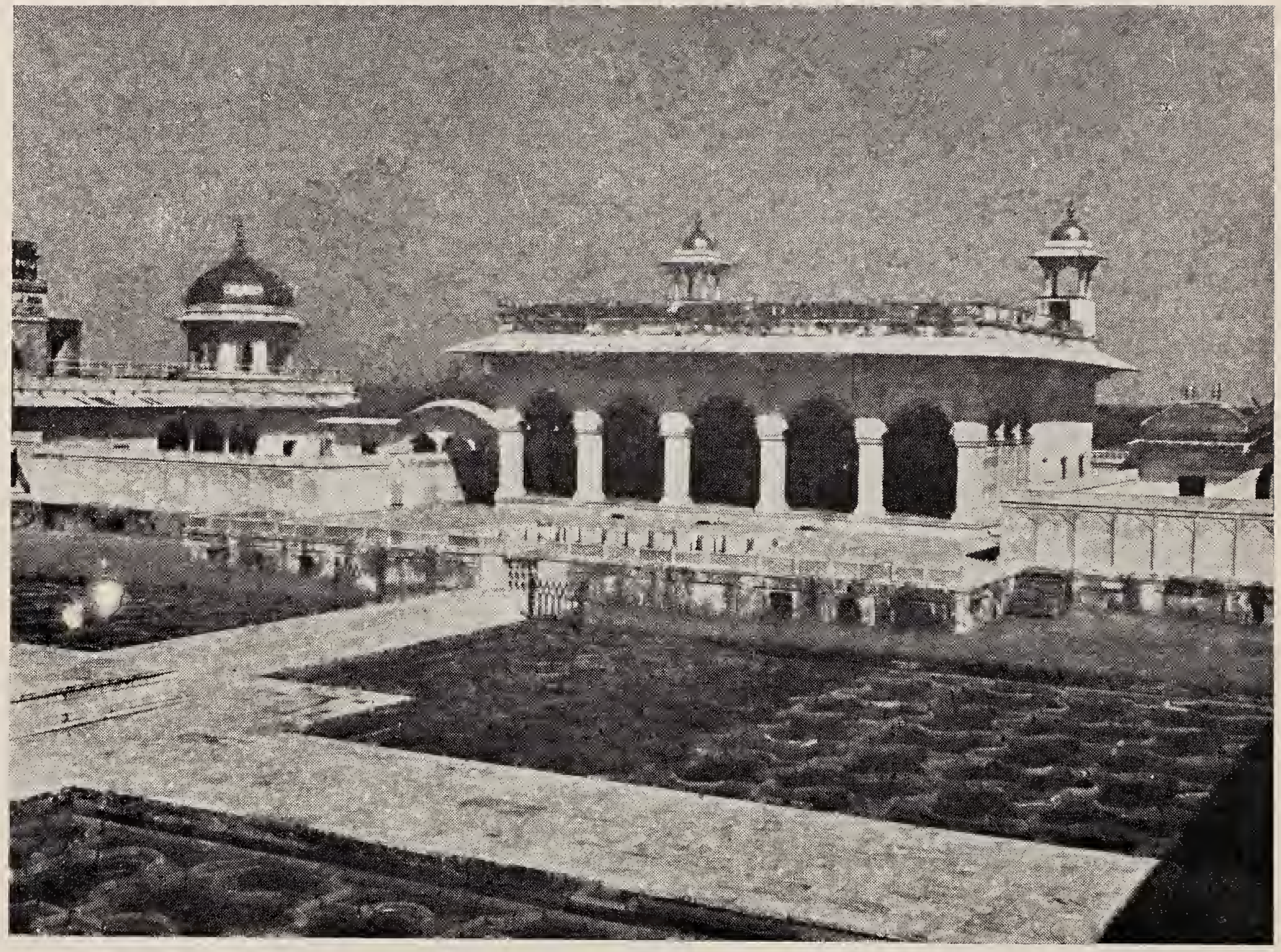


Plate 35. *Agra Fort: Diwan-i-Am, Interior.* (p. 784)



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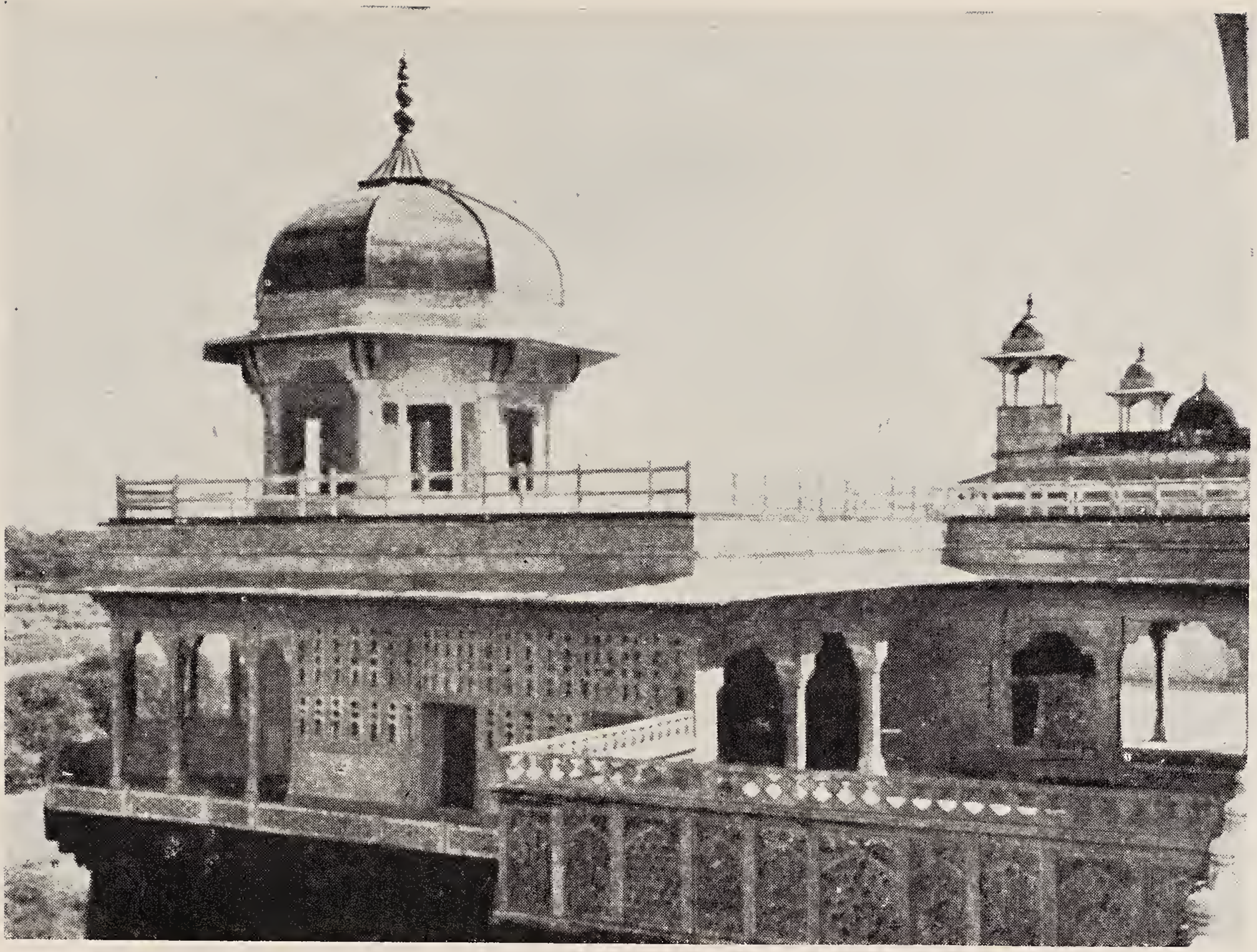


Plate 37. *Agra Fort: Musamman Burz.* (p. 786)

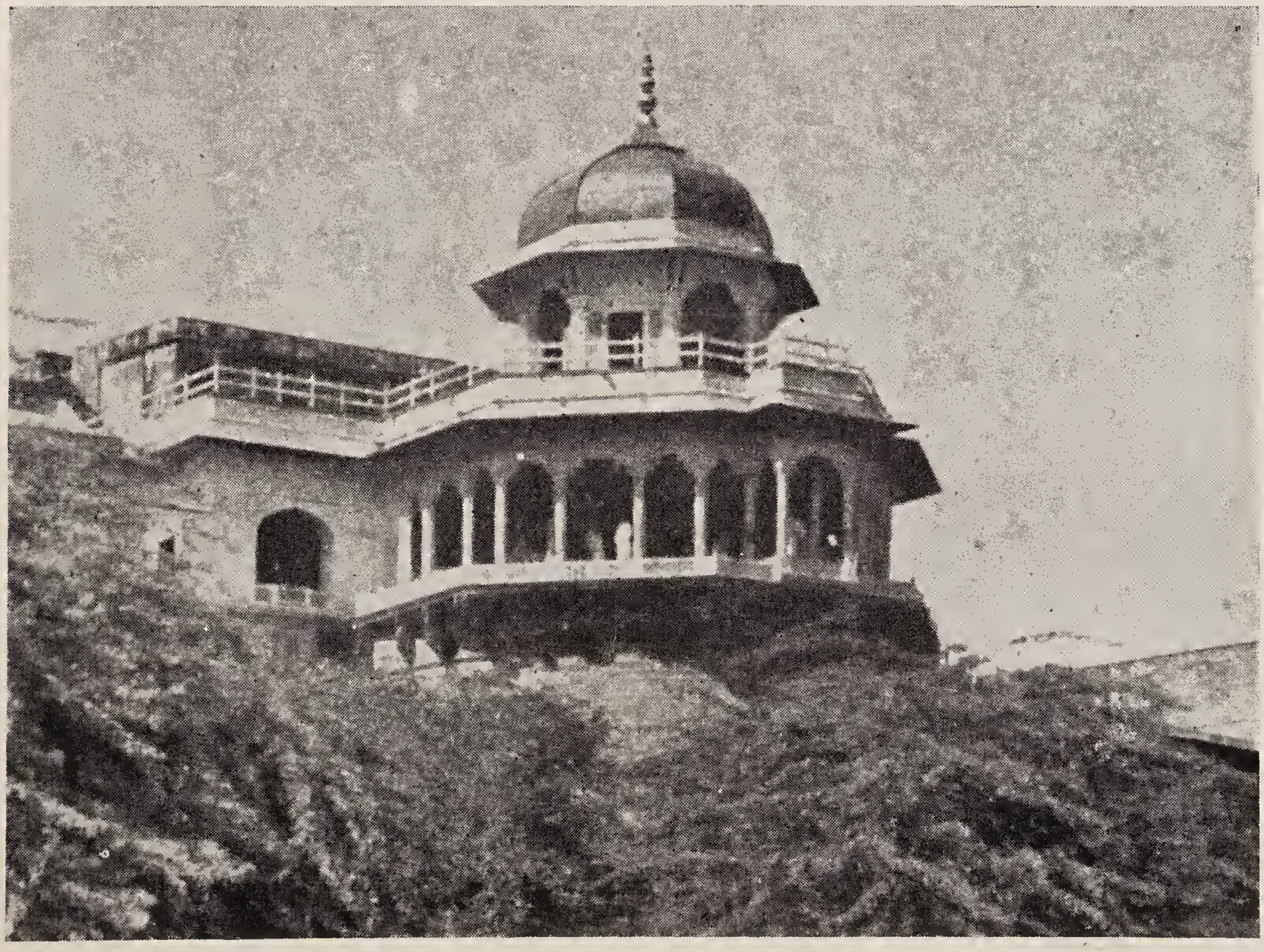


Plate 38. *Agra Fort: Musamman Burz, View from the river.* (p. 786)

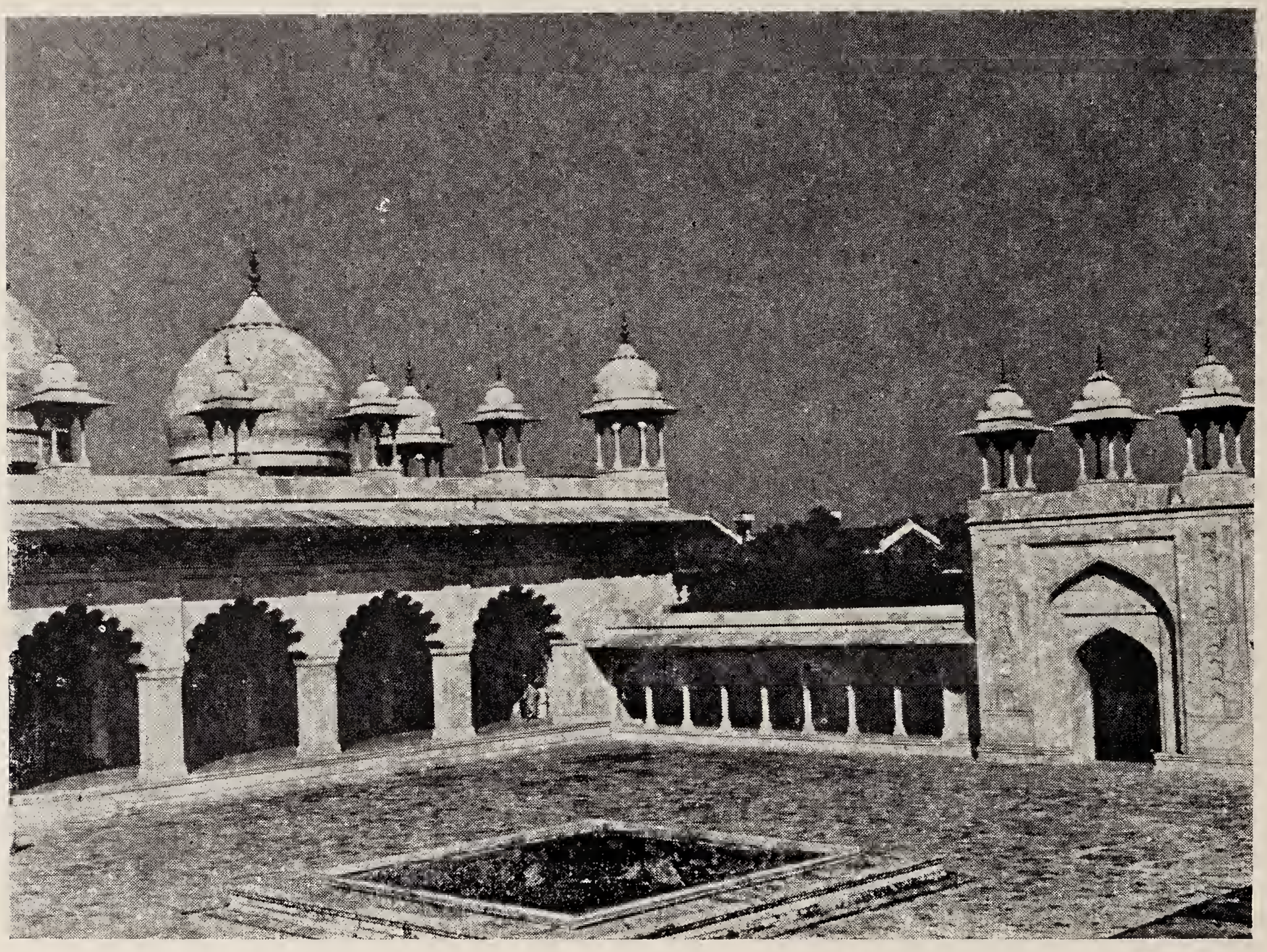


Plate 39. *Agra: Moti Masjid.* (pp. 786-87)

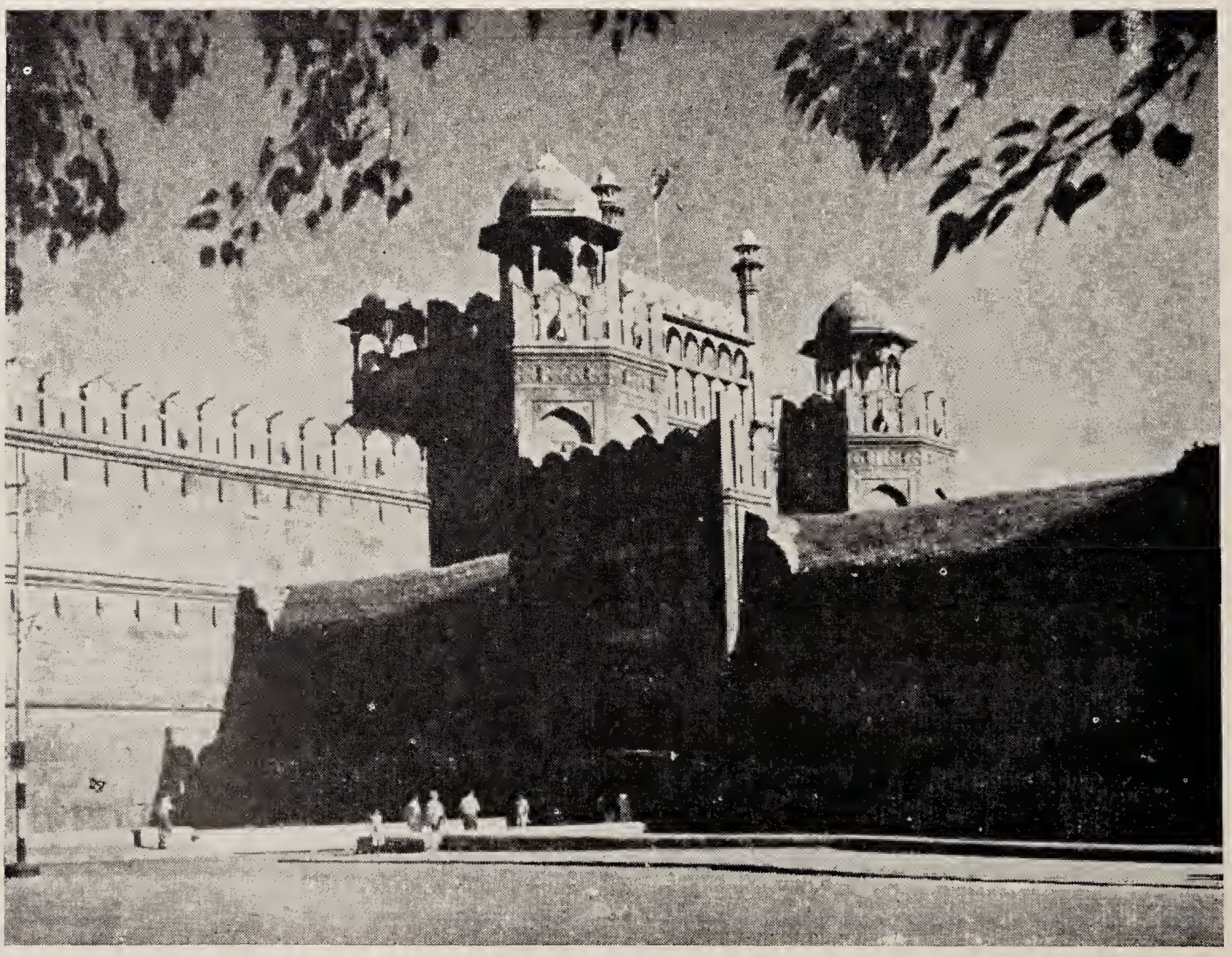


Plate 40. *Delhi, Red Fort: Lahore Gate.* (p. 788)

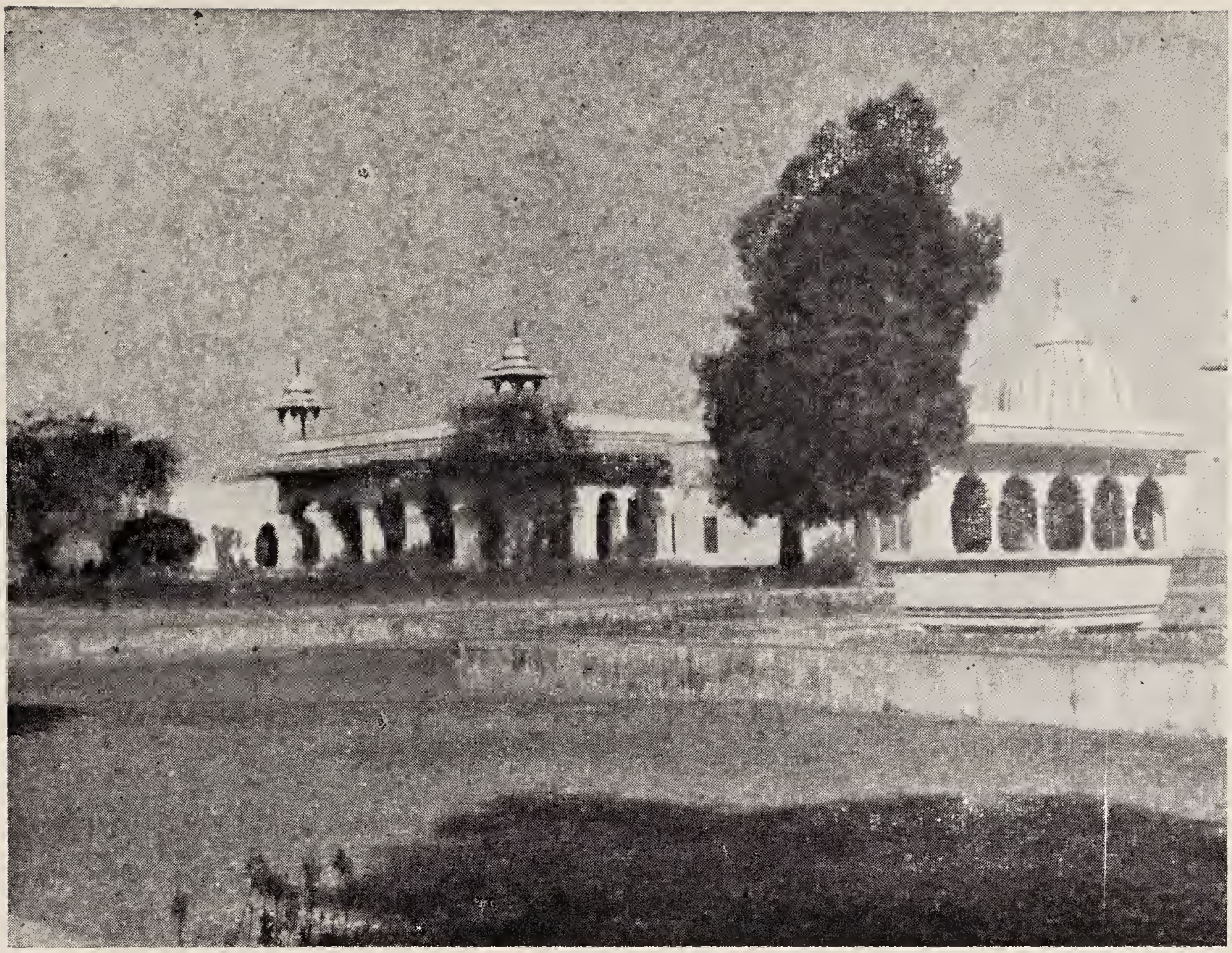


Plate 41. *Delhi, Red Fort: Diwan-i-Am, General view.* (p. 789)

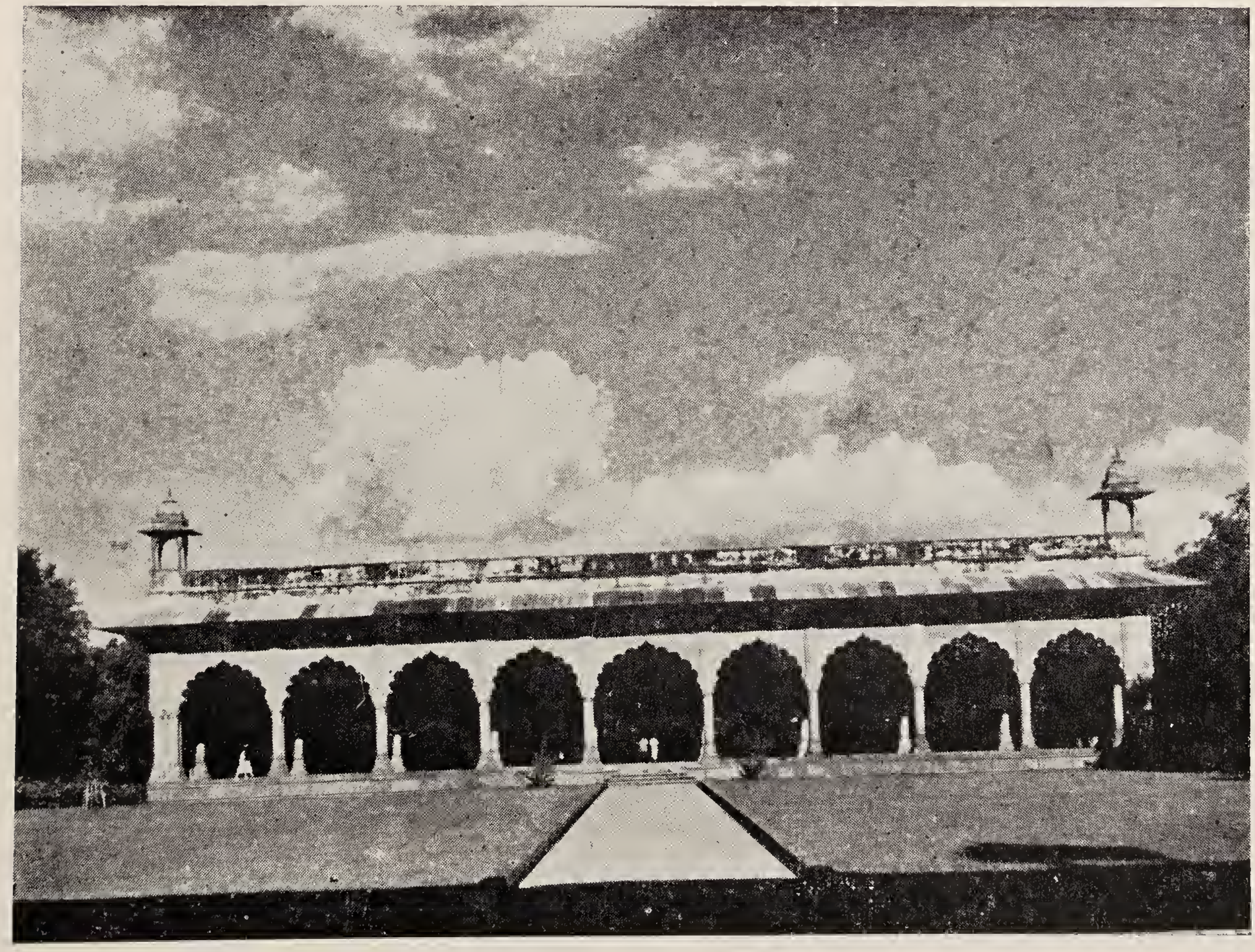


Plate 42. *Delhi, Red Fort: Diwan-i-Am.* (pp. 788-89)

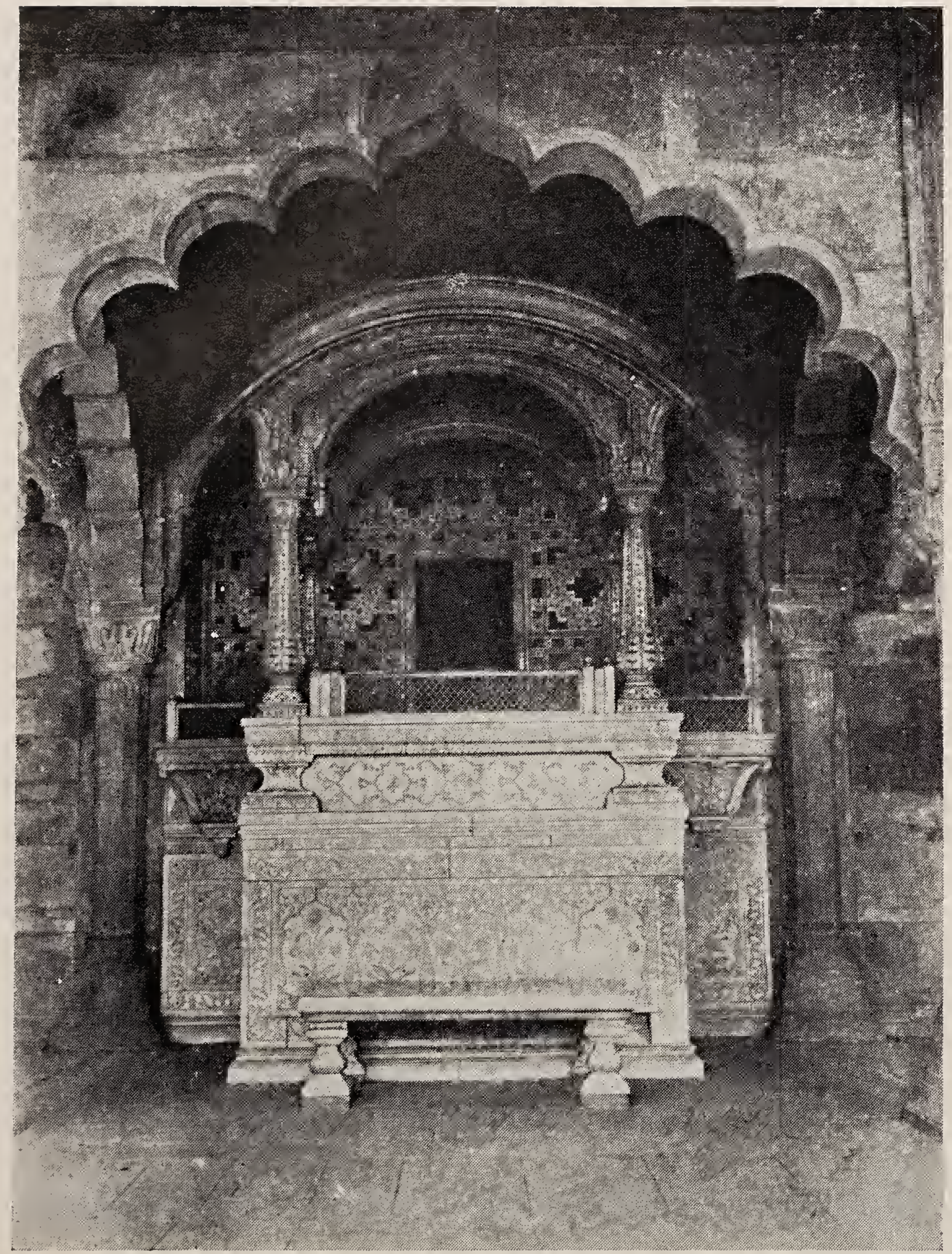
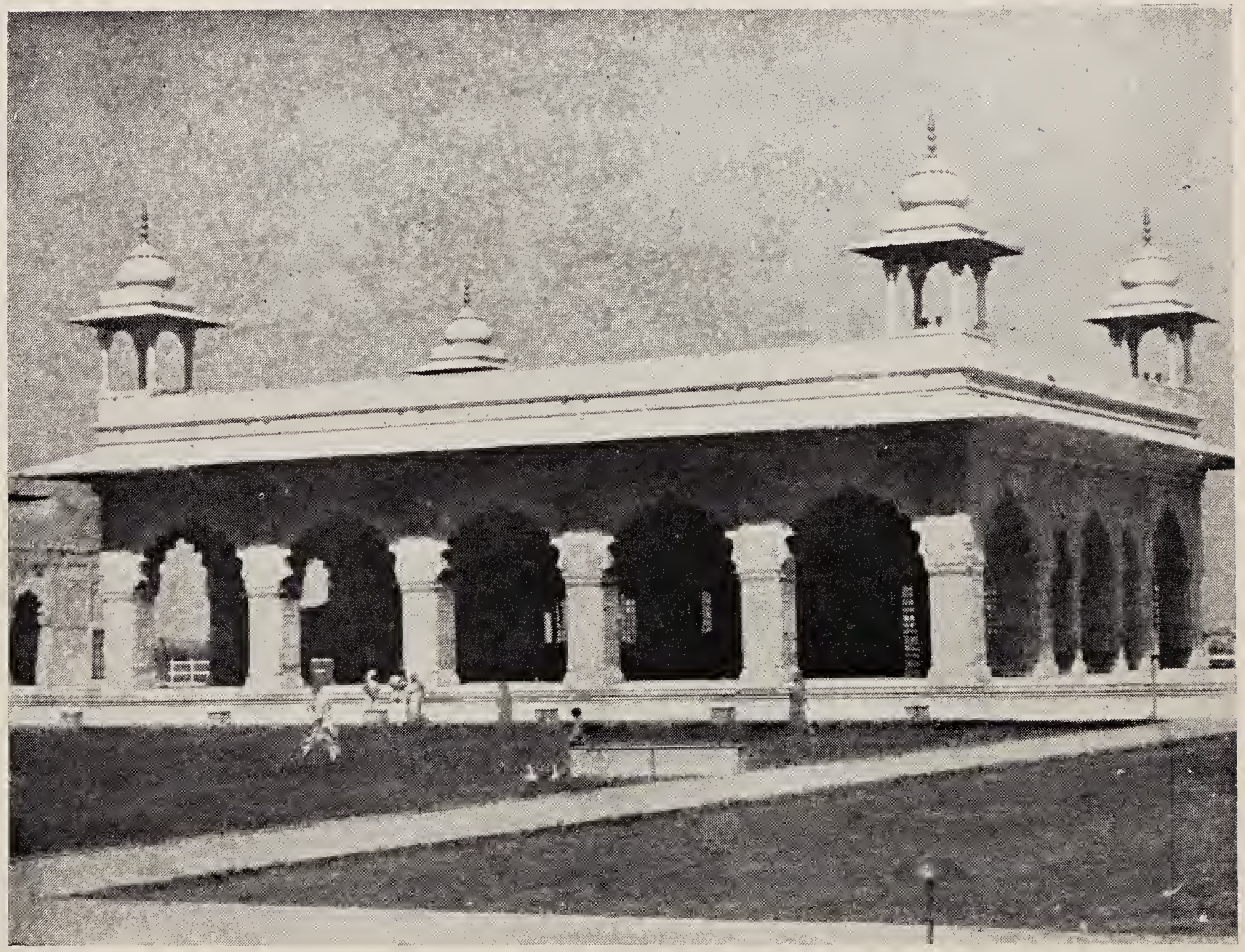


Plate 43. *Delhi, Red Fort: Diwan-i-Am, Interior with throne platform.* (pp. 788-89)



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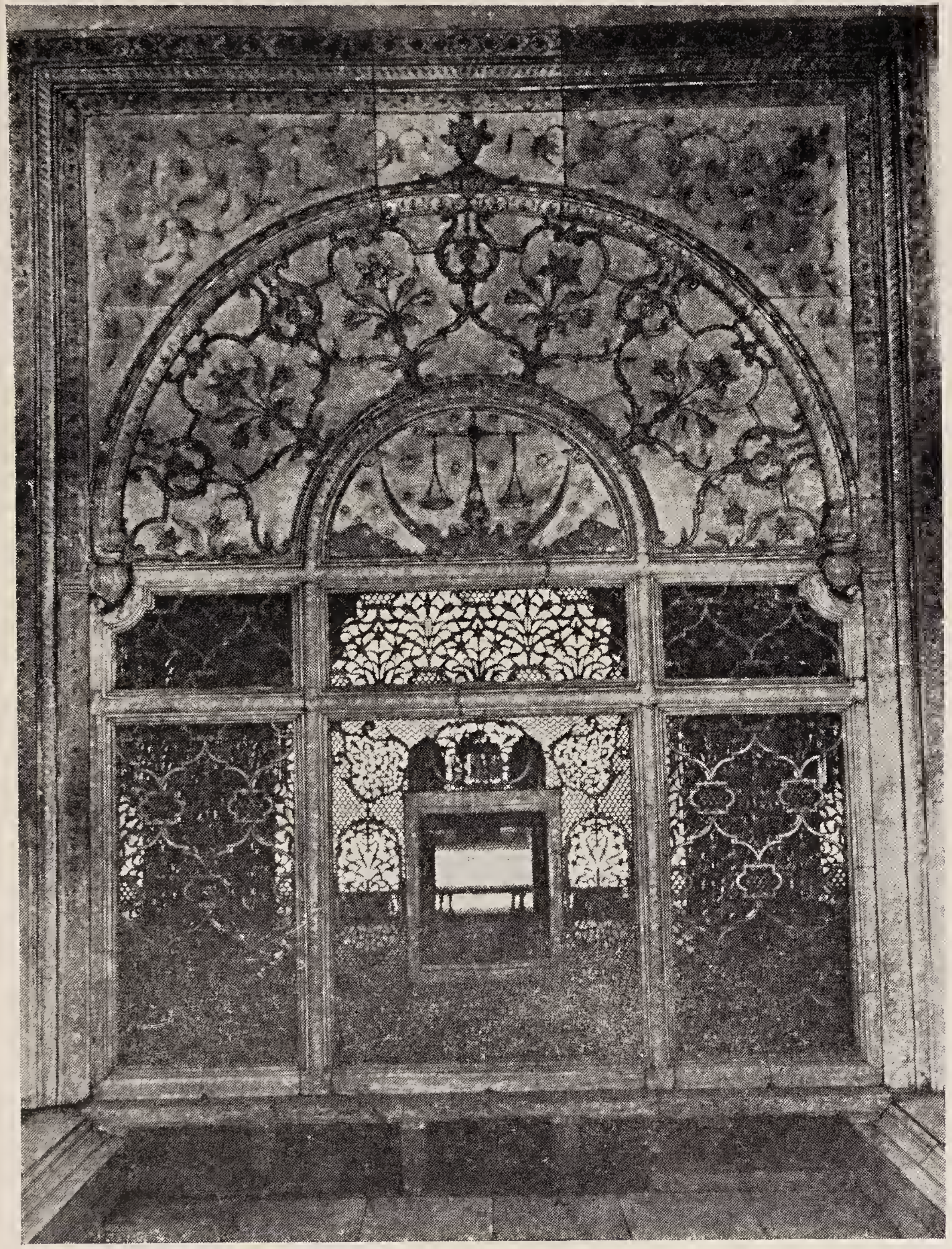

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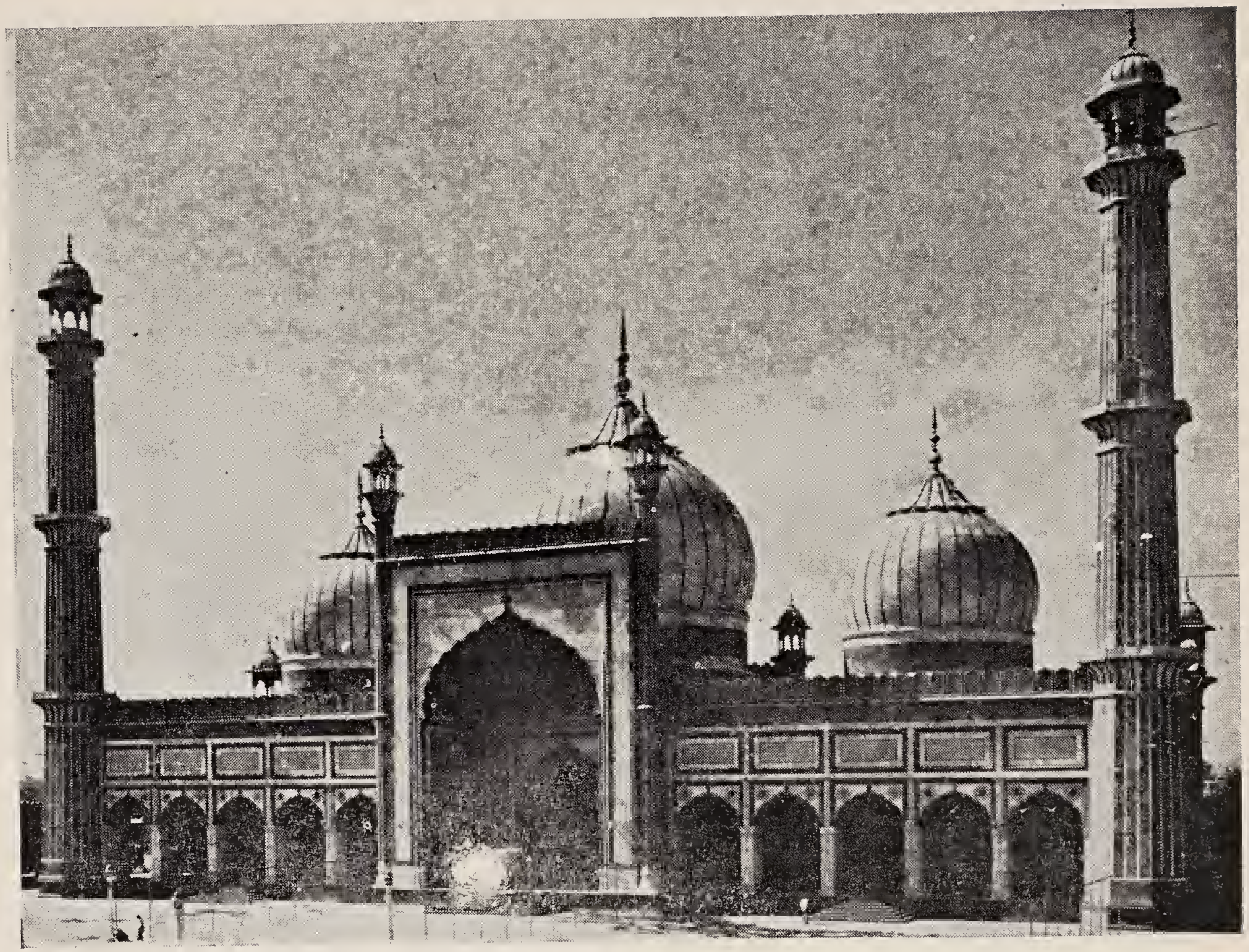

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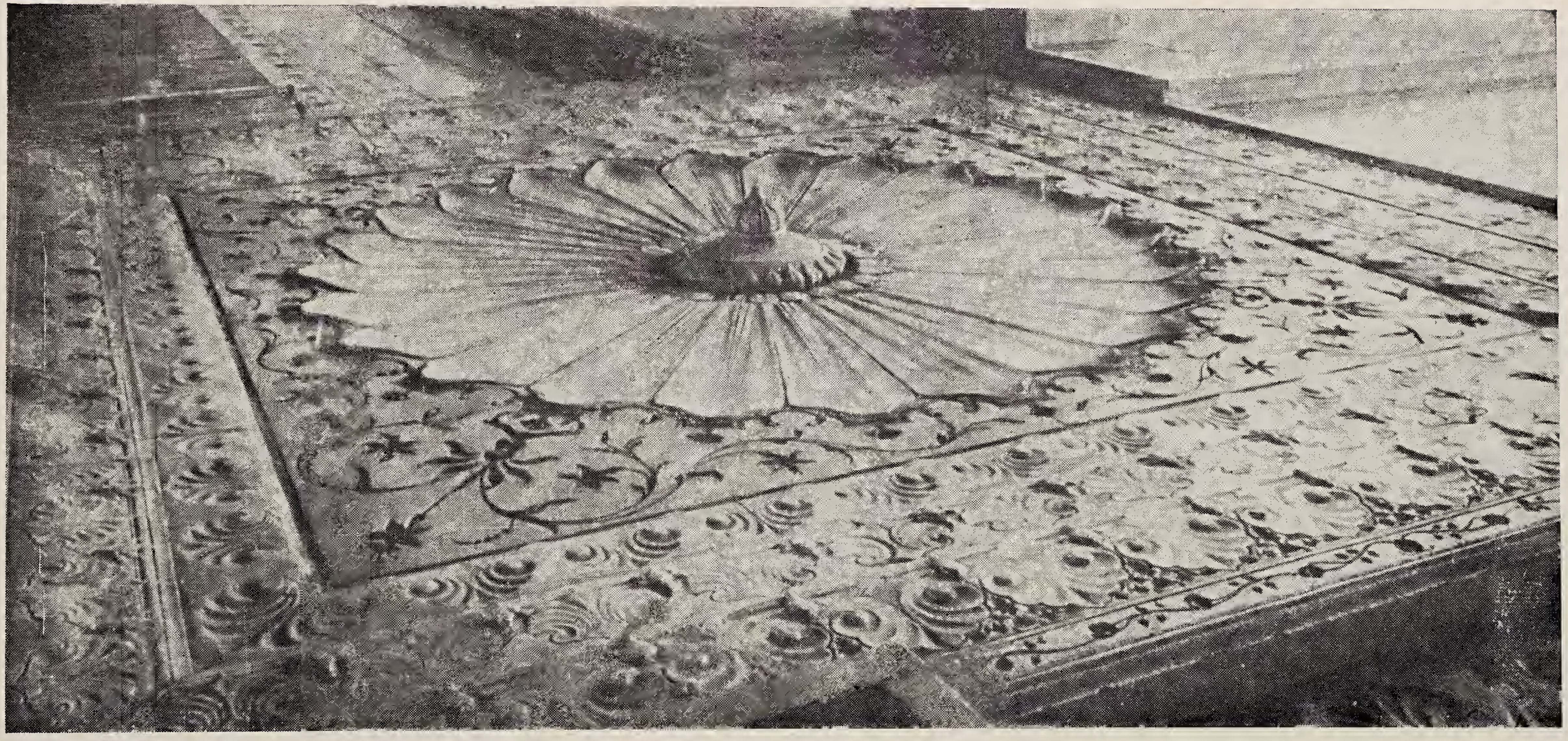


Plate 47. *Delhi, Red Fort: Rang Mahal.* (pp. 790-91)

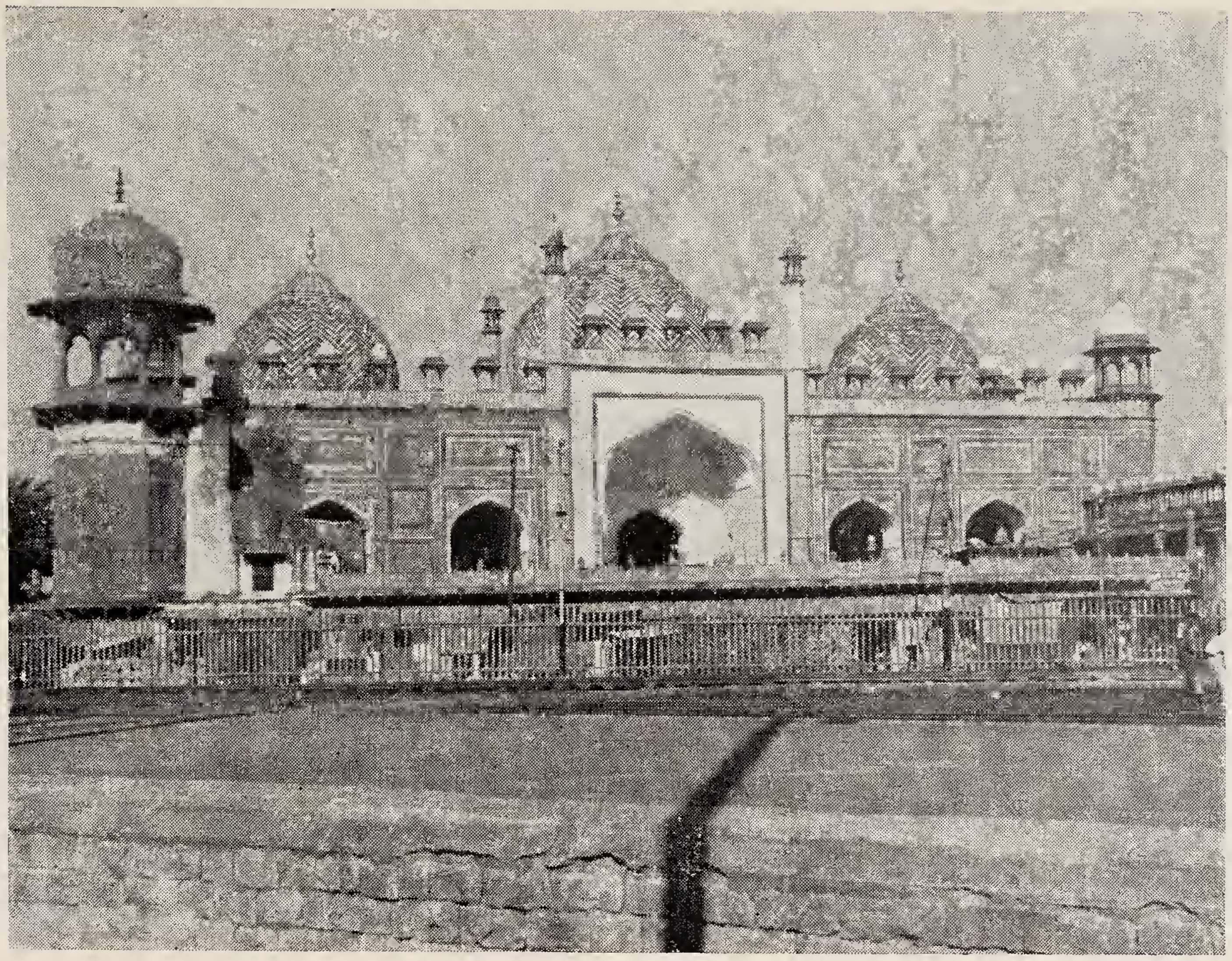
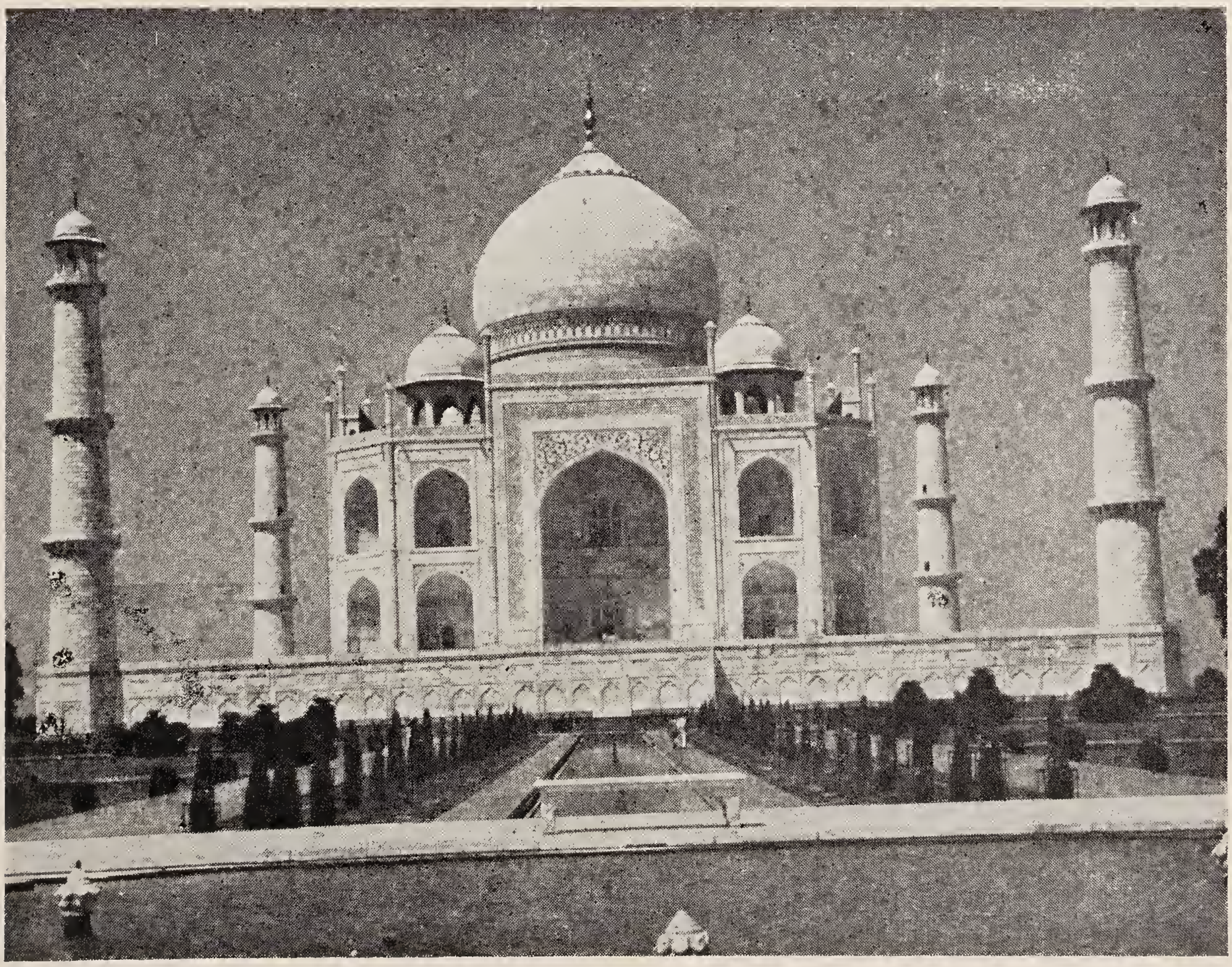


Plate 48. *Agra: Jami Masjid.* (pp. 792-93)



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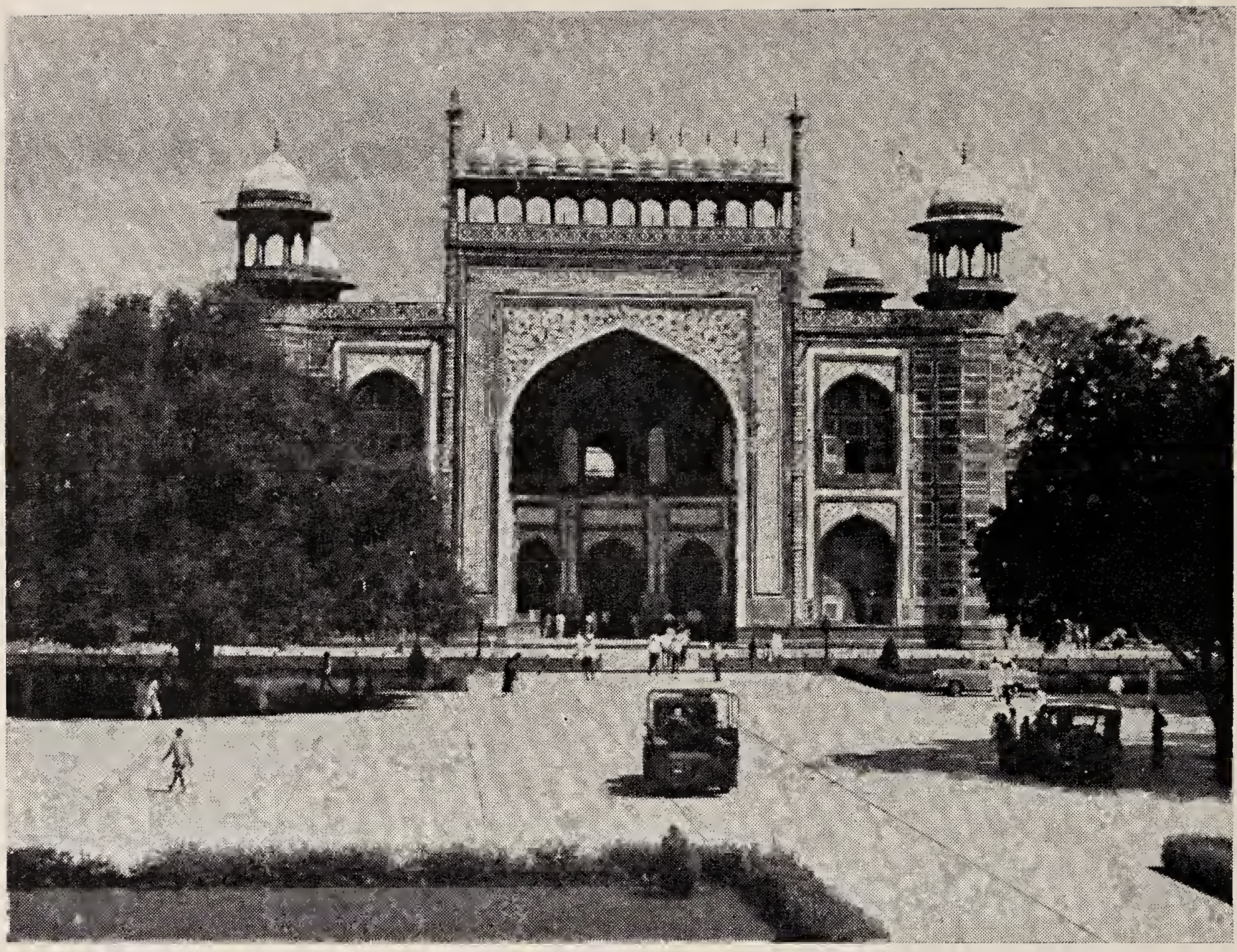


Plate 50. *Agra: Taj Mahal, Gateway.* (pp. 793-94)

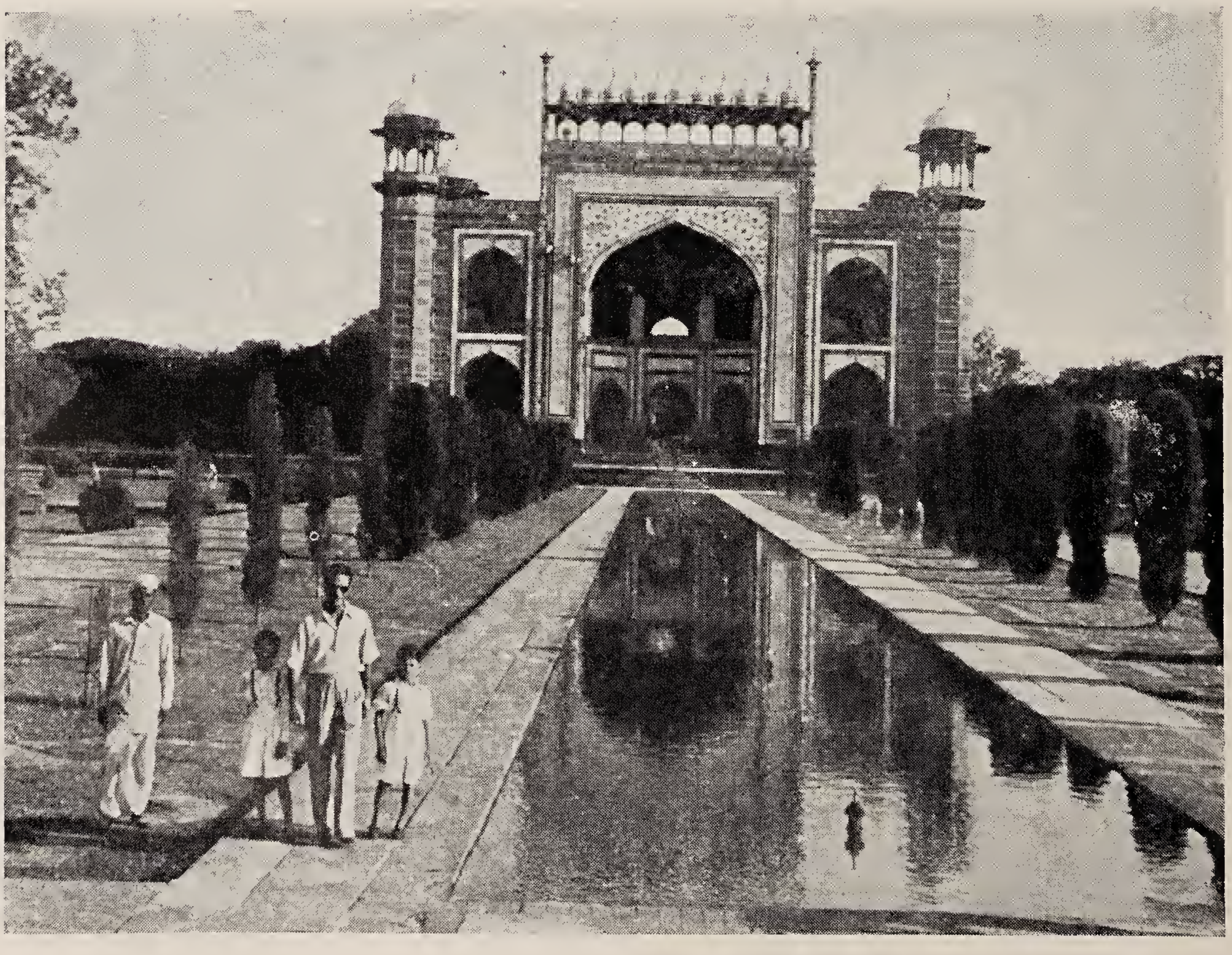


Plate 51. *Agra: Taj Mahal, Gateway, Back view.* (p. 794)

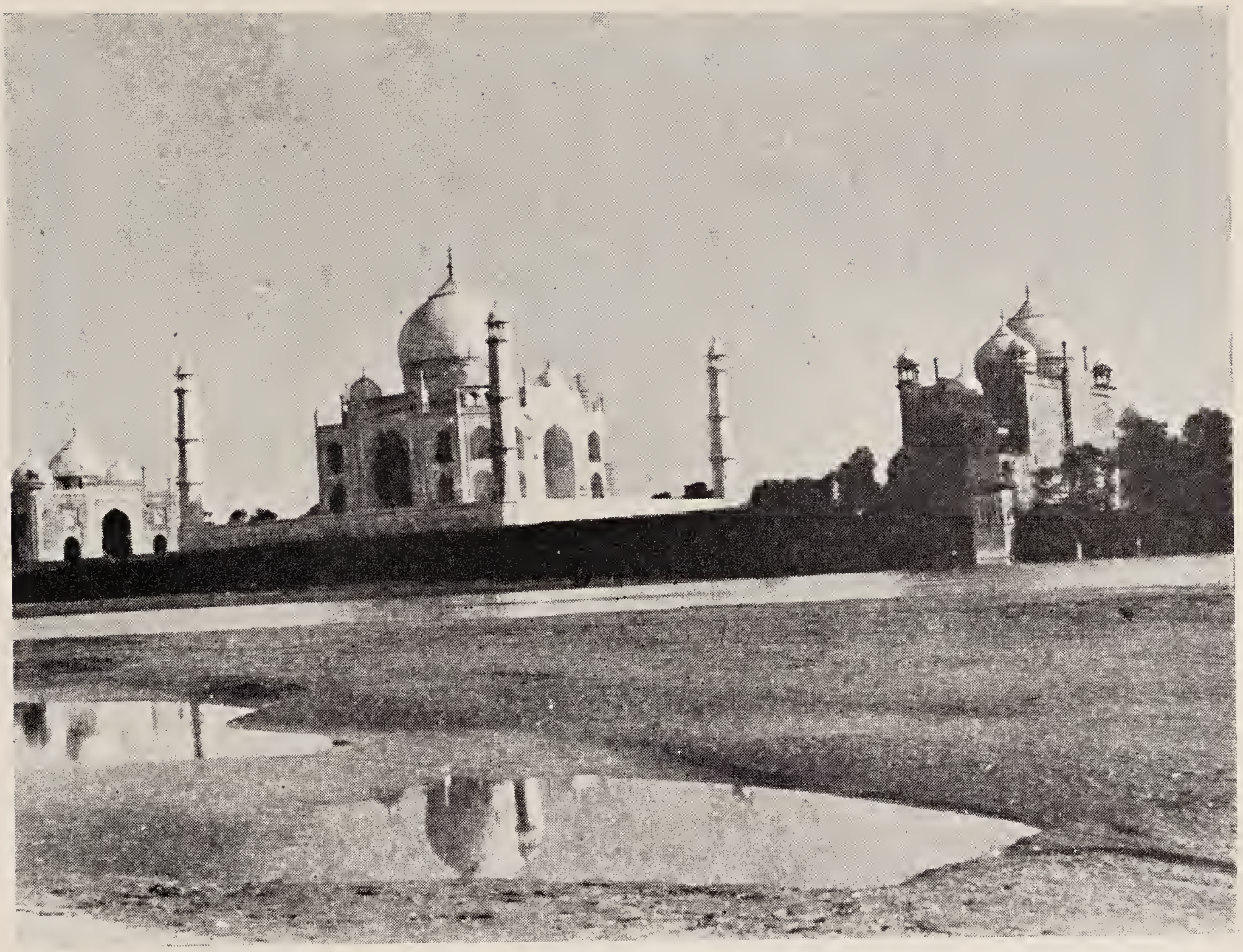


Plate 52. *Agra: Taj Mahal, View from the river.* (pp. 793-95)

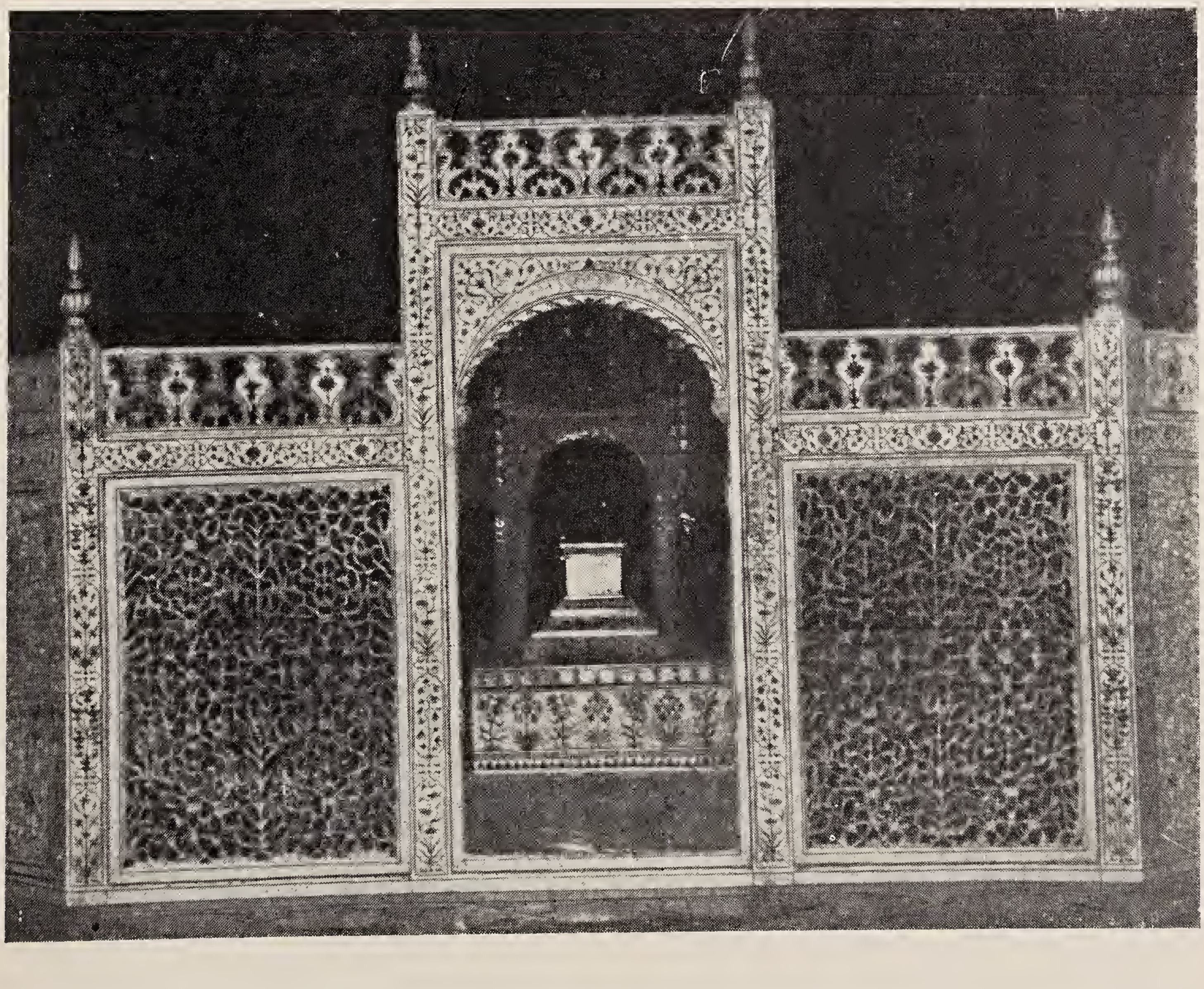


Plate 53. *Agra: Taj Mahal, Marble rail around cenotaphs.* (p. 795)

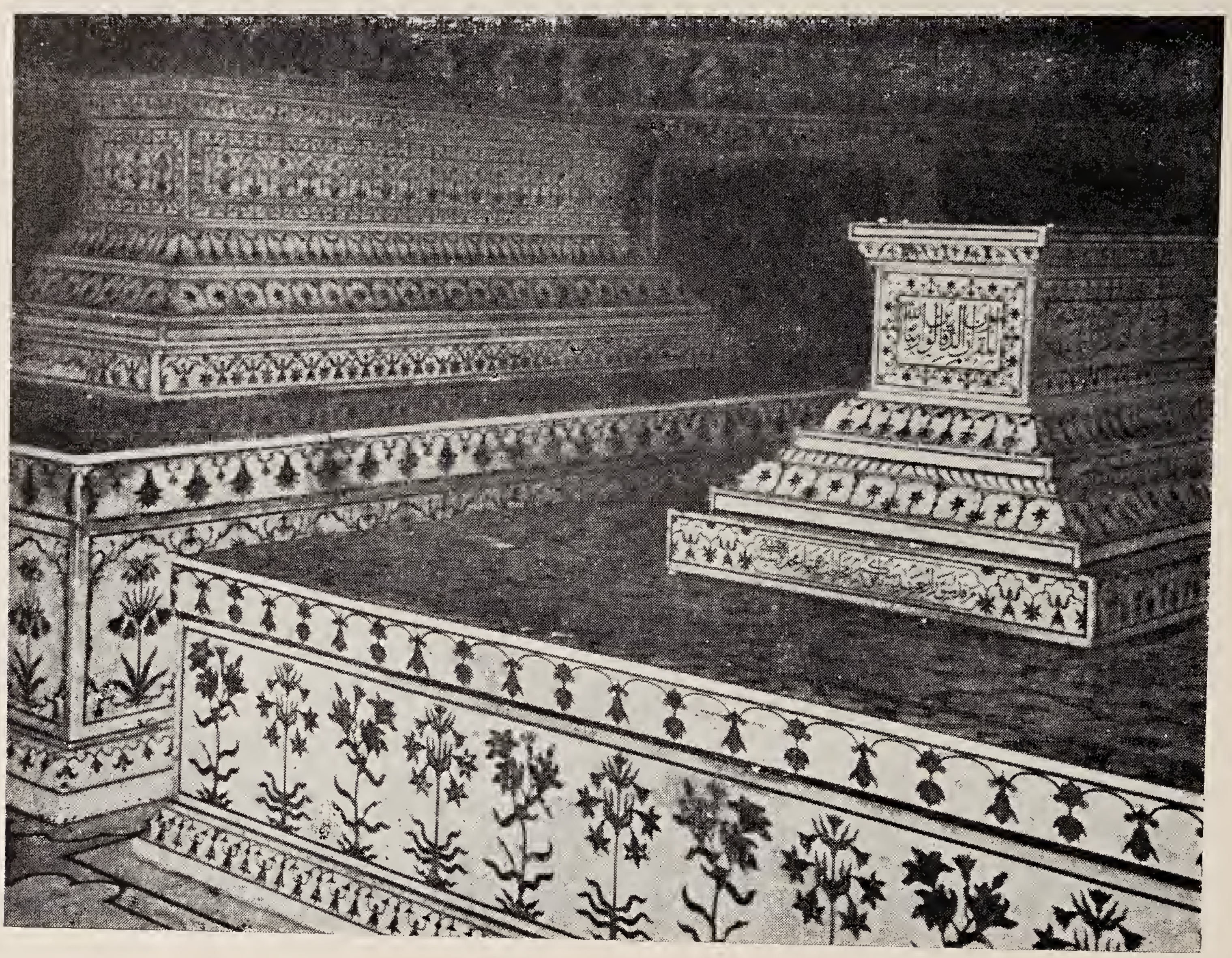


Plate 54. *Agra: Taj Mahal, Cenotaphs.* (p. 795)

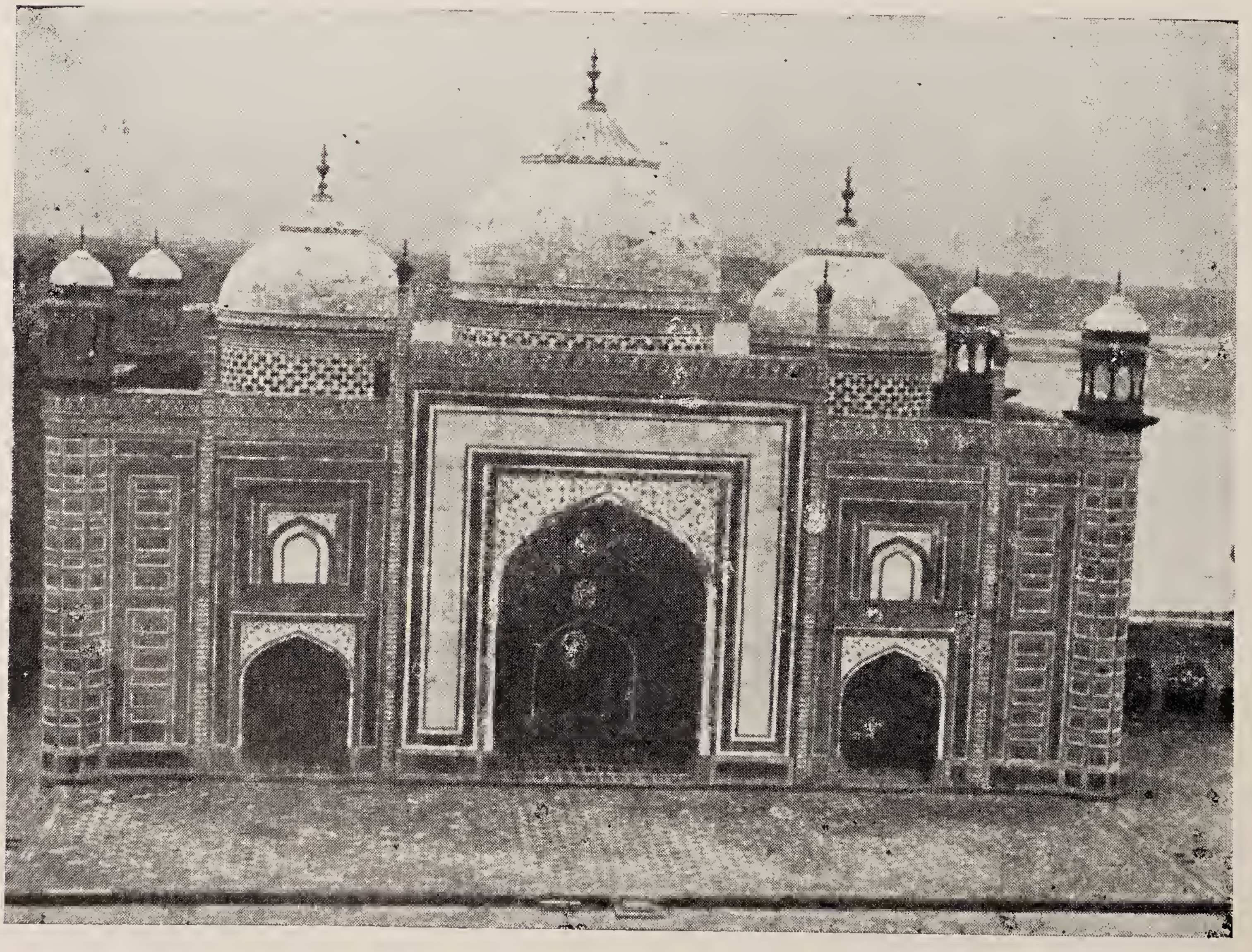


Plate 55. *Agra: Taj Mahal, Mosque.* (p. 794)

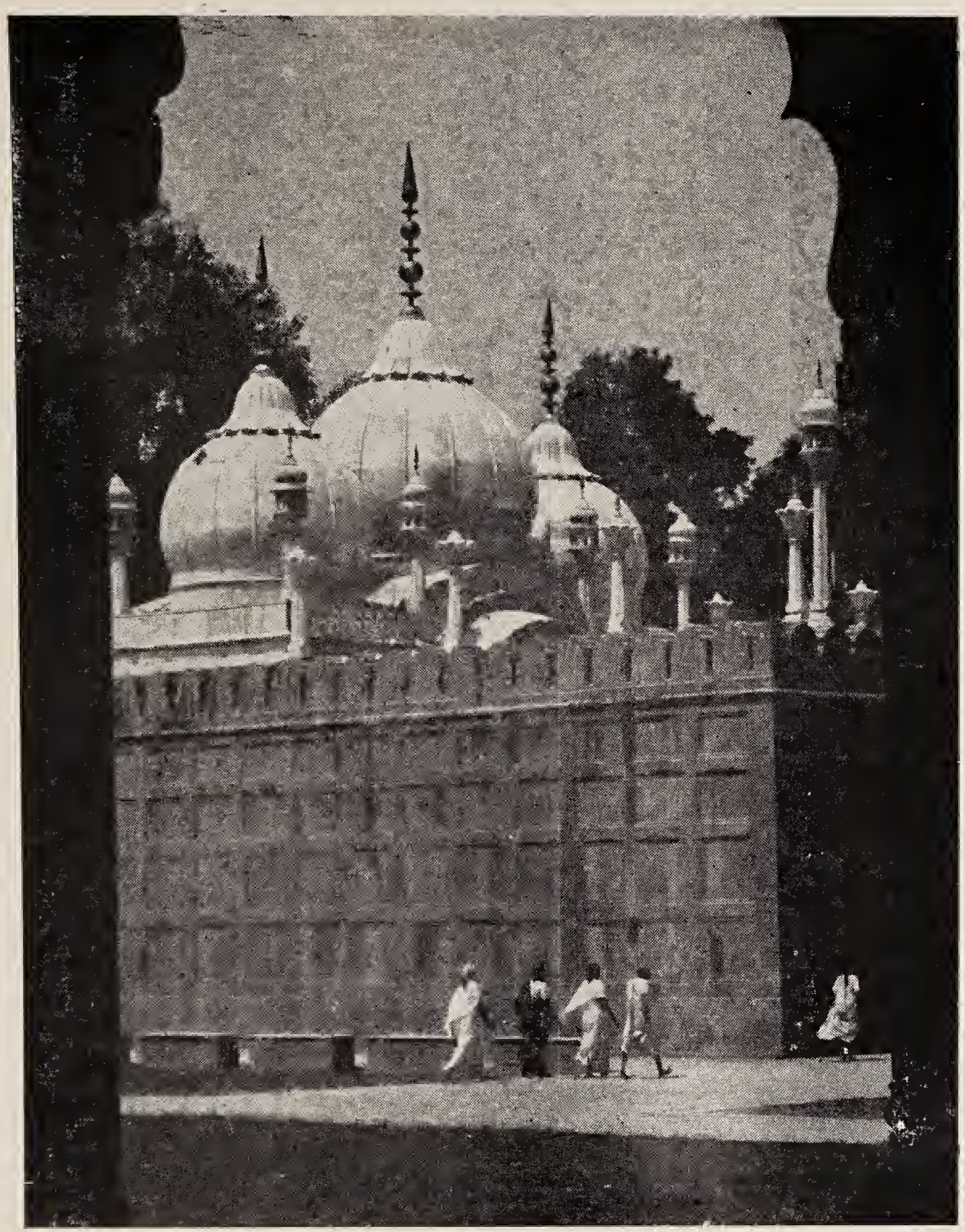


Plate 56. *Delhi, Red Fort: Moti Masjid.* (pp. 800-01)

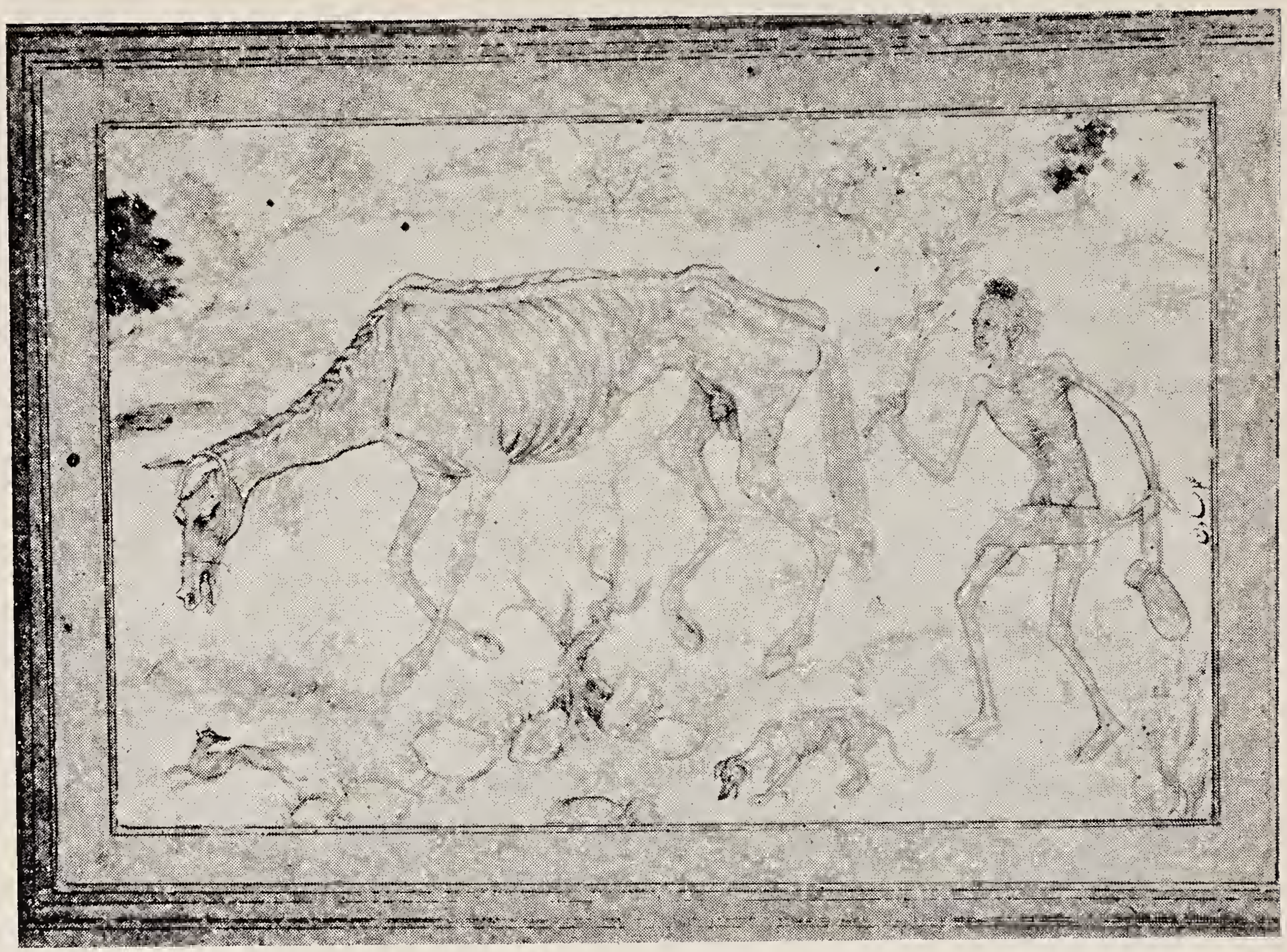


Plate 57. *Majnun in the Wilderness by Basawan, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

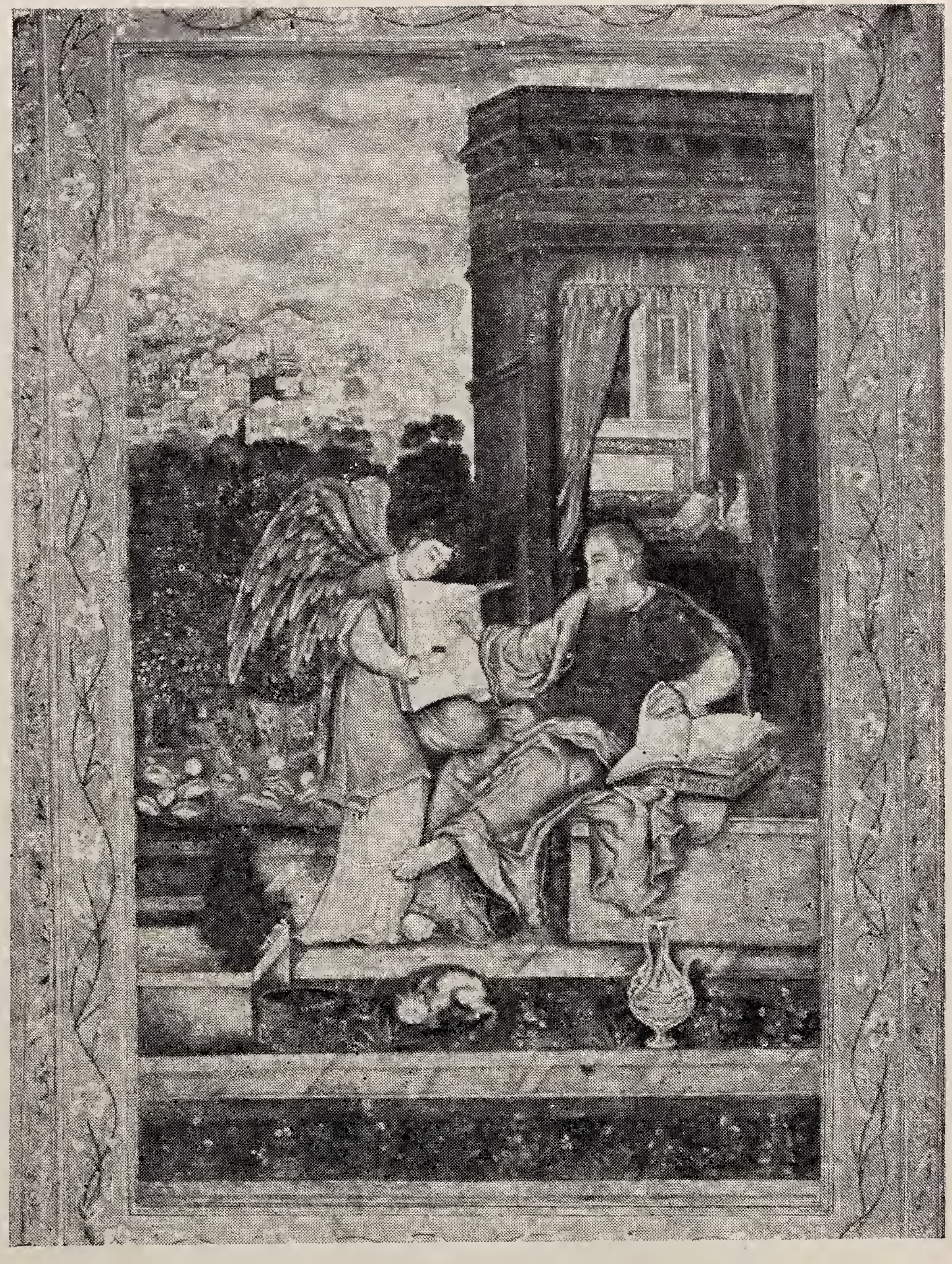


Plate 58. *St. Mathew writing, Mughul Copy by Kesavdas, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*

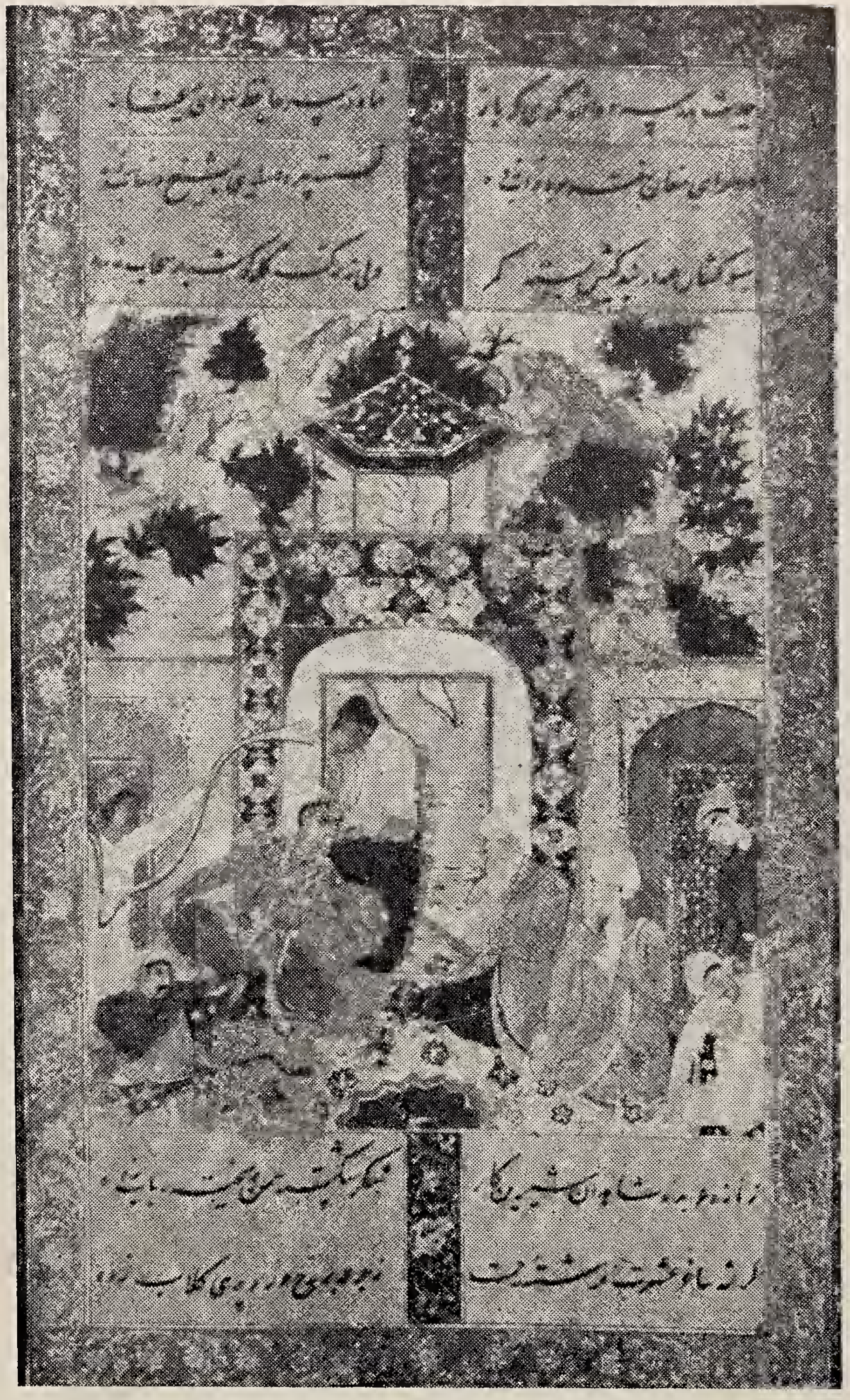


Plate 59. *Folio from the Diwan-i-Hafiz, Raza Library, Rampur.*

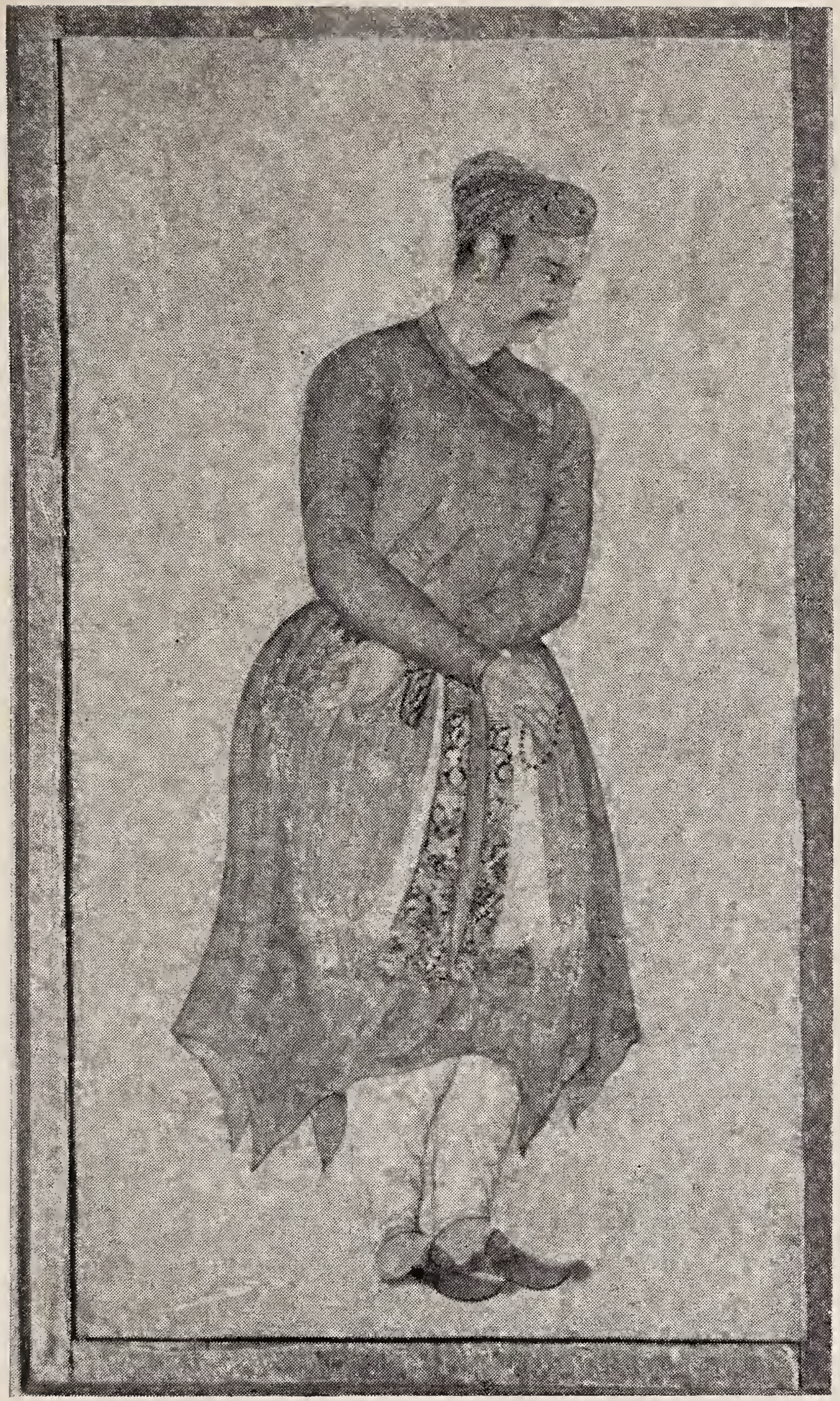


Plate 60. *Portrait of Raja Birbal, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras.*

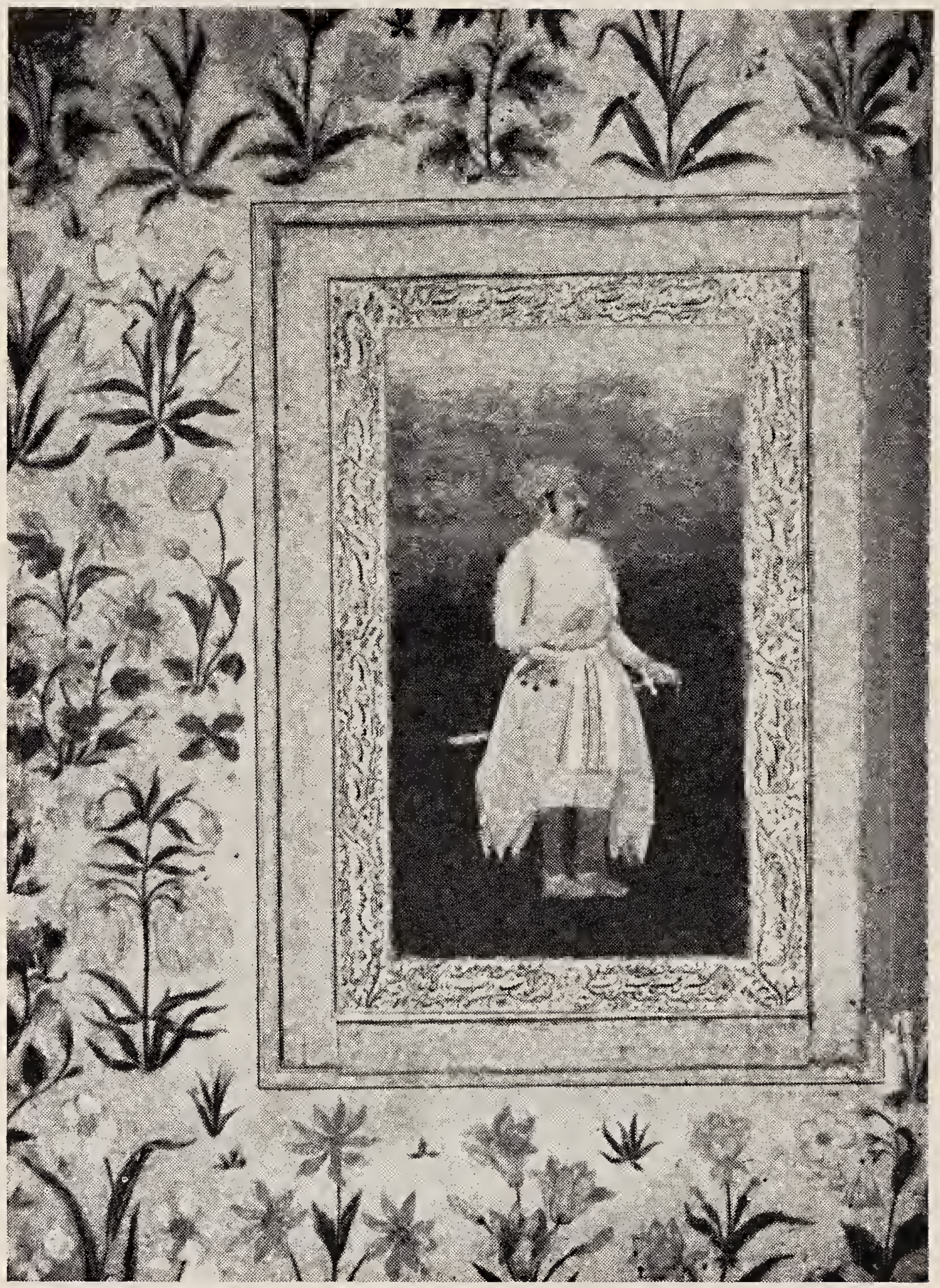


Plate 61. *Portrait of Suraj Mal by Nanha, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

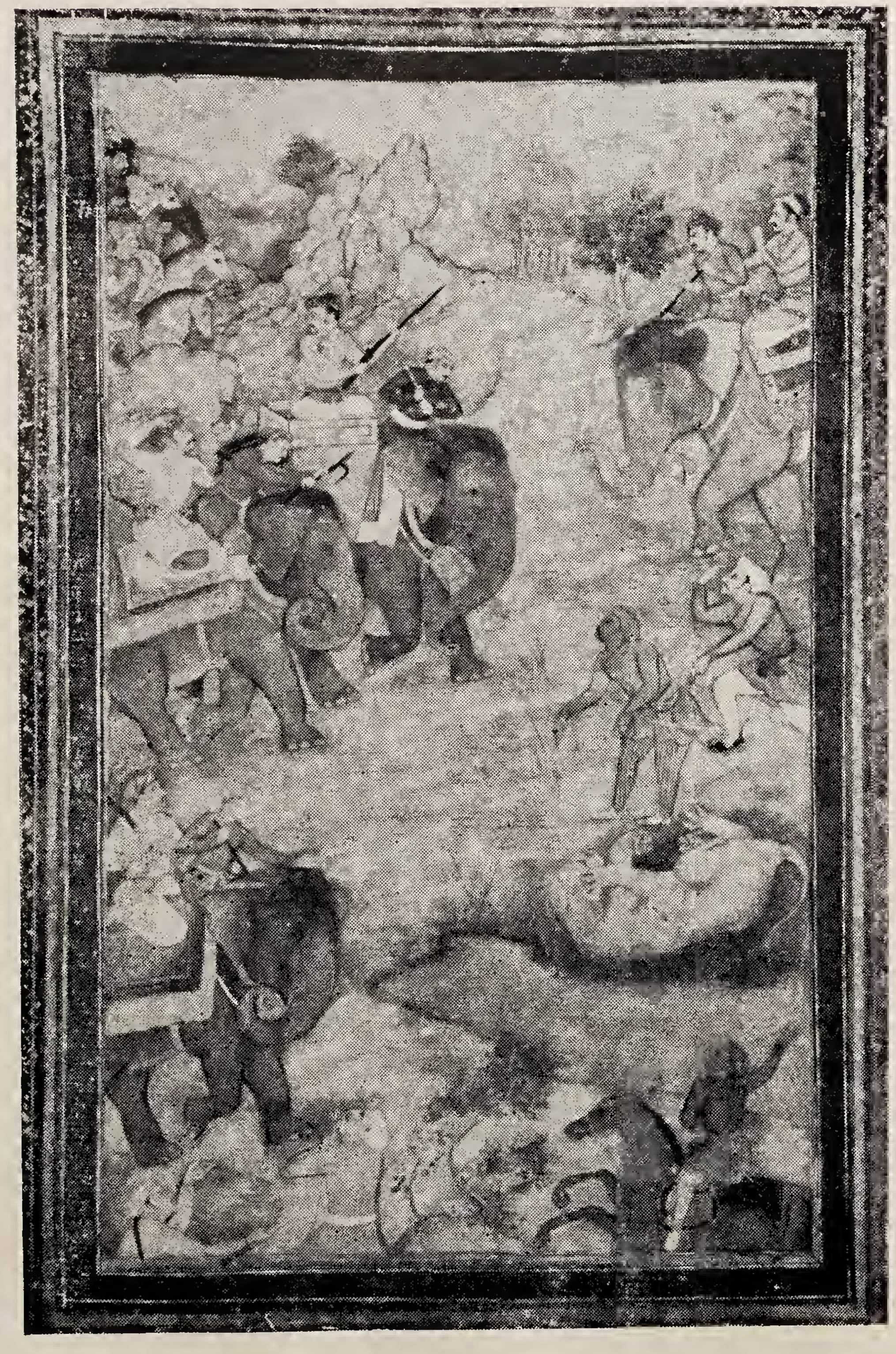


Plate 62. *Jahangir hunting a Lioness, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

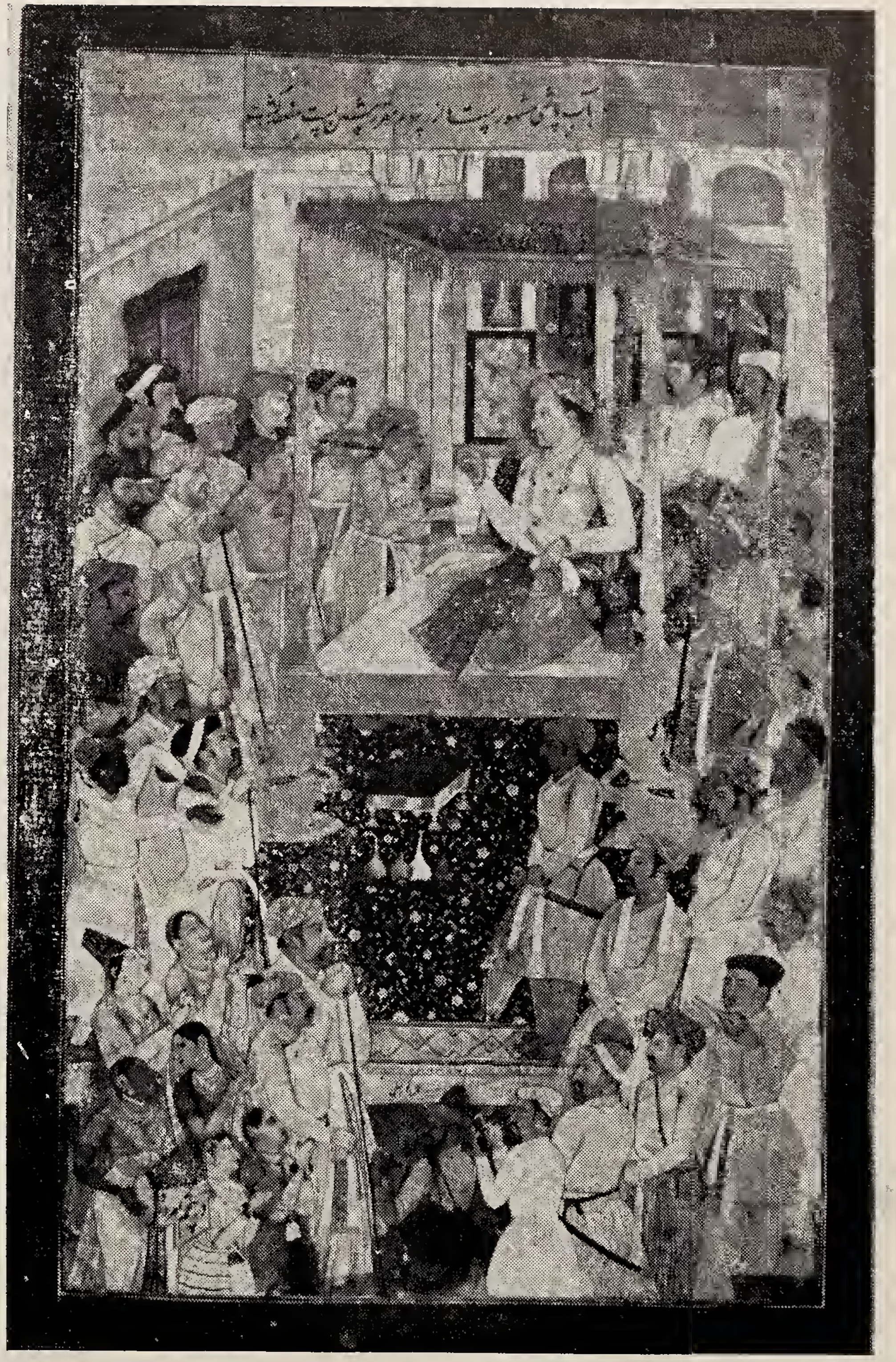


Plate 63. *Jahangir celebrating the festival of 'Ab-Pashi' by Govardhan, Raza Library, Rampur.*

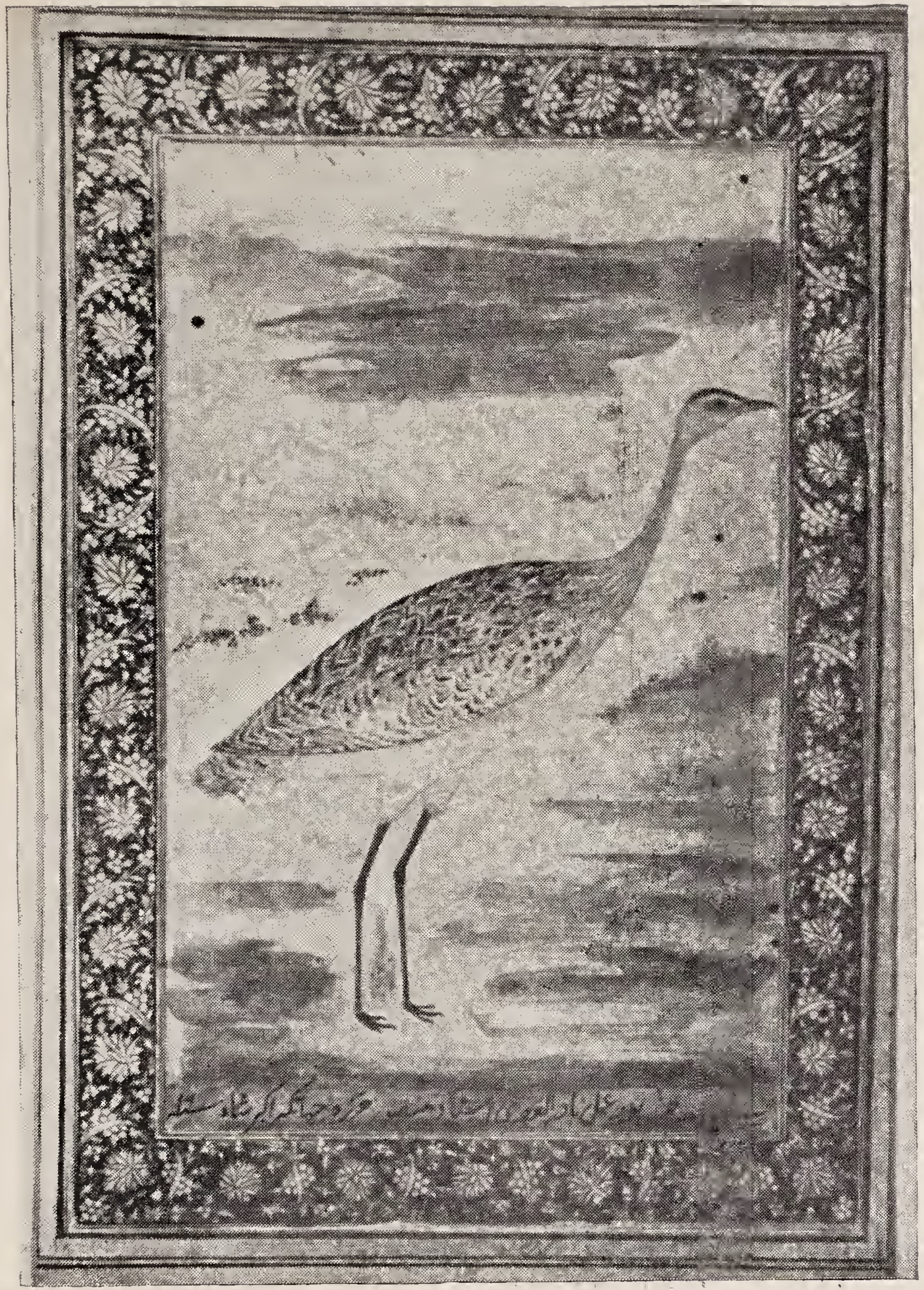


Plate 64. *Bengal Florican by Ustad Mansur, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

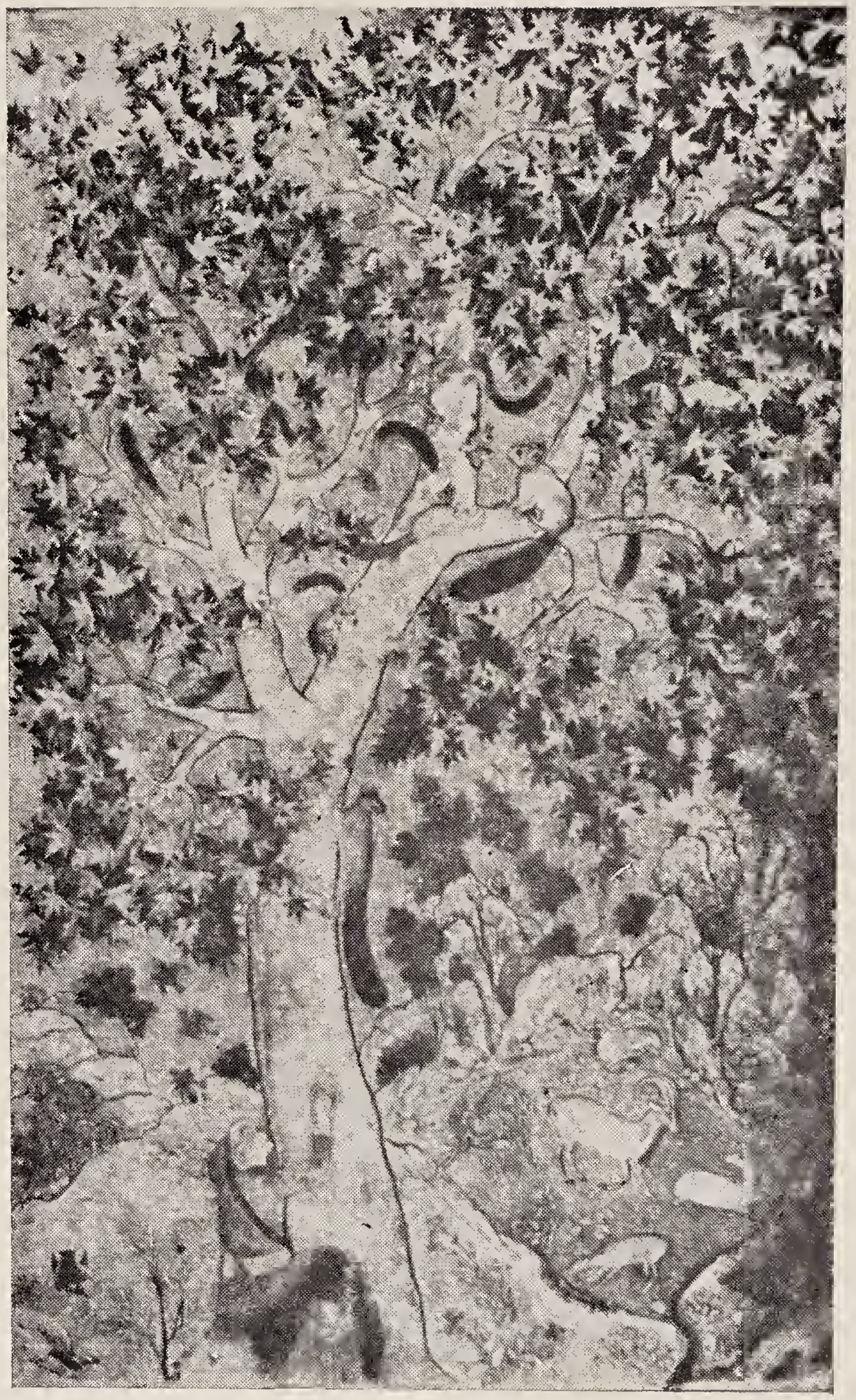


Plate 65. *Squirrels on a Chanar Tree, India Office Library, London.*

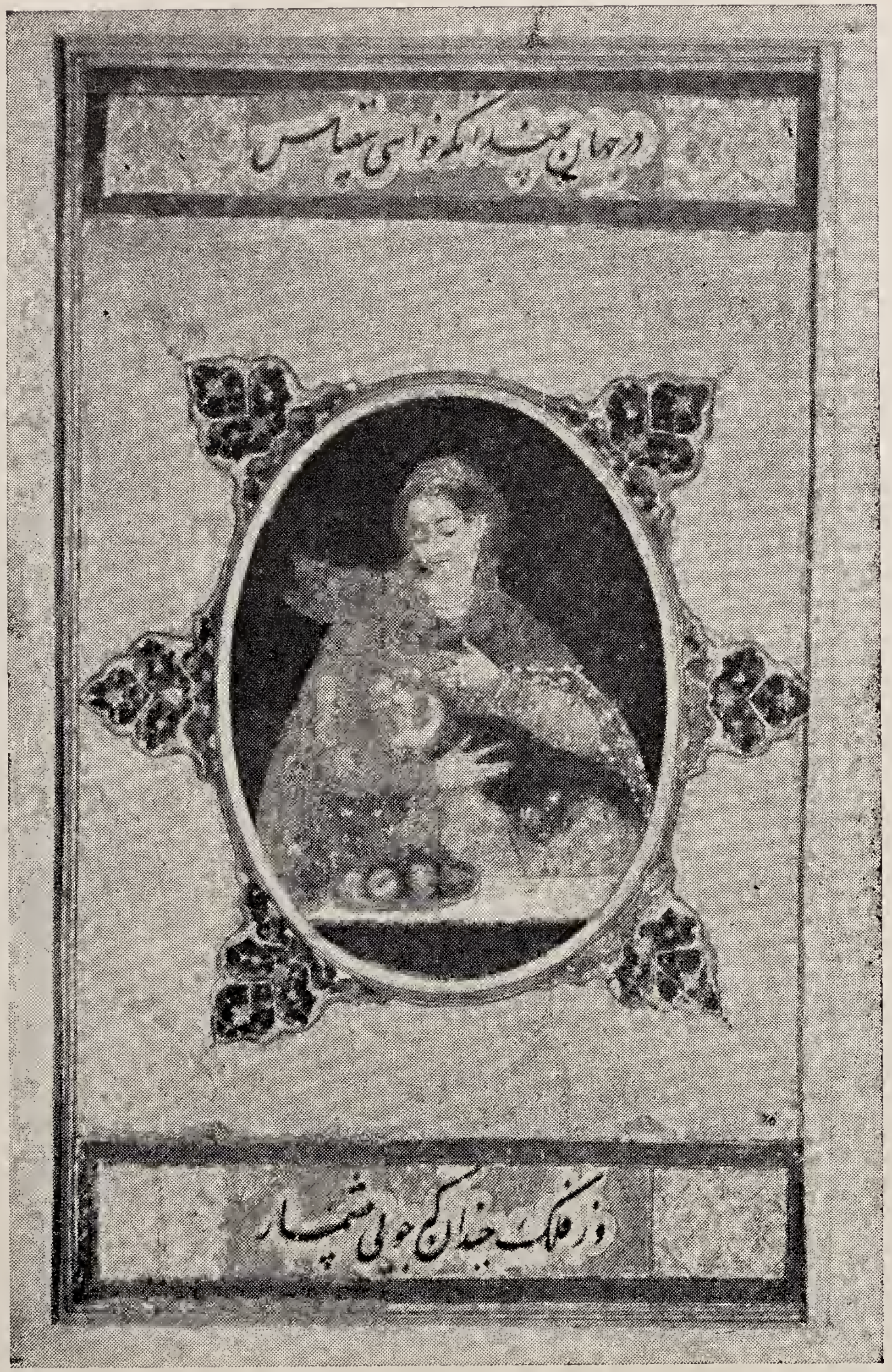


Plate 66. *Madonna and Child, Mughul Copy, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

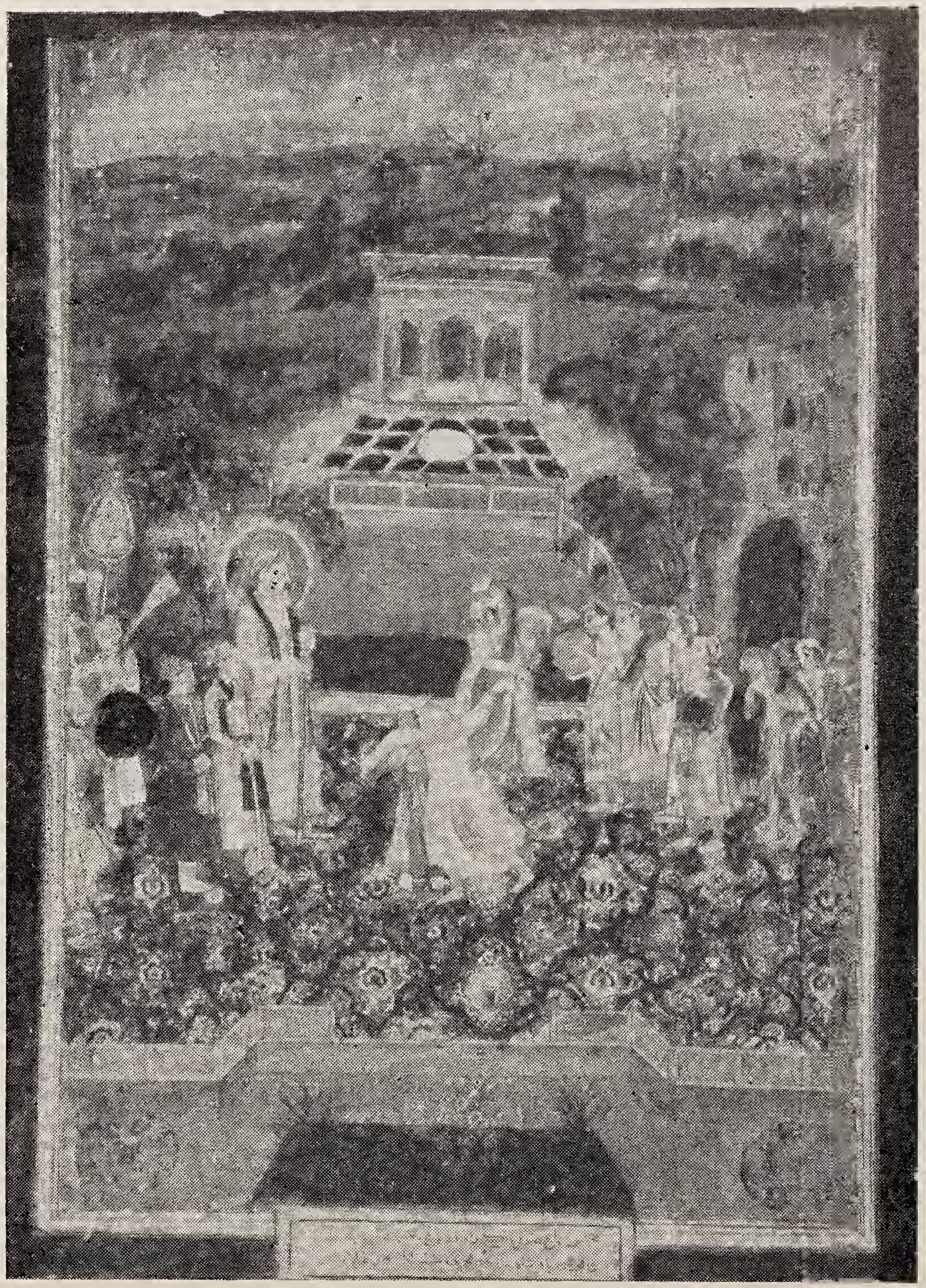


Plate 67. *Shah Jahan witnessing Sufis dancing, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

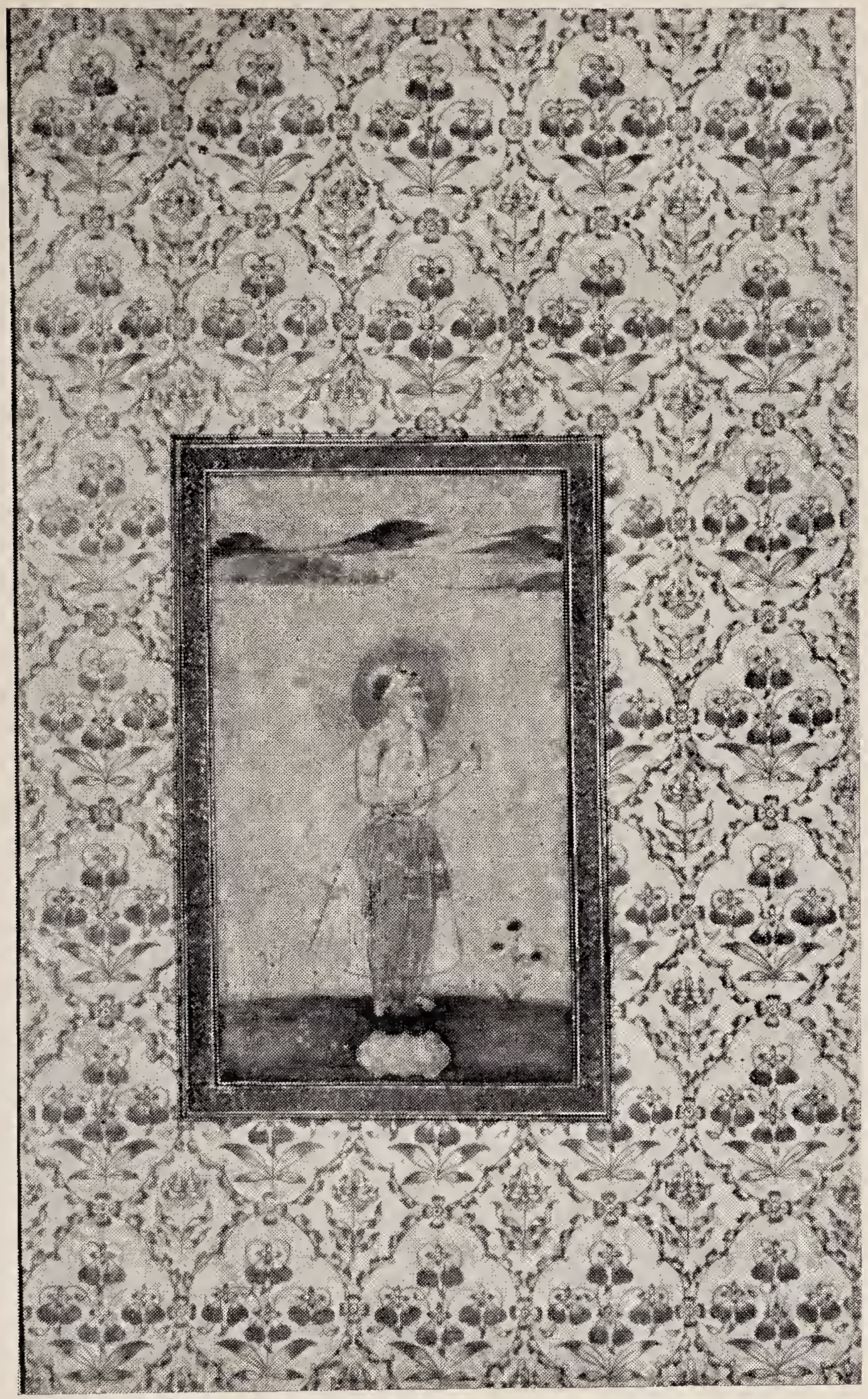


Plate 68. *Portrait of Shah Jahan in old age, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.*

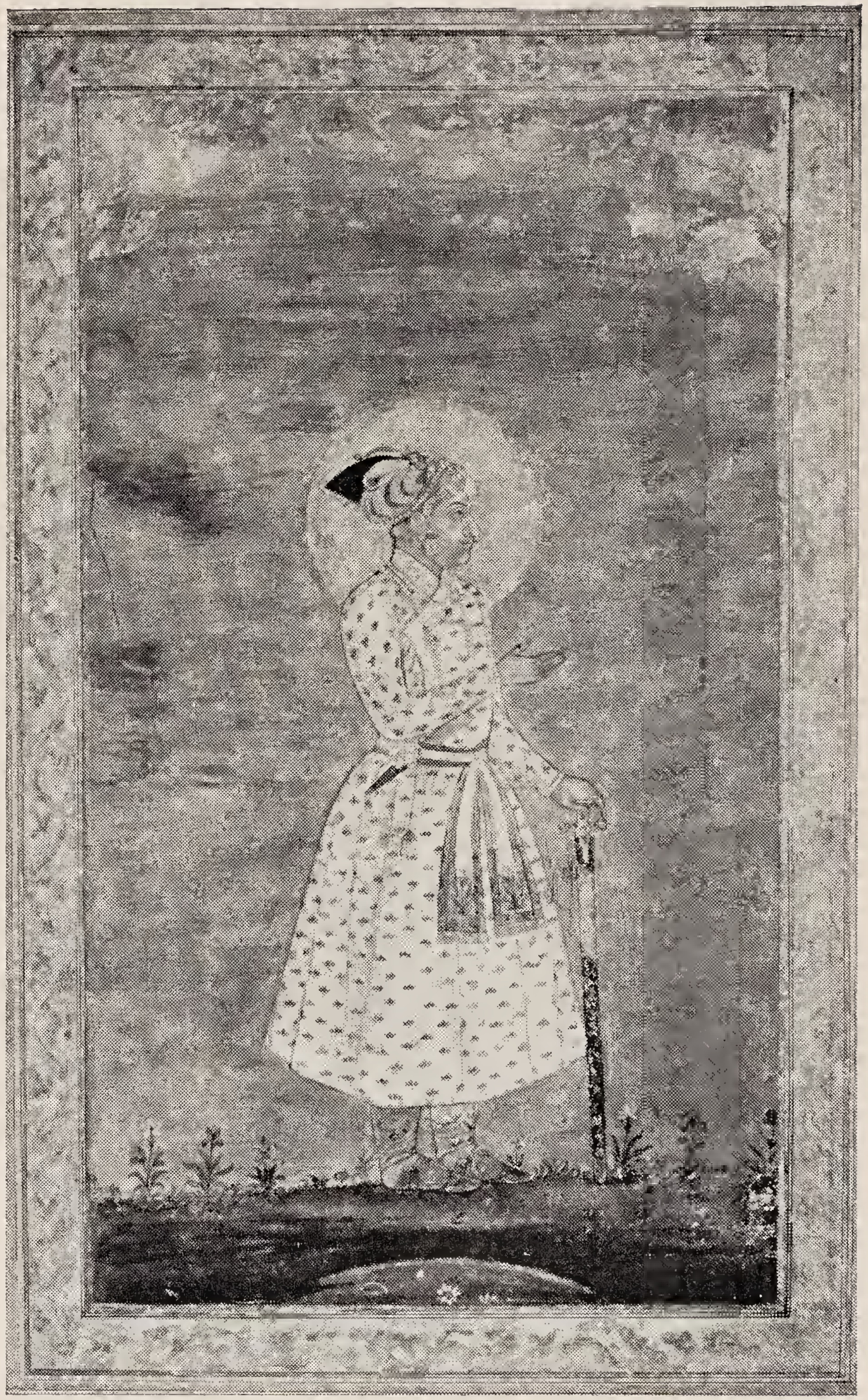


Plate 69. *Portrait of a Mughul Officer.*

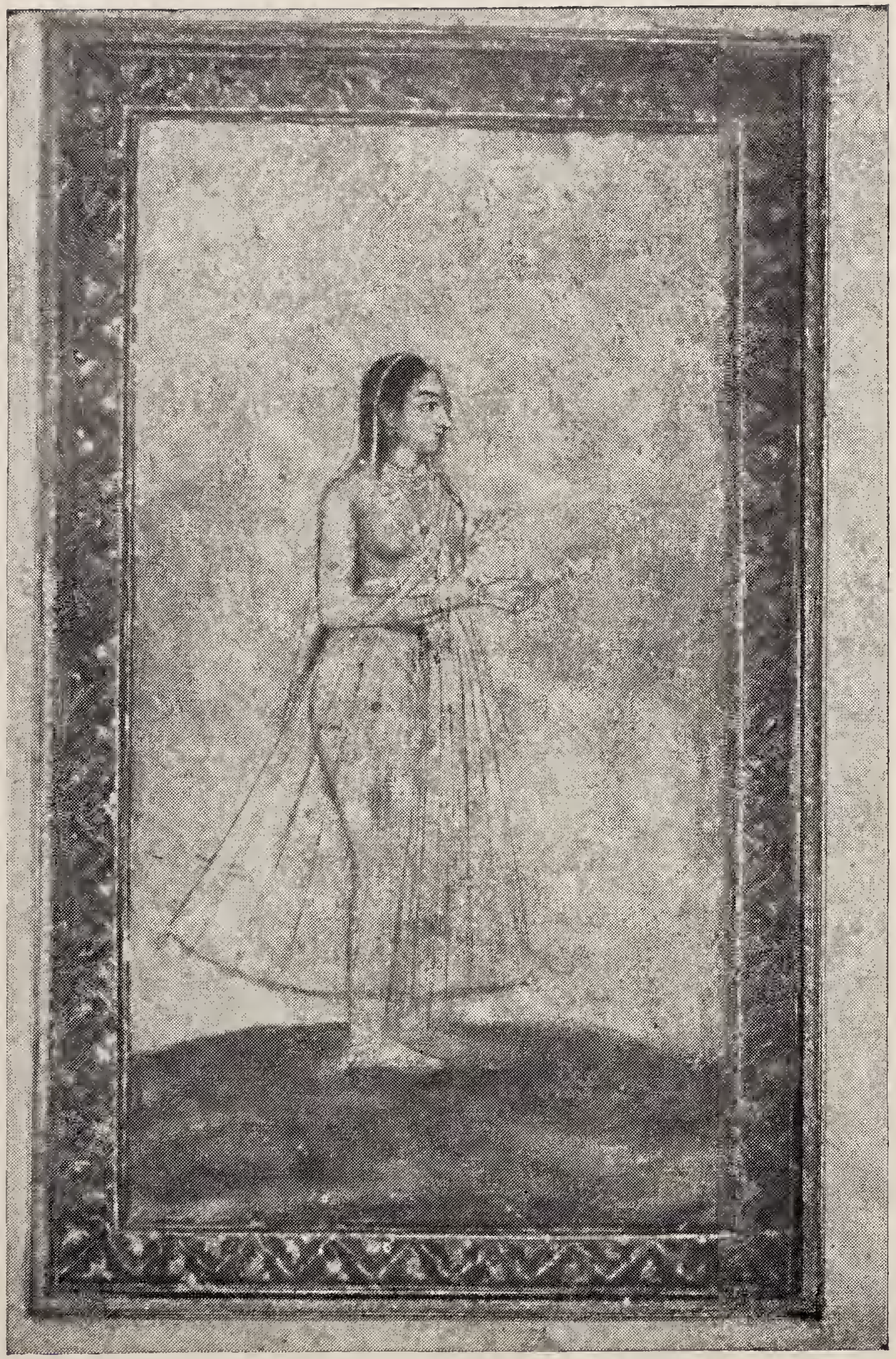


Plate 70. *A Mughul Princess, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*

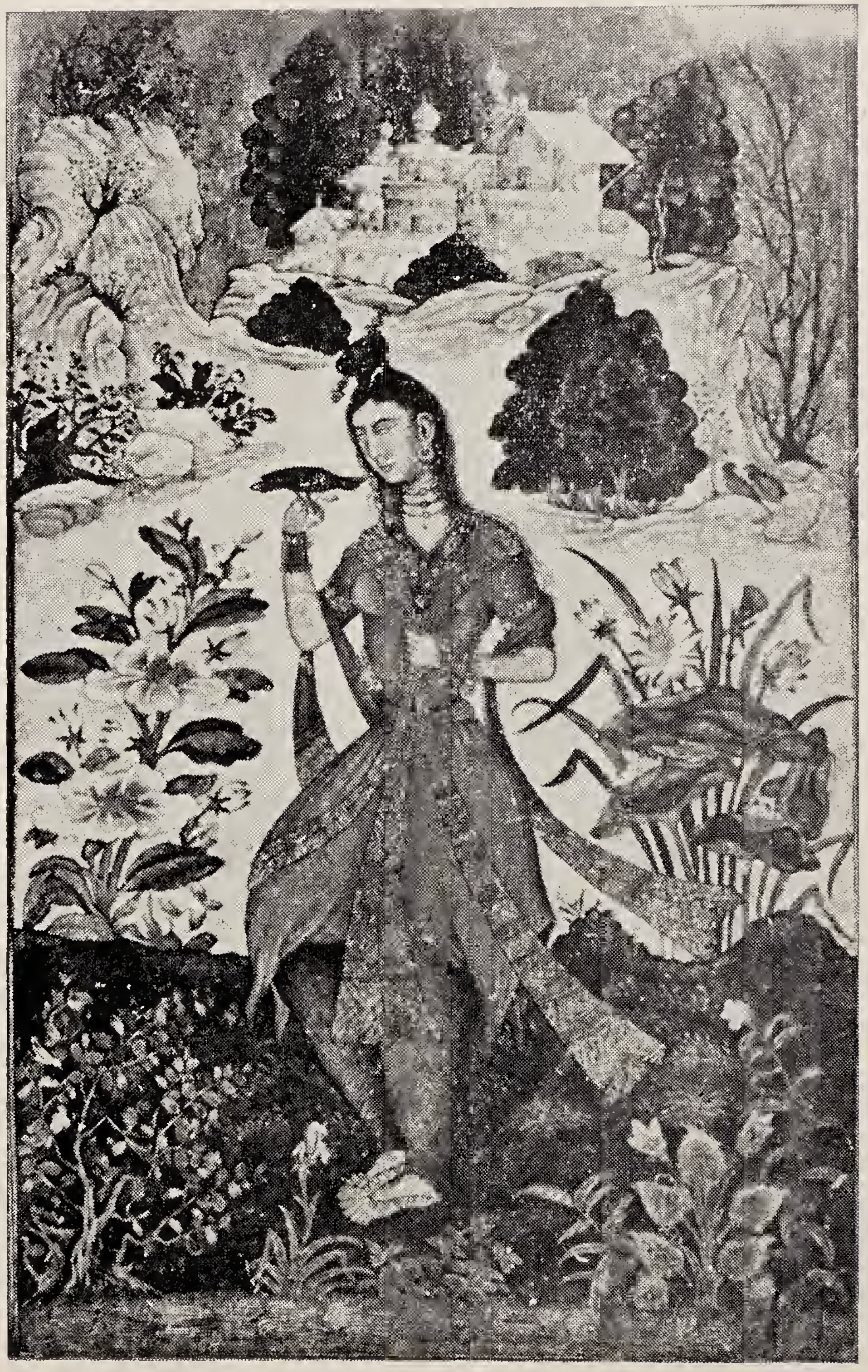


Plate 71. *Lady with a Myna, Bijapur School, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.*

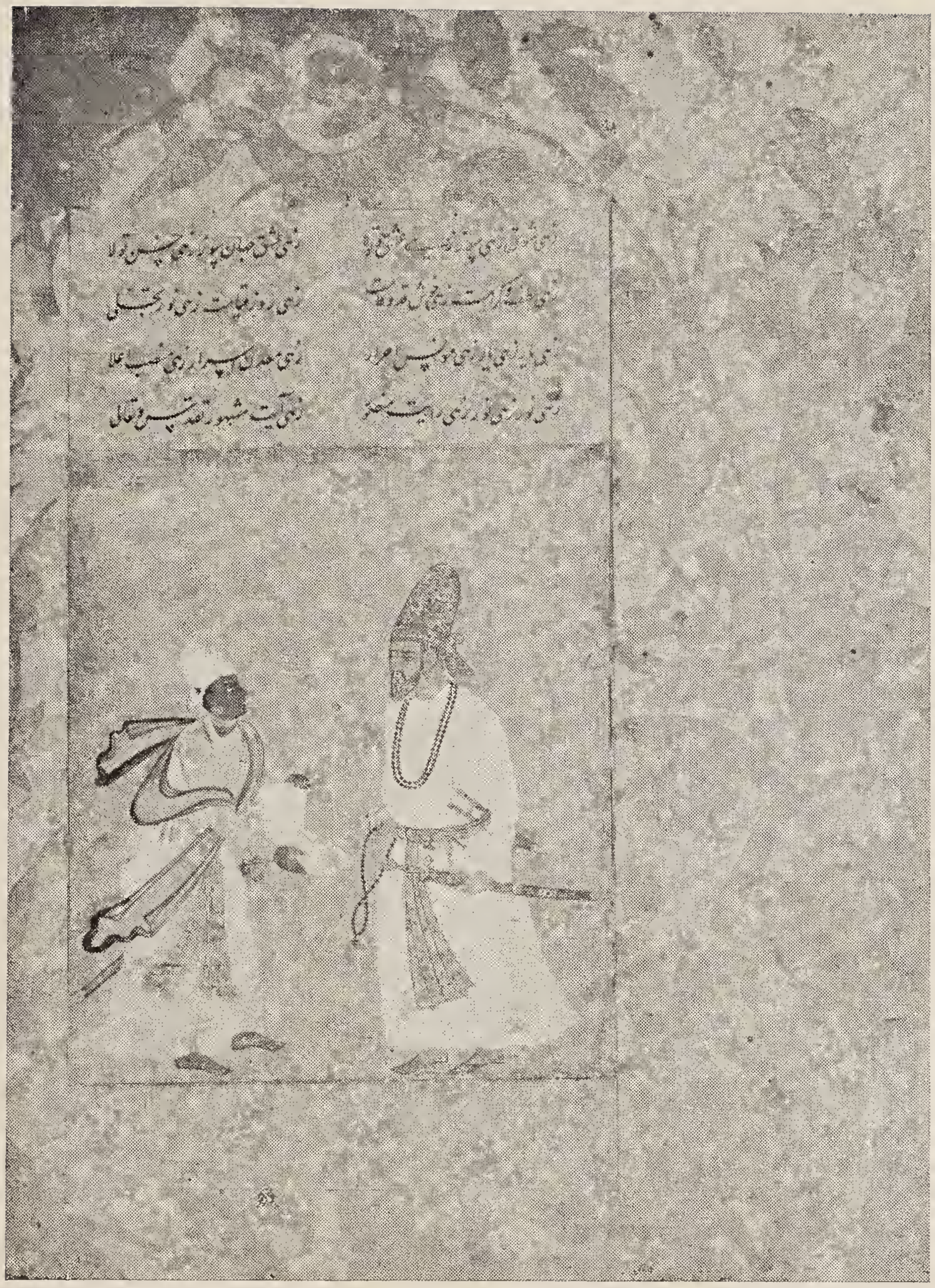
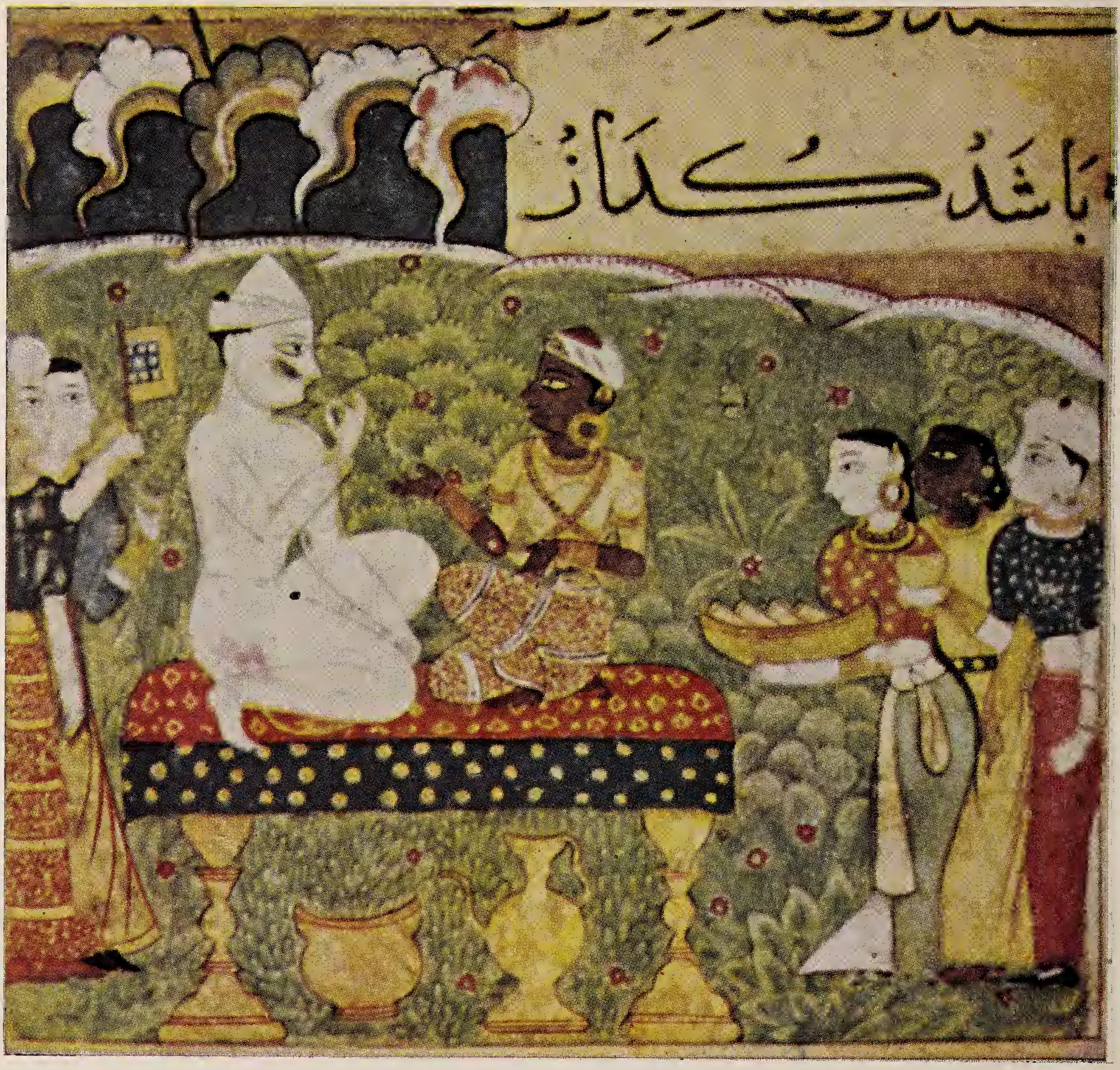
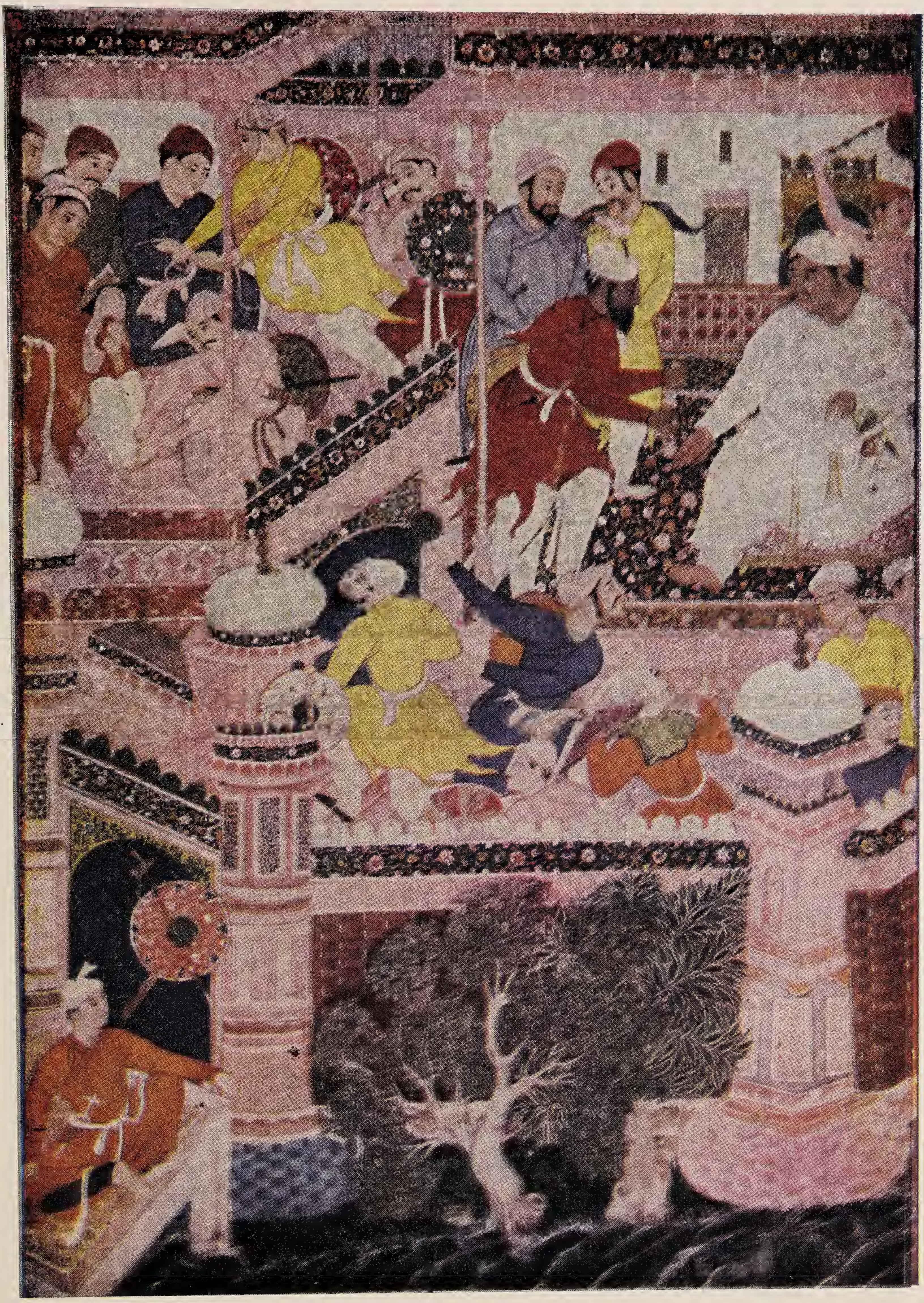


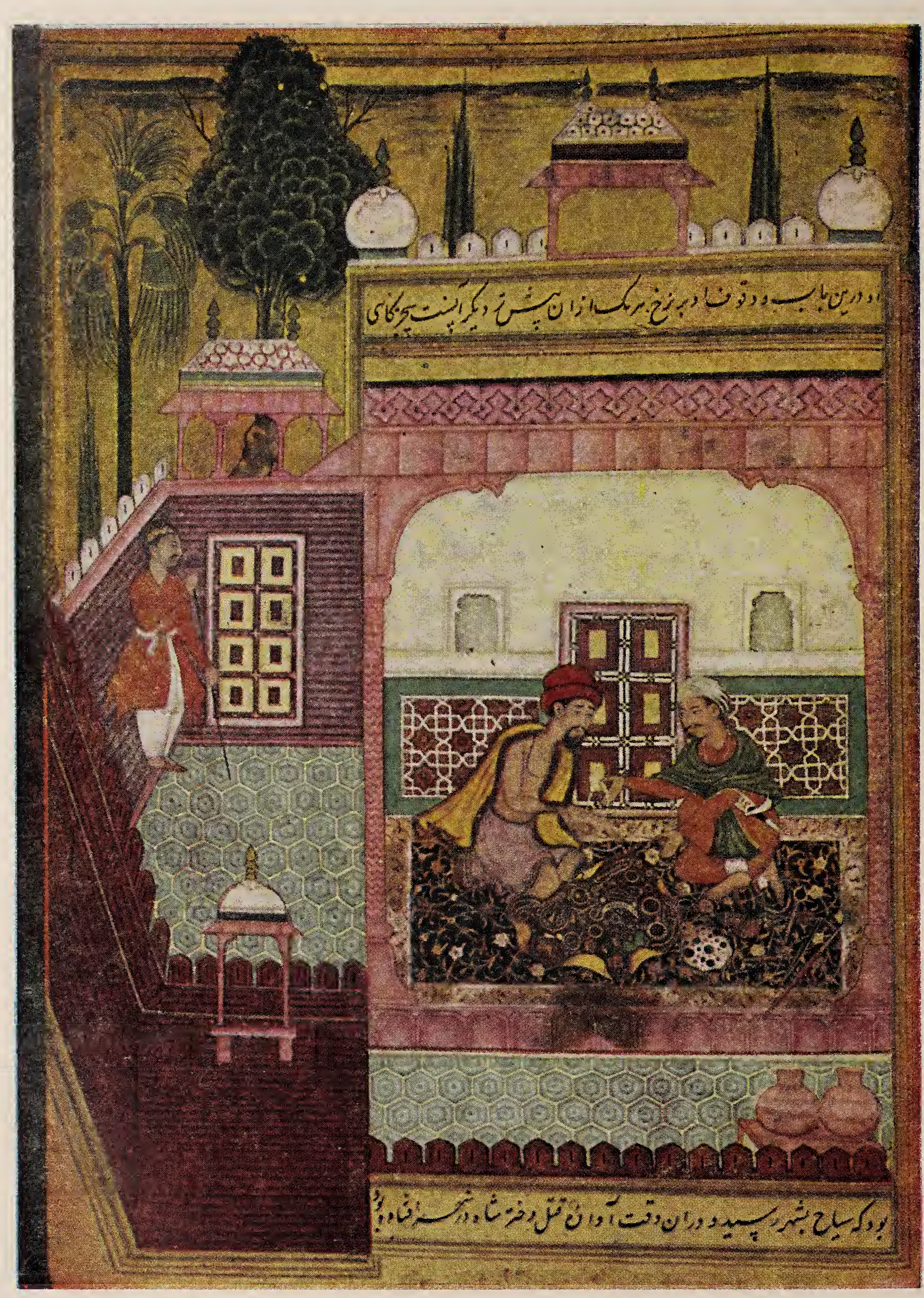
Plate 72. *Sultan with his Minister, Golconda School, Indian Museum, Calcutta.*



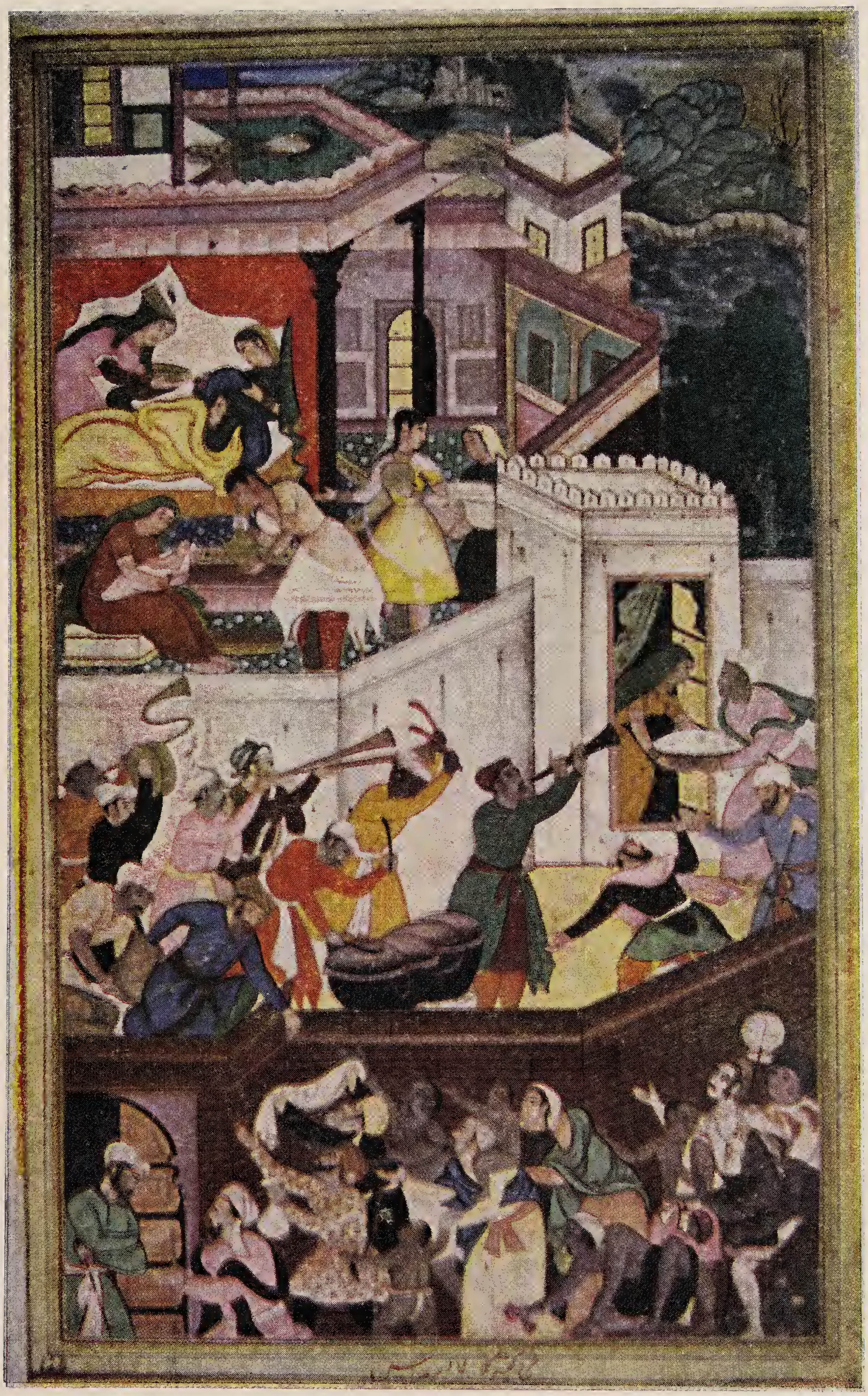
Colour Plate 1. *Folio from the Nīmatnāma. India Office Library, London.*



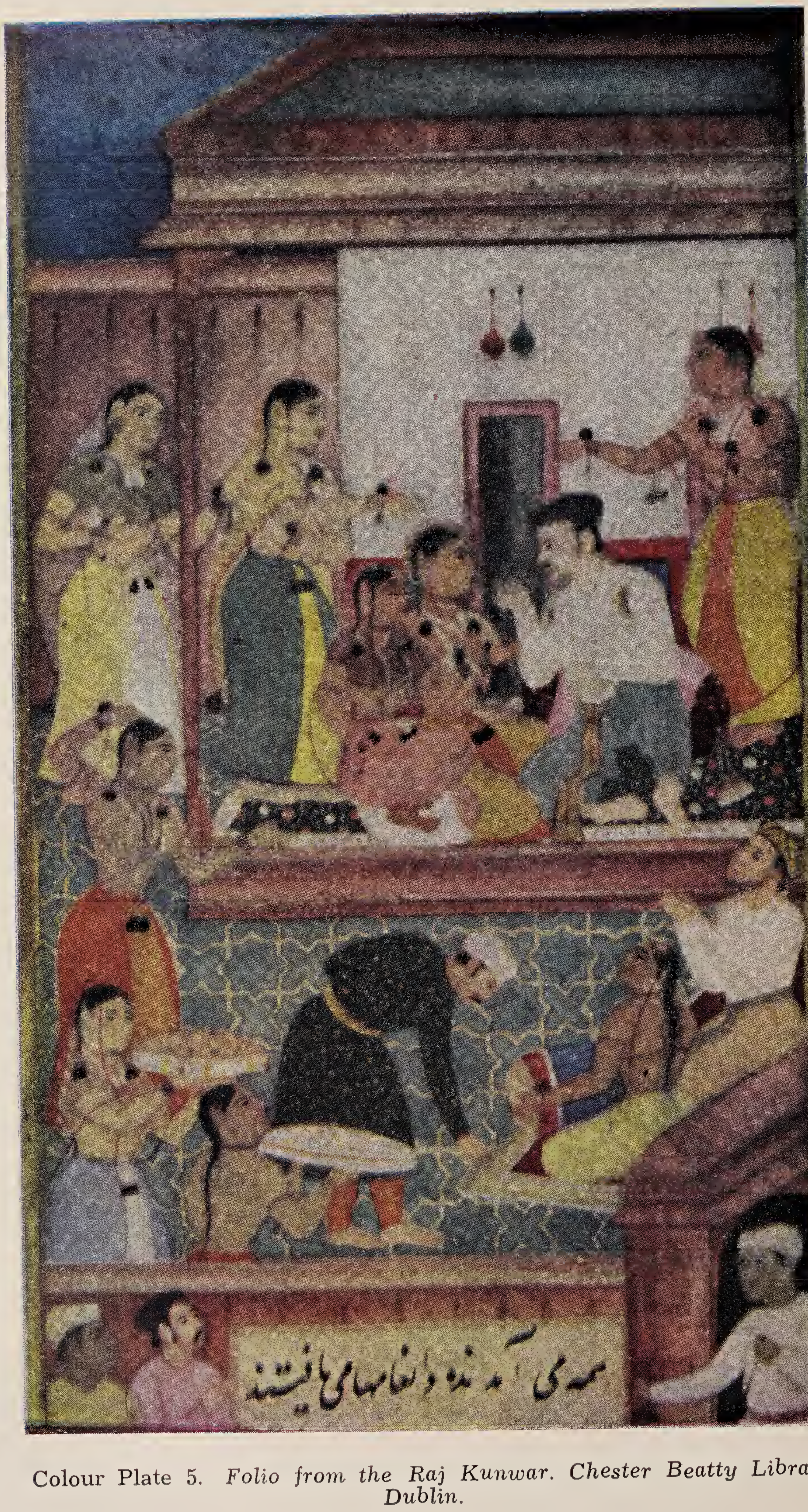
Colour Plate 2. *Folio from Dāstān-i-Amīr Hamza. Freer Gallery of Arts, Washington D.C.*


و درین باب و وقوف او بر نرخ هر یک از ان بیشتر دیگر انست که گاهی
بود که سیاح بشهر رسید و دران وقت آوازهٔ قتل دختر شاه در شهر افتاده بود

Colour Plate 3. *Folio from the Anwār-i-Suhailī. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.*



Colour Plate 4. *Celebration of the Birth of a Prince. Folio from the dispersed Akbarnama. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.*


همه می آمدند و انعامها می یافتند

Colour Plate 5. *Folio from the Raj Kunwar. Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.*

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